

THE
Modern Review

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

COK-H00818-89-PO19217

FOUNDER
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

EDITED BY
KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

VOL. LXXXIV. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JULY TO DECEMBER
1953

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 12-8 Foreign Rs. 20.

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page		Page
iculture as a Profession		Historical Records in Kotah, The	
debendra Nath Mitra	320	Govind S. Sardesai	451
of Sudhir Khastgir, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		History and Growth of Co-operative Movement in	
umantra Sen Gupta	298	India	
ic Education and Child Welfare		C. B. Mamoria	109, 192
Marjorie Sykes	277	History's Warning to India	
odan-Yagna As the Call of the Age		Jadunath Sarkar	441
uresh Ramabhai	105	How Americans Misrepresent India	
Project of the Punjab, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		Prem Narain Agarwal	230
aleshwar Nath	471	Incentive in an Agricultural Community	
t, The (<i>poem</i>)		Bepin Behari	453
arindranath Chattopadhyaya	67	India and China	
c Reviews	68, 153, 237, 321, 405, 489	S. N. Agarwal	372
ma Shell Refinery to Save 6 Crores in Foreign		(The) Indian Constitution : On the Anvil	
xchange (<i>illustr.</i>)		Iqbal Narain	445
SIS	338	Indian Periodicals	74, 158, 241, 326, 410, 494
te and Social Revolution		Indian Price Trends, A Probe into	
alit Sen	147	V. K. Shrivastava	461
e) Challenge of Anglicism and Cultural		Industrial Development in Rajasthan	
evolution in Bengal		K. B. Saksena	211
animadhab Chaudhuri	313	In Memoriam (<i>poem</i>)	
ege of Yoga at Lonavla, The (<i>illustr.</i>)		Lotika Ghose	51
G. Bhattacharya	213	Janata College, The (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Comment and Criticism	151, 235	R. N. Kharche	46
Concept of Justice in Our Constitution		Juangs, The (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Kumari Sushila Rudra	234	L. N. Sahu	468
Confucius, Political Philosophy of (<i>illustr.</i>)		Land Tenures and Their Reforms	
Chou Hsiang-Kuang	458	N. K. Kulkarni	21
Coorg, The Land of the Kodagas (<i>illustr.</i>)		(Prof. V.) Lesny and India (<i>illustr.</i>)	
G. Srinivas Rao	385	Milada Ganguli	301
Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, The (<i>illustr.</i>)	62	Lion-hearted Leader, The	
Cottage and Small Industries		*St. Nihal Singh	189, 289, 397, 481
Amulyaprasad Chandá	123	Long-Staple Cotton Cultivation in West Bengal,	
Decentralised Economy		The Present (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Bimalchandra Sinha	357	Sarada Charan Chakrabarty	475
Deputy Ministers—Their Constitutional Position, The		Mid-Century 1953	
K. V. Rao	117	G. L. Schanzlin	488
Debapala and the Pandyas of the South		Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle (<i>illustr.</i>)	
K. R. Venkata Raman	151	Jogesh C. Bagal	223, 303
Education for Journalism in India		Mirror of the Ages, The (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Roland E. Walseley	29	Jogendranath Gupta	136
Education with Literacy		Modern Danish Sculptural Art (<i>illustr.</i>)	
Richard W. Cortright	26	P. K. Banerjee	465
Educational Pattern in Pre-British India, The		Moism and Ahimsa	
S. S. Roy Choudhury	113	Chou Hsiang-Kuang	203
Egypt (1875-1953)		Music in Education	
Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji	200	Usha Biswas	143
Employment, More Employment !		Mystery (<i>poem</i>)	
S. N. Agarwal	279	Harindranath Chattopadhyaya	67
Farm and Ranch Ponds (<i>illustr.</i>)		Notes	1, 85, 169, 253, 337, 421
Lawrence V. Compton	50	Original Persian Documents in the Hyderabad	
First Census of Free India, The		State and Their Values	
Ashish Bose	197	N. B. Roy	126
Foreign Periodicals	79, 163, 240, 333, 415, 500	Outbreak at Benares in 1799, The	
Freedom of the Press in Britain		S. B. Chaudhuri	205
W. L. Andrews	65	Paper : Food for Thought (<i>illustr.</i>)	
andhian Concept of Economics, On the		A. G. Mezerik	220
H. G. P. Srivastava	273	Planning from the Bottom	
eppe Mazzini and Mahatma Gandhi		S. N. Agarwal	449
thony Elenjimitam	379	Population Problem in India, The	
aswamy Iyengar, The Late Sri N.		J. C. Sinha	361
Rajeswari Rao	145	Problems of Indian Agriculture	
vesters of the Sea (<i>illustr.</i>)		B. K. Singh	364
K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy	132		

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	Page	P
Proportion of the Hindus in Bengal ?, What is the True?		
Jatindra Mohan Datta	368	
Quit English"		
Sudhir Chandra Majumdar	235	
(Dr.) Radhakrishnan		
N. Venkata Rao	317	
Rajeswar Das Gupta (illustr.)		
Indu Bhusan Chatterjee	216	
Removing the Barriers to Peace		
Vernon Bartlett	128	
Reorganisation of Administrative Services		
S. N. Agarwal	125	
Revolution in Education		
S. N. Agarwal	27	
Roman Influence in the Provence		
Indira Sarkar	64	
Legacy of Napoleon Bonaparte		
Dip. Chand Verma	285	
Science and Agriculture		
J. N. Chakravarty	119	
Second International Contemporary Art Exhibition, Calcutta (illustr.)		
Kaundinya	381	
Shaw—The Successor to Shakespeare		
Lehar Singh Mehta	149	
Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir		
Jalali	150	
Sino-Soviet Relations in Their Retrospect (1860-1950)		
Uma Mukherjee	40	
Some Aspects of Devaluation		
Arun Coomar Ghosh	35	
(A) Stanza from "And the Aeons Echoed" (poem)		
Harindranath Chattopadhyaya	481	
Suffering Humanity and Decentralization		
Mankumar Sen	377	
Taming the Turbulent Tapi (illustr.)		
P.J.B.	218	
Taxation Structure of India		
Suresh Prasad Niyogi	293	
Theory of Deficit Spending and Indian Planning		
Suresh Prasad Niyogi	37	
Teaching of English in the Secondary Schools		
S. N. Roy	315	
Tea Industry in India, A Glance into the Position of the (illustr.)		
Jyotirmoy Roy	310	
Towards Economic Freedom		
S. N. Agarwal	209	
Toynbee		
Buddha Prakash	401	
Trends in Contemporary English Verse		
Michael Hamburger	403	
Tungabhadra Project Makes Headway (illustr.)		
P.J.B.	135	
Underemployment in India		
Santi Kumar Ghosh	485	
Unemployment in India, The Extent of		
Bela Bose		
Units in Korea (illustr.)		
P.J.B.		
Venkatrama Sastry, The Late Mr. T. R.		
P. Rajeswara Rao		
Women in India's Freedom Movement (illustr.)		
Jogesh C. Bagal	53	
Wordsworth and the French Revolution		
Amaresh Datta	149	
Yoga—Philosophy and Science (illustr.)		
S. M. S. Chari	129	
Young Bengal Discovers India		
Nanimadhab Chaudhuri		
Yugoslavia Shapes Her Destiny		
Ajit Kumar Bose		
What is to Happen to the Palestine Refugees?		
Karl Loewy		
INDIAN PERIODICALS		
Crime and It's Cure in India		
Darwinian Revolution, The		
Eva Gore-Booth		
(Prof.) Girindra Sekhar Bose		
Goa and the Problem of Merger		
Goa : Fantastic Claims		
Ideal of the Open Society, The		
Kanheri Caves		
Law Problem, The		
Massingham, H. J.		
Mau Mau and S.S.		
Protest Against Race Oppression		
Somerset Maugham, W.		
South Africa, A First Glimpse of		
Test of Democracy, The		
Trading Links of Old World Empires		
Turkey and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation		
FOREIGN PERIODICALS		
Africa at the Cross Roads		
Are We Losing Our Morals?		
Biography of Swami Vivekananda		
Wins Acclaim		
College de France		
Ernest Hemingway Wins Pulitzer Prize		
Greenburg, Hayim		
Growth of Labour Unions in the U.S.A., The		
How Jews Built the Movie Industry	333	
Human Relations is New Force in U.S. Industry		
(Dr.) Julian Huxley Awarded		
Kalinga Prize		
19 Million U.S. Women Have Jobs		
New Horizon in Antibiotics		
New York Marks 300 years as International City		
New Zealand's Place in World Trade		
Penicillin Story, The		
(Dr.) P. P. Pillai Retires		
Problems of China's Industrialisation		
"Progressive" Taxes Based on Ability to Pay		
Unesco		
U.S. National Labour Relations Board in 1952, The		
V. K. R. Menon Appointed Director of I.L.O.,		
Indian Branch		
Weizmann, Chaim		
NOTES		
Abor Hills		
Abors of Assam, The		
All-Korean Elections		
American Publishers and Book-burning		
America's Investments Abroad		
Anglo-Egyptian Talks		
Anti-Communism in Chile		
Apartheid		
Assam Approves Financial Corporatic		
Bermuda Conference		
Bhooan and the Churches		

INDEX OF ARTICLES

5

	Page		Page
sh Action in Guiana	435	Indo-Ceylon Talks	432
sh and American-Asian Policy	350	Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation	178
sh Coup in Guiana	353	Indo-Pakistan Parleys	175
sh Goat Farm	259	Industrial Financial Corporation	346
sh Press on W. German Elections	269	Lesney, Prof. Vincenc	104
net Crisis in Indonesia	11	Iron Ores of India	427
us Analyses	177	(An) "Islamic Republic" for Pakistan	431
us of India	427	Jute Marketing Prices	179
ges in Exchange Restrictions	179	Korean Political Conference	185
ging Lights in the USSR	99	Korean Tangle, The	8
king Expansion of Rajasthan Desert	92	Kosi Project, The	344
En-Lai on U.N. Resolution	269	Krishna Menon Defence Minister ?	54
t, Necktie and Collar"	258	Kuomintang Troops in Burma	272, 439
nunity Project in West Bengal	259	Law and Order in Calcutta	258
essions to Oil Refineries	260	Lesney, Prof. Vincenc	104
ress in West Bengal, The	421	Library Movement in India	92
ress Reverses in U.P. Civic Elections	422	Linguistic Provinces	261
) C.P.I. and the Forward Block	345	Linguistic States	337
in the Uttar Pradesh P.S.P.	93	Literacy in Bombay Villages	93
t Menace in U.P.	6	(A) Lurking Danger	438
nd for a Punjabi State	431	Lysenko Falls	177
cracy and Real Politik	343	(Dr.) Mookerjee's Demise	14
sition of the Sultan of Morocco	268	Music Policy of 'All-India Radio'	91
agari Script Reform	423	New Horizons in Orissa Politics	93
opments in Iran	182	Newspaper Circulation	356
opments in Nepal	95	North-East India Tribals	343
s' Report on His Tour	9	Nurul Amin also to Go ?	101
C. Power Supply	345	"Nothing like Leather"	101
and West Germany	184	Oil Politics in the Persian Gulf	181
Berlin General Strikes	96	One-Pice War, The	85
mic Condition of the Indian People	429	Other Side of the Medal, The	100
and Britain	104	Pak Cinemas Close Down	262
ons in West Germany	355	Pakistani Reaction to Kashmir Developments	176
iry into Syamaprasad's Death	86	Palestine Affairs	353
ved Labour	14	Pan-African Front	12
Duty Act	257	Patrick Duncan on Apartheid	13
Duty Bill	344	Peace Prize	426
h Project, The	12	Philippine Elections	440
Evans on Kenya Situation	8	Politics in France	267
st Conquered	98	Politics of Suez Canal, The	263
Beria	89	Portuguese Possessions in India	95
sion of Hindusthan Shipyard	267	(Sri) Prakasan and the P.S.P.	342
O. Report	255	Press in Pakistan, The	188
Industry and Finance	427	Palm Gur Industry in Madras, The	92
Year Plan, The	424	Power Behind Bhodan, The	93
Year Plan and Agriculture	94	Problem of Indians in Ceylon, The	9
d Labour	174	Present Situation, The	7
gn Agents in Indian Press	183	Prime Ministers' Conference	2
oreign Hand in Kashmir Quandary	187	Progress of the Damodar Valley, The	90
oreign Policy of Indonesia, The	12	P.S.P. Convention	7
our-Power Conference	103	Publishers' Protest	8
rench in Morocco, The	20	Quadruple Emissaries for U.N.	435
rench Policy in Indo-China	356	Railway Ills	345
(Dr.) Girindrasekhar Bose	262	Report on Currency and Finance	87
(Dr.) Gopal-Chandra Chatterjee	337	Restoration of Pak-Sylhet Areas to India	176
Goondaism in French Indian Settlements	430	Resurgence of Islamic Fanaticism	270
Corwala Study of Calcutta, The	171	Rhee's Standpoint	103
(A) Great Ommission	169	Rosenbergs, The	13
happenings in Kashmir	353	(A) Second University in East Pakistan	102
Independence Day	8	Significance of the Developments in Iran	271
dia and Pakistan	174	Situation in Hyderabad	90
Indian Ocean Command	180	Situation in Indonesia, The	186
Indian Reactions	352	Slave Mentality	170
Indian Tea Crop	104	(Sri) S. N. Guha's Gift	177
		South Africa Through American Eyes	259
		Soviet-French Trade and Payments Agreement	99

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Sterling Agreement	88	Unrest in Czechoslovakia	9
Sterling Convertibility	3	Urban Middle-classes and Money-lenders	25
Student Unrest in Lucknow	339	U.S. Aid Policy	1
Sugar Policy Muddle	258	U.S. and World Policy	2
Sugar Scandal	4	U.S. Bases in Pakistan	43
Syamaprasad Mookerjee	1	U.S. Economic Assistance to India	1
Temple Entry at Deoghar	261	U.S. Interference in Kashmir	9
Terms of Reference for Repatriation	102	U.S. Investments in Asia and Africa	43
Tibet Today	11	U.S.-South Korea Treaty	26
Trade Unions in India	426	(A) Vicious Convention	43
Travancore-Cochin Assembly	257	Village Industries and Indian Government	25
Trieste	354	War in Indo-China	267
Trieste Question, The	269	Wastage in Industry	188
Unemployment	253, 348	White "Democracy" in Kenya	43
Unemployment and Government	7	Working of the Sindri Chemicals	178
United States and Colonialism	434	World Bank Completes Six Years	26
Unrest in Ceylon	177	World Monetary Trends	2

—:O:—

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page		Page
Agarwal, S. N.		Chanda, Amulyaprasad	
Employment, More Employment!	279	Cottage and Small Industries	123
India and China	372	Chari, S. M. S.	
Planning from the Bottom	449	Yoga—Philosophy and Science (illustr.)	129
Reorganisation of Administrative Services	125	Chatterjee, Indu Bhusan	
Revolution in Education	27	Rajeswara Das Gupta (illustr.)	216
Towards Economic Freedom	209	Chattopadhyaya, Harindranath	
Agarwal, Prem Narain		The Boat (poem)	67
How Americans Misrepresent India	239	Mystery (poem)	67
Andrews, W. L.		A Stanza from "And the Aeons Echoed"	481
Freedom of the Press in Britain	6	Chaudhuri, Nanimadhab	
Bagal, Jogesh C.		(The) Challenge of Anglicism and Cultural	
Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle (illustr.)	223, 303	Revolution	3
Women in India's Freedom Movement (illustr.)	53	Historical Background of the Indian National	
Banerjee, P. K.		Movement	3
Modern Danish Sculptural Art (illustr.)	465	Young Bengal Discovers India	4
Baleshwar Nath		Chaudhuri, S. B.	
The Big Project of the Punjab (illustr.)	471	The Outbreak at Benares in 1799	26
Bartlett, Vernon		Chou Hsiang-Kuang	
Removing the Barriers to Peace	128	Moism and Ahimsa	20
Bepin Behari		Political Philosophy of Confucius (illustr.)	458
Incentive in an Agricultural Community	453	Compton, Lawrence V.	
Bhattacharya, S. C.		Farm and Ranch Ponds (illustr.)	50
The College of Yoga at Lonavla (illustr.)	213	Cortright, Richard W.	
Biswas, Usha		Education with Literacy	27
Music in Education	143	Datta, Amaresh	
Bose, Ajit Kumar		Wordsworth and the French Revolution	14
Yugoslavia Shapes Her Destiny	281	Datta, J. M.	
Bose, Ashish		What is the True Proportion of the Hindus?	369
The First Census of Free India	197	Elenjimitam, Anthony	
Bose, Bela		Giuseppe Mazzini and Mahatma Gandhi	370
The Extent of Unemployment in India	374	Ganguli, Milada	
B.S.I.S.		Prof. V. Lesney and India (illustr.)	370
Burma Shell Refinery (illustr.)	386	Ghosh, Arun Coommar	
Buddha Prakash		Some Aspects of Devaluation	301
Toyabco		Ghose, Lotika	
Chakrabarty, Sarada Charan		In Memoriam (poem)	35
The Present Long-Staple Cotton Cultivation	401	Ghosh, Santi Kumar	
(illustr.)		Underemployment in India	61
Chakravarty, J. N.		Gupta, Jogendranath	
Science and Agriculture	475	The Mirror of the Ages (illustr.)	400
	119		

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

7

	Page		Page
<i>Michael</i>		Rao, Venkata	
<i>English Verse</i>	403	Dr. Radhakrishnan	317
<i>Teaching of English in the Secondary Schools</i>	150	Ray, S. N.	
<i>Shiva-Shakti Worship in Kashmir</i>		Teaching of English in the Secondary Schools	315
<i>cond International Contemporary Art Exhibition</i>	381	Roy, Jyotirmoy	
<i>State and Their Value</i>	46	Tea Industry in India (illustr.)	310
<i>Elizabeth (illustr.)</i>	62	Roy, N. B.	
<i>Original Persian Documents in the Hyderabad</i>			
<i>R. N. College (illustr.)</i>	21		126
<i>Elizabeth (illustr.)</i>	62	Roy Choudhury, S. S.	
<i>The Educational Pattern in Pre-British India</i>			113
<i>The Concept of Justice in Our Constitution</i>	234	Rudra, Sushila	
<i>The Juangs (illustr.)</i>	468	Sahni, L. N.	
<i>Industrial Development in Rajasthan</i>	211	Saksena, K. B.	
<i>Sardesai, Govind S.</i>			
<i>The Historical Records in Kotah</i>	451		
<i>Sarkar, Jadunath</i>			
<i>History's Warning to India</i>	441		
<i>Sarkar, Miss Indira</i>			
<i>Roman Influence in the Provence.</i>	64		
<i>Schanzlin, G. L.</i>			
<i>Mid-Century 1953</i>	488		
<i>Sen, Lalit</i>			
<i>Caste and Social Revolution</i>	147		
<i>Sen, Mankumar</i>			
<i>Suffering Humanity and Decentralisation</i>	377		
<i>Sen Gupta, Sumantra</i>			
<i>The Art of Sudhir Khastgir (illustr.)</i>	398		
<i>Shrivastava, V. K.</i>			
<i>A Probe into Indian Price Trends</i>	461		
<i>Singh, B. K.</i>			
<i>Problems of Indian Agriculture</i>	364		
<i>Singh, St. Nihal</i>			
<i>The Lion-hearted Leader</i>	189, 289, 397, 481		
<i>Sinha, Bimalchandra</i>			
<i>Decentralised Economy</i>	357		
<i>Sinha, J. C.</i>			
<i>The Population Problem in India</i>	361		
<i>Srivastava, H. G. P.</i>			
<i>On the Gandhian Concept of Economics</i>	273		
<i>Venkata Raman, K. R.</i>			
<i>Devapala and the Pandyas of the South</i>	151		
<i>Verma, Dip Chand</i>			
<i>Saga of Napoleon Bonaparte</i>	285		
<i>Wolseley, Roland E.</i>			
<i>Education for Journalism in India</i>	29		

<i>Art of Sudhir Khastgir, The</i> (6 illustrations)			
<i>Captive Lady (in colours)</i> Tilak Banerji			
<i>College of Yoga at Lonavla, The</i> (8 illustrations)			
<i>Coronation of King George VI inside</i> Westminster Abbey	3	Chiang Chao-ho	
<i>Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II</i> Coronation of Queen Victoria	62	Old Refugee	
<i>Coronation of King George VI</i> Dancers	63	S. Khastgir	
S. Khastgir	238	<i>Palangin, The (in colours)</i> Niharrajan Sen Gupta	
<i>Deeds of Selling Oneself</i> (4 illustrations)	137-139	<i>Paper : Food for Thought</i> (3 illustrations)	
<i>Exhibition of Indian Handicrafts and Art Objects</i> in Ankara (Turkey)	169	Poona Research Station	
<i>Farm and Ranch Ponds</i> (2 illustrations)	51-52	President Rajendra Prasad at the I.N.S. Circle during his visit to the Naval Base, Visakhapat	
Forty-five Students from all parts of India left Bombay for the United States for a year's study and training	85	Queen Elizabeth II Crowned in Westminster Ab	
General Mohamed Naguib Visits I.N.S. Godavari	253	Queen Elizabeth II, The Portrait of (Dr.) Radhakrishnan Delivered the Convocat Address in the Mary Washington College	
<i>Harvestors of the Sea</i> (4 illustrations)	132-134	Rajeswar Das Gupta	
<i>Janata College, The</i> (8 illustrations)	46-49	Rajeswar Das Gupta	
(Sri) Jawaharlal Nehru Addressing a huge gathering at the Red Fort, Delhi on August 15, 1953, in Celebration of the Sixth Anniversary of India's Independence	169	Rajeswar Plough	
Lesny, Prof. Vincenc (Prof. V.) Lesny and India	289	Rhythm	
Prof. V. Lesny with Curudeva in Santiniketan	301	Sculptor—Deviprasad Roy Choudhury	
Prof. V. Lesny and Rabindranath	302	Sakuntala Watering the Madhabi Plant (in colour)	
Prof. V. Lesny at the Oriental Institute in Prague	303	Satindranath Laha	
Prof. Lesny's Last Journey	337	Sindri Fertiliser Factory, The	
<i>(The) Life and Death of King John by Shakespeare</i> <i>Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle—I</i>	223	<i>Taming the Turbulent Tapi</i> (2 illustrations)	
Raja Rammohun Roy	224	<i>Tea Industry, The</i> (5 illustrations)	
James Buckingham	225	<i>Tungabhadra Project Makes Headway</i> (2 illustrations)	
Dwarkanath Tagore	225	(A) Village Singer (in colours)	
Ram Comul Sen	226	Manicklal Banerji	
Prasanna Kumar Tagore	227	Vishakhapatnam Beach	
David Hare	303	Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel	
<i>Mile-stones to Our Freedom Struggle—II</i> Radhakanta Deb	304	<i>Women in India's Freedom Movement</i> Mohini Devi	
Debendra Nath Tagore		Hemprova Majumdar	
		Sarojini Naidu	
		Jyotirmoy Ganguli	
		Preetilata Waddedar	
		Leela Roy	
		Matangini Hazra	
		<i>Yoga—Philosophy and Science</i> (8 illustrations)	



Rhythm
Sculptor—Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



THE PALANQUIN
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY



1953

VOL. LXXXXIV, No. 1

WHOLE No. 559

NOTES

Syamaprasad Mookerjee

The nation and the country is poorer today by the death, under tragic circumstances, of an worthy son of India, a patriot and a courageous fighter for the rights of Man. How tragic the circumstances were, under which his demise took place, can be judged by the statements issued by one of his companions and by his lawyer, which we have appended at the end of these editorials, for record and for assessment.

During the days when the nation was in travail and stress, under the flood of repression and terrorism let loose by the British and their henchmen, we often had occasion to put on record similar statements. But we never imagined that such an occasion would arise after India had been liberated through the efforts of that apostle of *Ahimsa*, whom his totally unworthy mantle-bearers have called the Father of the Nation. More is the pity, for all of us, though most of us do not realise as to why it should be so. For it shows up beyond all doubt incapacity and vital lack of moral values in those who are in charge of the country. The clay-feet of our erstwhile idols are exposed!

But first of all let us make an appraisal of the man who was sacrificed before the Moloch of power-lust and partisanship. His patriotism was beyond challenge, despite all that is said by political fanatics and by the fifth column "leftists." His courage, physical and moral, had been tested and found true as steel, in the fire of severe trials during times of stress on numberless occasions. Let us give a few examples.

In the East-Bengal Communal riots of 1942, when Bengal was being ruled by the British through the Moslem-leaguers, the Hindus of Dacca were in

dire straits. They were a helpless minority and were being deprived of fire-arms, along the well-known policy of the British, and were further rendered voiceless, through the dictum of the British political secretary, which forbade the newspapers to publish even the fact that riots were taking place, under the Defence of India Act.

Syamaprasad Mookerjee answered the call of suffering humanity and despite all difficulties flew to Dacca. At the air-port the British Commissioner met him and, in so many words, told him to return to Calcutta. Syamaprasad defied the order and when his would-be host was threatened by the Commissioner by the deprivation of an armed escort, Dr. Mookerjee said he would enter Dacca on foot and without escort and requested Dr. Mazumdar to go back to his University quarters without him. The Commissioner was placed in a quandary and offered to take him to Mr. Fazlul Huq, the then Chief Minister, who was in Dacca at that time. Mr. Fazlul Huq was dumb-founded at the appearance of Syamaprasad and had perforce to give the order to the British official to provide escort and facilities for him. On his return Syamaprasad found that the press had been gagged by the astute political secretary, A. J. Porter. There was only one way out, and that was to move an adjournment motion in the Bengal Assembly, which was in session, over this matter, the news and details of which could be published by all newspapers under the laws then in force. For this adjournment motion it was necessary to get the aid of the Congress members of the Assembly, as at least fifty members had to stand up in support of the motion, if it were to be allowed by the Speaker. And for that the Congress members had to get the sanction of the Congress President, who was at Patna at that time.

The Congress President of those days, refused

permission because of his petty parochial views, and when requested to come to Bengal to see for himself whether the matter was of urgency, said he had half-a-dozen engagements in various provinces, and if and when he was free he would consider the question of visiting Bengal.

Syamaprasad was in despair, but when advised to appeal to Mahatma Gandhi did so, with startling results. The Congress President, who had gone to Wardha for a meeting, was severely admonished, ordered to cancel all engagements and to proceed to Calcutta, and to give permission, by wire and by telephone, to the Congress members of the Bengal Assembly to assist Syamaprasad. The adjournment motion was put and allowed and the news of the riots blazed forth in the press. Police action against the rioters had to be taken as a consequence and hundreds of thousands of suffering and sorely pressed peoples got relief.

In the Great Bengal Famine of 1943, in which some five millions died of starvation as a result of the panicky denial policy of the British and the refusal of the British military authorities to allocate transport for food-grains for the famine areas, there was again that attempt to suppress details of that infamy. It was Syamaprasad who took the initiative in publicizing the man-made holocaust. There were threats of prosecution, both against him and the monthly magazine that first gave him publicity, but he and his friends went on undaunted, till again the hands of the British Raj were forced. It should be recorded that the Moslem League Government dared not protest though the majority of the victims were Muslims.

On I. N. A. day in 1945, when the peaceful student processionists were held up in Calcutta and fired upon by the police, under the Moslem League Government, it was Syamaprasad again who answered the call of the students for aid, when the B.P.C.C. President of that period and the Congress Secretary had failed them. In all justice we should record that a Congress-woman, the late revered Jyotirmoyee Ganguly, was also with him, as was a Congressman, Sri Bhupati Mazumdar. Srimati Ganguly was killed later in the evening, through the deliberate knocking over of her car by a lorry belonging to the armed police, while she was picking up wounded boys and taking them for first-aid and treatment. Syamaprasad's cool and courageous intervention saved more innocent lives being sacrificed to police fury.

In the Noakhali riots of 1946, it was Syamaprasad once more who led the very first small group of non-officials to the stricken area, although denied of all protection by armed escorts and assailed by veiled threats. Later on, of course, the whole course of events was changed by the prolonged visit and tour by the Mahatma.

In short, in all his political career, he never failed to answer any call for assistance by the distressed and his disregard for personal danger was apparent to all but the crooked or deliberately blind. He was a man of action, a speaker and debater of unusual skill and ability.

His qualities and metal were recognised by Sardar Patel, the only man of his stature in the Nehru Cabinet, and it was at the Sardar's instance that he was included in the old Nehru Cabinet. The story of his resignation belongs to another chapter of history and need not be discussed here. Vinobaji has said that he sacrificed himself for a cause in which he had faith. And what more can any man do? By his last supreme sacrifice he has proved that he was free of parochialism, which is more than can be said of most of our tinsel gods of today.

Attempts have been made—and are still being made—to decry his worth, particularly, by two opposing political groups, and there has been attempts to minimize his services to the nationals of this country. He had his faults, we admit, but where are the paragons of virtue amongst those who criticize and cavil? Let them stand forth for comparison, so that we may feast our eyes.

He was accused of the mortal sin of communalism! We would ask whether the person who, through crass ignorance and uncultured intolerance, defiled the sacred motto of Gurudev Rabindranath's Santiniketan, by ordering the deletion of *Sivam* from *Satyam Sivam Sundaram* is communal or not? We would gladly be corrected, but is it not a case of inverted communalism, of almost psychopathic intensity when one foams at the mouth at the very word Hindu? Therefore that shibboleth is good meat for unctuous sycophants only, when used against their master's opponents, without convincing proof.

He was the most formidable figure of the Opposition in the House of People. And there is a time-honoured moral code, observed by all honourable men, regarding the treatment of opponents, even though they be bitter enemies, in captivity. It appears from the statements appended at the end of the editorials of this issue, that the said code was observed only in the breach thereof. Puerile statements about Kashmir not being India, and so forth, are of no use. The world knows what influence Nehru and Azad have over the Government there. Both of them were well aware of Dr. Mookerjee's condition of health. Pandit Nehru, further, visited Kashmir on the eve of his departure for England.

Prime Ministers' Conference

The Prime Ministers of nine Commonwealth countries, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the United Kingdom, met in London from June 3

to June 7. According to the *Reuter*, the agenda included a review of the world situation by Sir Winston Churchill; policy statements by each of the visiting Prime Ministers; discussion on Soviet policy including the prospects of East-West talks, and examination of western European problems and a progress report on the Atlantic Pact of which Britain and Canada were the only two Commonwealth members; the Korean armistice problem and other Far East and South-East Asia questions including the war against the Communists in Malaya and Indo-China; a review of the economic position of the sterling area by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Butler, and a general discussion on defence.

For five days the Premiers held their discussions from which the Press was excluded. At the end of the conference, a communique was issued on June 8 which stated that the discussions "once more demonstrated the concord" existing among the Commonwealth countries in spite of varying interests and circumstances, in their approach to the major international problems. It declared that "no opportunity should be lost of composing, or at least easing the differences which at present divide the world." But the democracies should "maintain their strength and exercise unceasing vigilance to preserve their rights and liberties." •

Regarding Western Europe, "The Commonwealth countries associated with or interested in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation expressed the hope that the European Defence community would be established at the earliest possible date."

The Prime Ministers welcomed the agreement reached on the treatment of prisoners of war, making way for the early signature of the armistice agreement. "They exchanged views on the steps that will have to be considered after the end of the hostilities in Korea for the promotion of stability and progress throughout the Far East and South-East Asia."

Referring to the discussions on Middle East, the Communique said that the "Prime Ministers recognised the international importance of the Suez Canal and of the effective maintenance of the military installations in the Canal zone."

They agreed that it was in the "common interest that the outstanding issues in the Middle East should be settled on the basis of ensuring the peace and security of the Middle East countries, consistent with the sovereignty of each, and promoting their social and economic development."

After a review of the developments in the economic field since their last conference in December, 1952, the Premiers agreed that the "Commonwealth countries should adhere firmly to the long-term objectives and lines of policy then laid down."

They gave "particular attention . . . to the need for stimulating economic developments, for expanding exports and consistently with a maintenance of ade-

quate reserves, for removing progressively restrictions on trade over as wide an area as possible and within the Commonwealth and the sterling area."

Earlier press reports said that the Prime Ministers approved the projected meeting between the U.S.A., U.K., and France at Bermuda and favoured early talks with the Soviet Union. The Premiers also discussed Formosa and the representation of the Chinese People's Government at the United Nations. No unanimous decisions could be arrived at on those issues. Only four Commonwealth countries, namely, India, Great Britain, Pakistan and Ceylon had recognised the People's Government of China.

The *Times* Parliamentary correspondent said that much significance was attached to the recognition accorded by all the Premiers to the international importance of the Suez Canal and the support given to U.K. policy upon it, reports the *Statesman*.

The report adds that the "reference to settling issues in the Middle East on the basis of ensuring the peace and security of Middle Eastern countries, 'consistently with the sovereignty of each,' is not interpreted as being inconsistent with the maintenance of military installations in the Canal zone by British technicians and a parallel is drawn with U.S. bases in U.K."

The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan had talks about Kashmir and measures for improving Indo-Pak relations which were inconclusive. Similarly, the Nehru-Senanayake pourparlers did not produce the much desired agreement on the question of the citizenship rights of Indians in Ceylon, belying all press forecasts of a settlement in London.

The Premiers of U.K., Australia and New Zealand discussed the problems of Pacific and South-east Asian Defence.

Pandit Nehru in a television broadcast on June 13 said that United Nations' assistance had not proved helpful in solving the Kashmir dispute and thought that "these problems should be dealt with directly without the help of third parties."

He said he saw absolutely no external danger to India from Communism. According to him, Soviet Union definitely desired peace, "for whatever period it may be."

Speaking at a reception accorded to him by the India League in London, Pandit Nehru said that one of the most dominating factors at the present age was the emergence of a strong, united, integrated state of China. He urged the recognition and immediate entry of China to the U.N.

Sterling Convertibility

The plan for convertibility of the sterling was recommended at the Commonwealth conference of last December. The recent conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers again endorsed this move. But the actual out-

come has made little headway in this direction. It may be recalled that three main decisions were taken last December. The first was that the long-term problem of dollar shortage could be solved only by increasing the sterling area's production of commodities that the dollar area was likely to demand in increasing volume and also of the commodities that the sterling area traditionally bought from the dollar countries. Special attention was thus given to increase the production of wheat, copper, zinc, aluminium, cotton, paper, pulp and engineering products—these things are mainly bought by the sterling area from the dollar area.

The second main decision at last December's conference was that any move towards freer trade must be directed towards lifting of payments restrictions rather than of import restrictions. That is, the Commonwealth should concentrate on convertibility of sterling rather than on liberalisation of trade. On account of the extension of the Bank of England's system of "administrative transferability" in the past three years, the sterling countries are now faced by three different currency areas. These are (1) the dollar countries of North and Central America that have to be paid for their exports wholly in gold or dollars; (2) the thirteen OEEC countries that are paid for their exports in sterling, but can use that sterling for purchase in the non-dollar areas or reduce their net debits (or expand their credit) in the monthly clearings at EPU; and (3) there are nearly thirty non-dollar and non-EPU countries that also have to be paid for their exports in sterling and can use that sterling to purchase goods anywhere in the non-dollar countries. Convertibility would mean that the countries in OEEC and of the non-dollar areas could use their current accumulations of sterling to buy goods in the dollar world as well as in non-dollar countries. It would not however mean that the sterling countries would lift their import restrictions sufficiently to enable these countries to earn more sterling for conversion into dollars in this way.

The question of convertibility thus emphasises the convertibility of payments rather than liberalisation of trade. The last December conference was however aware of the dangers of convertibility. As a precautionary measure it took the decision that sterling could move towards convertibility only if certain assurances and helpful actions were forthcoming from Europe and the United States.

OEEC countries were to be asked to ensure that they did not increase their imports from the dollar areas immediately following the convertibility—but it was not clear how this safeguard could be achieved. The USA is required to make liberalisation in American trade policy, arrangements for greater stability in American purchases of raw materials, and definite steps for encouragement of American foreign investment. Besides, the USA is expected to support the move for more liberal "stand-by" credits from the International Monetary Fund and she should also agree to an increase in the dollar price of gold.

The plan of last December was thus hedged with so many 'ifs.' The proposals of Mr. Eden and Mr. Butler to hasten these steps have been buffeted by the Eisenhower Administration. These proposals have been referred to two committees, neither of which will report until next year and one of which is almost certain to report against any effective American action at all. Again, the "United Europe" school that has now gained prominence in EPU opposes the proposals for convertibility on the ground that if sterling is made convertible, no European country would turn current accumulations of sterling into the EPU clearings, and as a result the basis of European economic integration would be broken.

In recent months, however, the move towards convertibility is gaining strength. The Managing Board of the EPU and the appropriate committees of OEEC are doing preparatory work for translating EPU itself into wider multilateral terms. In the field of payments—as distinct from trade—an important move has been taken recently and it is the freeing of the exchange markets in eight European currencies for arbitrage operations among themselves. Whilst the mechanism of the European Payments Union provides for the operations of multilateral payments within Europe through the central banks, the opening of arbitrage facilities has meant that the principle of multilateral payments has been extended to the authorised banks in the eight countries for which the scheme operates. The move has been a great success, although it has not caused a substantial expansion of foreign exchange business. London bankers are now attracting a certain amount of three-cornered business that in the post-war years had been a virtual monopoly of Swiss banks.

Strides towards convertibility are also taking place in commodity dealings. In Britain a large number of commodities has been freed from state trading and restored to private markets in recent months. In certain cases arbitrage in such commodities between dollar and non-dollar countries can take place. To the extent the arbitrage operations take place in these commodities, the sterling that enters into the operations becomes wholly convertible, although the privilege of such convertibility applies only to transactions that are put through members of the appropriate and recognised markets.

It is reported that a greater freedom for exchange operations is under consideration in Washington. The wider problem of relations between EPU and the IMF is also receiving some attention. It is hoped that the IMF would give to EPU, by way of stand-by credits and other facilities, in case a joint move by West European countries is taken for convertibility of currencies with the dollar.

Sugar Scandal

The history of sugar industry in independent India is plainly full of muddles and scandals on the part of the Government of the country—not to speak of the few handful of producers who are nothing more than worst

type of exploiters. When sugar production was short of demand, the control on sugar prices and distribution was introduced to ensure an equitable distribution of the available supplies of sugar to the consumers at a reasonable price. The control on sugar was a total failure as production was deliberately pegged down, black-market flourished and profiteering was widespread. To encourage production a double-price system was introduced in 1951-52. For this experiment the consumer had to pay heavily and production increased from 1.1 million tons in 1950-51 to nearly 1.5 million tons in 1951-52. In the early part of 1952 there was plenty of sugar in the market and the time was opportune for abolishing all controls. But as usual, Government failed to force down the issue and yielded to the pressure from interests which were frightened by the prospect of a glut in the market. The basis of control thus underwent a change and it was retained for protecting the interests not of the consumers but of the producers.

By the beginning of the current season (1952-53), Government decided to relax the control substantially, but it was not abolished altogether. The control on price and distribution was abolished. The price of sugar-cane was reduced from Rs. 1|12|- to Rs. 1|5|- per maund. The public were assured by Government that the price of sugar would come down appreciably. The Government became so much sure about the prospect of a fall in the price that an additional excise duty was levied on sugar in order to neutralise a part of the reduction in the price of cane.

But the outcome was different altogether. From the very beginning of the season, the price of sugar has remained higher by Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per maund than what would have prevailed if the price control was continued on the basis of the reduced price for cane. This development is exceptionally surprising as it has prevailed at a time when the supply of sugar has been nearly 1.77 million tons, the highest supply on record since the partition. It is said that at the beginning of the season the stocks of sugar stood at 500,000 tons and at no time during the season the demand was higher than the supply.

It is a puzzle how the price of sugar can remain at extraordinarily high levels when the supply of the commodity is so large. An explanation is given for the high price of sugar and it is that merchants and traders have been hoarding large quantities in anticipation of reduced output in the next season. But this is partial truth. The Government of India have issued release orders for a little over one million tons out of a total supply of 1.77 million tons. The actual stocks with the factories are still over 67.91 per cent and this is the all-India average. In the case of factories in U.P. and Bihar, the figure of stocks is much higher at 71.48 per cent and 73.63 per cent respectively. In the Deccan only two factories have given delivery of about 50 per cent of their production, while the remaining factories have delivered only about 30 per cent of their production. The plain fact therefore is that the factories are guilty

of deliberately withholding stocks in expectation of higher profits on low out-turn. The prices of sugar have shot up on limited supply.

Further, another important point should also be noted in this connection. There is a close affinity between the producers and the traders and it often happens that the producers and the traders are the same parties in different names. To put the blame on transport bottlenecks is evading the real issue.

And what about the Government? It is they who are fundamentally responsible for the present high level of sugar prices during the current year. They failed to de-control sugar totally at the beginning of the season when stocks were high. Complete decontrol would have flooded the market with sugar and prices could have been considerably forced down. The policy of gradual release has acted in favour of the hoarders, factories and speculators in withholding stocks and raising the prices.

The Government have recently announced a three-point plan to bring down the prices. These are:

(i) Flooding the important markets like Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur and Delhi with sugar released from factories by arranging special trains for quick movement.

(ii) Allotment of sugar from factories from their reserve stock at a statutory ex-factory price of Rs. 27 per maund to State Governments, and other agencies for distribution through "fair price shops."

(iii) As a supplement to the above measures, arrangement for importing sugar from abroad to the extent necessary to defeat hoarding on the part of the trade.

The plan is of course good in paper. Its effect depends on the speed with which the plan is implemented. The first point of the plan is possible. The second depends on so many uncertain factors which intervene between the lips and the sugar that nothing hopeful should be expected of this. Moreover, the fair price shops have become unfair in the past. The third point is vague and is hedged with restrictions. In this connection it may be recalled that in 1949 Government also gave out a threat to import sugar from abroad to lower domestic prices. But it was not carried and no import was made and it was taken plainly that Government helped the industry to reap windfall profits at the cost of the poor consumers.

In order to facilitate the import of sugar, Government have reduced the import duty on sugar from Rs. 14|14|- per cwt. to Rs. 7 per cwt. and have announced that licences for imports of sugar would be given to importers, large dealers and establishments consuming sugar. Although much belated, the step is in the right direction. That there was an artificial boosting of prices is evident from the fact that immediately following the Government announcement, there has been a sharp fall in the price of sugar for forward delivery in the Bombay market from Rs. 92 to Rs. 84 per bag on 24th June. During the same period the price of spot sugar has come down

by Rs. 4 per bag to Rs. 88. The price of imported sugar is said to be much lower than these prices. The position of world sugar market is easy and Formosa, Cuban and Continental sugar is being offered by shippers at rates which are equivalent to Rs. 72 per bag ex-godown Bombay. Thus the price of domestic sugar for forward delivery is still higher by Rs. 12 per bag over the imported sugar. The imported sugar will take at least two months to reach Bombay.

The procedure of import as laid down by the Government is defective. Licensing will be done on merits and the main test will be the ability of the importer actually to bring in a shipload of 6,000 tons of sugar within a period of two months. Licences will be granted for importation into the ports of Bombay and Madras only. It is possible that this procedure may result in imports being concentrated only in a few hands. And in that case it will lead to a monopoly trade in imported sugar. The worst will be if these importers become the same set of traders who are responsible for boosting the prices of domestic sugar. There is every possibility that the importers will be closely allied to producers of domestic sugar. It is said that there are not many importers even in Bombay, not to speak of Madras, who can import sugar in shiploads of 6,000 tons each. This will cost at the rate stated above as much as Rs. 43.20 lakhs. If the position of sugar supply in the country is really intended to be eased, it is essential that the condition of import should be immediately relaxed; and imports in smaller lots should be allowed. The Government's announcement states that establishments consuming sugar can also import their requirements direct. But how many consumer establishments are there which can import a shipload of 6,000 tons of sugar at a time?

The import of large shiploads will inevitably concentrate the commodity in the hands of the few and the import policy is so designed as to favour the traders closely allied to the producers and the public are at the same time bluffed into the belief that Government are doing something good for them. It is said that the Government have been misled by their advisers and that sugar can be imported at rates substantially lower than the rate of Rs. 28 per maund as assumed by the Government. What steps are being taken by the Government to ensure that monopoly does not crop up in the trade in imported sugar and that profiteering will not be allowed at any cost? The ex-godown rate of Rs. 72 per bag, as stated above, is based on quotations for small lots and it is Rs. 5 less than the rate assumed by the Government on shipload basis.

The Government should go into these questions dispassionately and take proper steps to prevent profiteering. Sugar should be totally decontrolled so that large stocks could not be hoarded and the market will have sufficient quantity to force down and stabilise the price.

Dacoit Menace in U.P.

According to a report published in the *Leader* on June 2, several notorious dacoits, Man Singh, Lakkan Singh and Charna were leading their marauding assaults having as their base 9000 square miles of a ravine area in U.P. and Madhya Bharat. The same report disclosed that anti-dacoit operations were being conducted by squads of Madhya Bharat and U. P. anti-dacoit police who had been stationed at Ajitnaal, Chakarnagar and Jaswant Nagar.

Describing the seriousness of the situation 'Trecman' writes in the *Vigil* of June 13 that the position in a few selected pockets "almost resembles the KMT menace in Burma." The number of robberies was on the increase. Medhi, another notorious dacoit, who had absconded for a decade, not only made good his escape but killed the prosecution witness in a case against him.

The official machinery was unable to cope with the situation. The people had little confidence on the police and it was believed that many of the petty offences were committed with the latter's connivance. On the other hand, the policeman also had little to enthuse over as his deplorably poor living conditions had hardly become better since independence. "The meagreness of his pay, the shabbiness of his uniform, the ineffectiveness of his lathi against the dacoit's gun and the public's lack of confidence in him—all these cumulatively tend to lessen the policeman's self-confidence and make him, on crucial occasions, a timid, weak man. In addition, the rewards for gallantry are so few and little and the pension for his wife and children, in case he dies in action so ridiculously inadequate, that even the most intrepid of them will have to play for safety."

The writer says that the only re-assuring factor in the gloomy situation was that the villagers were forming themselves in self-defence squads; but in this respect also the Government should consider liberalising the grant of licenses for firearms. Simultaneously efforts to unearth the sources that supply arms to the dacoits should also be intensified. If the civil police were unable to deal with the situation, the Government should not hesitate to call in the military.

We have heard disquieting rumours about the complicity of certain high-placed Congress members with some of the dacoits. It is stated that on festive occasions these Congressmen have been seen enjoying sumptuous meals at the dacoit's house. It is also hinted that the police also are handicapped due to leakage of information about their anti-dacoit moves, through official and demi-official sources.

The main cause of all this is the total lack of men of integrity amongst Pandit Nehru and Pandit Pant's chosen. The common man sees notorious characters being rewarded with office and rank by our Chiang Kai-shek and his myrmidons. So where can there be any faith in the Government?

Unemployment and Government

Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Union Minister for Finance, told a meeting of Congress workers in Poona that "he saw no easy or immediate solution to the problem of increasing unemployment. He pointed out that the Government had no reliable statistics to show the extent of unemployment in the country." (PTI). He is reported to have stated that the solution of the problem of unemployment "depended on the capacity of the Government to increase outlay in capital expenditure under the Five-Year Plan and incidentally on the extent of foreign aid."

The real problem, he said, was not high prices but the lack of adequate purchasing power among the people. The rise of prices was due mainly to temporary local and technical reasons.

We suppose "temporary" signifies the period that covers the present phase of muddling and arbitrary actions by the Government.

"The Present Situation"

Sri Maganbhai Desai writes in the *Harijan* that Pandit Nehru's remarks, at a conference of Pradesh Conveners of Bharat Sevak Samaj at New Delhi that there was a vacuum in India at the present time, meant that "we are still groping in the dark to find out a way suited to our genius for our march to rebuild India of our dreams." A sense of positive and clear faith was now lacking and this feeling of a vacuum was shared by many honest and sincere workers. He adds: "And it must be noted that there is this vacuum in spite of or say even though there are the Congress, the Five-Year Plan and now the B.S.S. (Bharat Sevak Samaj), etc., all of them functioning their utmost."

The Government efforts to fill up the vacuum with the official Five-Year Plan and the B.S.S. as its non-official non-party wing had thus proved ineffective. But there was another way or "rather we have had it already," the Constructive Programme forged out by the people under Gandhiji's auspices, having the Bhoodan movement as its spearhead. A very large and important group of workers believing in it was organizing its way as Sarvodaya Samaj and the Sarva Seva Sangh.

In this context Sri Desai asks whether the creation of a new organisation, the B.S.S. was unavoidable. The core of the B.S.S. was, as defined by Pandit Nehru, to "make a new India by using our hands and feet." Sri Nehru had said that Congressmen should be associated with the organization in a formal manner and warned them not to undertake the task with any party spirit or for advancing the aims of any party.

Sri Desai asks what the Congress should do then. "How far is it really possible for political parties, as they are constituted and functioning today, to forget themselves and cease advancing their own interests,

let alone the political interests of their groups and individuals even? How shall we make party interests irrelevant and redundant in the larger perspective of the nation's good?"

The vacuum could only be filled if the people could be "made to learn to do their own things by themselves and without any politics of power sullyng it or without expecting Government to tow the line for them."

P.S.P. Convention

Sri Asoka Mehta in his report to the Betul Conference of the Praja Socialist Party says that, "Free India is to be built around three basic elements—national integrity, democratic freedom and social change." The Praja Socialists could not support the Communists because they tended to weaken national integrity. The recent Congress-PSP pourparlers failed "among other reasons, for divergence in policies on social change."

A difficult proposition was to enlist popular co-operation to the development projects. Totalitarianism, though commonly considered as a suitable vehicle for social change, was hardly so in reality. Parliamentary democracy was also no more effective in that even if there were two parties only the party in opposition would by virtue of the "axiom of opposition's job" make development difficult. According to Sri Mehta, "The dilemma can be resolved by (1) so broad-basing the Government that it gets power to move forward to the fringes and (2) strengthening the forces of pluralism in authority and initiative."

In order to bring about this reorganisation "democratic rights—of speech, press, assembly and association—have not only to be cherished but strengthened." The Government should bring into existence "an institutional framework wherein authority and initiative get widely shared, where rights get interwoven with responsibilities. Such a framework is obviously offered by compulsory village co-operatives and union—shop trade unions." "The co-operatives and trade unions, brought into being in a comprehensive way, would become new sources of authority and initiative."

The PSP would endeavour to make "the fulcrum of people's political thought" the broad-bases of the government on a wide, functional and plural foundation. Sri Mehta cautioned against the danger of democracy getting discredited on account of the failure of a party like the Congress. As a possible antidote he suggested "programmatic agreement between democratic parties, or delimitation of areas of agreement or disagreement. Nation-building activities and partisan politics have to be demarcated."

He urges the Party to pledge its wholehearted support to Bhoodan, "the most dynamic movement to emerge recently." Though he was not sure whether Bhoodan could "solve the problem of land redistribution fully and finally," the PSP in his view was right

in supporting the movement because land gifts created an atmosphere where land redistribution got facilitated. Another notable characteristic of the movement was that Bhoodan tackled land redistribution "from the standpoint of a minimum holding for all the landless" whereas under legislative efforts in this direction there was a dangerous tendency to keep ownership technically under the ceiling.

Regarding the question of the ideology he suggests that unlike the Communists, who in their efforts to extend the bounds of politics brought every realm of thought under the control of the Politbureau, the Praja-Socialists should confine their ideology "to socio-political facts and understandings, and leave the other realms of thought to be explored by our members who have special competence."

He concedes that the members were rightly concerned about the distinctive features for the Party but reminds them that "between democratic, secular and national parties distinctions become difficult." There were differences between the PSP and the Congress; the main difference lay in the policies of social change. But it required some "intellectual effort" to see those differences. He counselled caution and urges the members "not be in a hurry to fix our features" because "after all, if democracy is to function in India, of the four rival parties that exist, we would wish the Congress to survive against us."

Indian Ocean Command

The *Leader* on June 6 published a report from its special correspondent in London stating that the British Government, notwithstanding whatever settlement there might be over the Suez Canal zone, was understood to have "an overall plan to make Kenya the base of a great new British East African command either along with or as a substitute for the proposed Middle East Command in view of the uncertainty of the conditions in the Arab countries in the event of war."

The correspondent added: "This new command would probably be known as Indian Ocean Command and in connection with it there would be the large-scale development of existing East African posts for military purposes along with the extension of the present inadequate road and rail transport system into the hinterland of Africa. This is one of the reasons for the recent new army and civilian appointments in Kenya. This new command would have the strong support of the South African Government."

Everest Conquered

It speaks a lot for British doggedness and the spirit of adventure that runs in the veins of their stalwart sons that at last the "forbidden peak" has been climbed. So many failures, some attended with grim tragedy, have gone before and the succession of fresh difficulties seemed endless. But scientific plan-

ning and meticulous application to logistics overcame all barriers and handicaps. The conquest came just in time to further gladden the hearts of the British who were in a festive mood on the occasion of the Coronation of their beautiful and beloved young queen.

To Hillary and Tenzing, the joint conquerors felicitations have come from all over the world, but perhaps, the deep satisfaction of achieving success where failure was regarded as almost inevitable, will remain the greatest source of joy. They have demonstrated that Man's indomitable spirit reckons no danger or difficulty as unsurmountable.

There have been some petty controversies about who reached the top first and also about the nationality of Tenzing, who is a sturdy and courageous son of the Himalayas. These are to be regretted, as there should not be any qualification in the justly earned acclaim to which the gallant band under the leadership of Colonel Hunt is entitled.

The Korean Tangle

Only a short while ago, peace seemed to be in the near offing. The armistice talks took a turn for the better on the decision of China and North Korea to meet differences half-way. But the whole situation assumed a grave and serious aspect with the hasty and ill-considered action of President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea.

We can well understand the deep chagrin, amounting to despair almost, that President Rhee feels over the acceptance of the partition of Korea.

But that does not in the least lessen the enormity of the action taken nor does it seem at all just that the sacrifices of those nations without whose aid South Korea would not have remained on the map, should be forgotten in the heat of the moment. The gratuitous insults offered to India may be excused on the grounds of temporary dementia.

Publishers' Protest

The *Leader* reports that the printing and publishing industry of Allahabad, the premier industry of the town, expressed great concern over the "recent unjust increase in the postal rates." Speaking at a largely attended meeting Dr. Gorakhnath Chaube said that the increased rates would also seriously affect the literary men of Allahabad, many of whom would be unemployed. The meeting urged publishers and printers all over India to observe June 30 as a protest day.

The real trouble is the lack of unity amongst the trade where printing and publishing is concerned. The new impositions so lightly made by Sri Deshmukh has put a heavy handicap on education in the lower standards. Today it costs as much to send a lower-class text-book through the V.P.P. post as the price of the book itself. Millions of rupees are being thus mulcted from the poor to be wasted in New Delhi by the very same Sri Deshmukh.

The Problem of Indians in Ceylon

Giving a background history of the Ceylon-Indians, "Krishi" writes in the *Vigil* that the trouble of the Indians in Ceylon began since 1931 when in response to strong Ceylonese agitation for self-government the Donoughmore Commission appointed by the British Government recommended the granting of adult franchise and a few other concessions to the Ceylonese but restricted the franchise of Ceylon-Indians. Prior to that under the 1923 Constitution, Indians were able to exercise their franchise on an equal basis with others and they were also given "weightage by which they could send two communal members and one more on a territorial basis to the legislature."

Indian immigration to Ceylon had started about a century ago. There were now ten lakhs of Indians in Ceylon most of whom were labourers. Some served as clerks. The number of rich Indians was very small. Following great public indignation at the grave injustice done to the Indians abroad, the Government of India in 1922 prohibited emigration of unskilled workers. The first session of the Ceylon National Congress in 1919 also protested against the injustice done to the Indians and declared its firm determination to ensure equality of treatment to the Indians in all spheres of life. It was only at the request of the British and Ceylon Governments that India had agreed to relax the restrictions on Indian emigration to Ceylon.

In 1928, the late Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. D. S. Senanayake had invited Indians to settle down in Ceylon; but in course of time he was to become "indeed a symbol of the anti-Indian sentiment in Ceylon."

"It is interesting to note the deliberate and systematic manner in which the Ceylon Indians have been deprived of their rights during the past twenty years. By the Land and Development Ordinance of 1935, the Indians were excluded from the colonisation schemes for middle-class Ceylonese. Besides, all Indian plantation workers were excluded from the Peasant Colonisation Schemes. The Fisheries Ordinance of 1940 and the Omnibus Service Licensing Ordinance of 1942 excluded the Indians from these trades altogether. By about 1939, compulsory retirement of Indians in Government service and the dismissal of thousands of unskilled manual workers earning daily wages, by the Ceylon Government forced the Government of India to ban the emigration of unskilled workers to Ceylon." The Ceylon Government even "forced the contractors and planters to replace their Indian employees by Ceylonese labour."

The condition of the seven lakh Indian labourers in Ceylon was really heart-rending. They lived in barrack-like lines, each family being allotted one room 12 ft. x 10 ft. for cooking, sitting and sleeping.

The moment their contract service was terminated through any cause whatsoever they were criminal trespassers on the plantation. They had no village homes to resort to for temporary shelter and relief, their friends and relations in the same or other plantations had no right to shelter them in their line-rooms, and prospects of alternative employment was very little. The wages of an Indian labourer were so fixed that a family could obtain its subsistence, on the prevailing low standard of living, only if the father, mother and every child over 10 years of age worked regularly for 24 days in a month. The Indians got the lowest wages. Trade Unionism was taboo in the plantations.

This was the attitude of the Ceylonese leaders in the face of the fact that the Report of the Immigration Commission had stated that far from causing any harm to the national economy of Ceylon the Indian workers had made possible an economic and general advance which otherwise would not have taken place.

The citizenship of Indians in Ceylon was governed by the "Ceylon Citizenship Act" (for those who were born in Ceylon) and the "Indian and Pakistan Residents (Citizenship) Act" (for those who were not born in Ceylon). Both these Acts contained preposterous provisions and even if a person fulfilled all the conditions, save only one, he was debarred from citizenship. What was worse, the procedure laid down in the "Indian and Pakistan Residents' (Citizenship) Act" for registration destroyed all hopes. "It demands so many different types of proofs, affidavits and answers to long questionnaires, that the ordinary Indian, poor and illiterate, has feeble chance of going through it successfully. There are also investigators, objectors, commissioners before each of whom the Indian has to supplicate and to whose questions, however, private and embarrassing, he has to supply the answers faithfully."

Even if he came out successfully he would still be branded as a 'citizen by registration' and would be excluded from the benefits of the Land Development Ordinance, the Fisheries Ordinance and Omnibus Licensing Ordinance. The Ceylon Government had used the 'Exchange Control Regulations' to debar the Indians from citizenship by a trick. The Ceylon Government considered it disloyal on the part of any Indian to remit any money to his aged parents in India and before giving permission to remit money required him to sign a declaration that he was only a temporary resident in Ceylon. The unsuspecting and illiterate Indian worker walked into the trap and only now did he realise the blunder when his own confession was produced as evidence enough to deny him the right to Ceylonese citizenship.

Dulles' Report on his Tour

In a personal report on his recent tour of thirteen Near East and South Asian countries, broadcast to the

people of America over a nation-wide radio network, Mr. John Foster Dulles, the U. S. Secretary of State, said that the Government of the United States should pay greater attention to the Near East and South Asia. The people in those regions were deeply concerned about political independence for themselves and they were suspicious of the colonial powers. They suspected the United States, too, because of her alliance with Britain and France through the NATO. He was convinced that the U.S. policy "has become unnecessarily ambiguous in this matter." In his opinion the U.S.A. should pursue her "traditional dedication to political liberty," without breaking away from the framework of Western unity. He said, "orderly" development of self-government in colonial areas would be a gain to the world. The U.S.A. could usefully help the people in those areas to fulfil their legitimate aspirations for political freedom and better living standards, "not with masses of money, but by contributing advanced technical knowledge about transport, communication, fertilization and use of water for irrigation." He added: "Mr. Stassen and I feel that money wisely spent for this area under the Mutual Security Programme will give the American people a good return in terms of better understanding."

He was hopeful about the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. He urged "prompt U.S. wheat assistance to Pakistan which he described as 'essential'."

In his opinion, a Middle East Defence Organisation was a future rather than an immediate possibility. Many of the Arab League countries were so engrossed with their quarrels with Israel or with Great Britain and France that they paid little heed to the menace of Soviet Communism. A system of collective security could only grow out of a sense of common destiny and common danger.

U.S. Economic Assistance to India

The economic assistance which is being given by the U.S.A. to different countries of the world is unparalleled in the world's economic history. India has also received a considerable sum for her economic development. The recent visit to India of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, and Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of the Mutual Security Agency, seems to have created a better appreciation of India's economic needs. With China turning red, India is now regarded as the bastion against the spread of Communism and in recent years India's difficulties are better understood in the U.S.A. In his broadcast to the American people in the first week of June, Mr. Dulles stated that the U.S. Government should pay more attention to the Near East and South Asia. He said:

"Our post-war attention has been primarily given to Western Europe. That area was and is very important; but not all-important."

For the fiscal year 1953-54, the U.S. Government has decided to provide an economic and technical aid

to India for \$110 million. Of the total aid of \$110 million, about \$80 million will be in the shape of economic aid and the balance of \$30 million in technical aid. Of course, this amount is far short of India's total needs. Mr. Chester Bowles holds the view that an aid of \$600 million would help India in implementing her plans for economic development.

However, the magnitude of financial aid a country receives is no measure of her economic prosperity. What is needed is the capacity to absorb the aid in an economically effective way and a planned basis of expenditure. India should utilise the economic aid she is receiving from the U.S.A. to the best of her ability and giving priority to profitable schemes.

U.S. Aid Policy

The Hindu, in an editorial on June 7, writes that the foreign aid policy of U.S.A. had undergone a shifting of the emphasis from the economic to the military aid with the advent of the Eisenhower Administration. According to the 1952 programme relating to Asia 1401 million dollars were to be given for military purposes to China area and Indo-China. As against this the economic assistance to India and Pakistan combined totalled 94 million dollars. But there appeared to have been a moderate reorientation of aid policy as a result of the tour of Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stassen of the Middle East and Far East. Mr. Stassen was reported to have stressed the importance of economic aid before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 4. Mr. Stassen had stated that 110 million dollars or 55 crores of rupees would be made available to India during the coming year. He also indicated that the future attitude of the U.S.A. regarding grant of further aid would be determined by the co-operation the Americans received from India.

The newspaper comments:

"If by co-operation is meant assisting in every effort to reduce world tension and to solve international problems, India will be found equally co-operative next year."

America's Investments Abroad

As the economic aid by the USA to foreign countries is becoming less and less, closing the dollar gap in world trade by increasing American investment abroad is being considered in Washington as a possible solution. Two different congressional bodies have considered this aspect of the problem. A Senate Committee has advised the Mutual Security Agency not to promote further foreign industrial developments unless specific funds are voted for this purpose. The committee expresses its apprehension that there is a "serious question as to the soundness" of promoting foreign investments and points out that the foreign aid programme is now concerned with defence rather than with general economic assistance. This warning should be taken in conjunction with a report by a Foreign Affairs subcommittee of the House of Congress. The

report summarises the views held by business and government leaders who urge that private investment overseas should be encouraged by a series of measures which should be concentrated into a single new agency of the government. All private foreign investments will be dealt with by this agency.

The assessment of the annual dollar gap at present is \$2 billion. When the economic aid will end, the dollar gap will be much larger, but the outflow of private foreign capital from the USA does not exceed \$1 billion a year. The American capital finds its way mainly to areas like Canada and Latin America, where the investment is propitious both to profits and to provision of raw materials. The USA needs especially petroleum and metals which are available in these countries. Investment in the countries which are in great need of dollars is held back by currency and exchange controls, by tax regulations that favour investment in western hemisphere, by political and economic instability, and lastly, by the fact that there are still great opportunities for investment within the USA. The report of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee suggests that private investors may invest venture capital in foreign lands if they receive incentives, such as government insurance, protection by special treaties, opportunities for joint investment with nationals of the countries concerned and tax reduction. In 1951, the American private direct investments abroad were as follows:

	Million
Value for all areas, end of 1950 ..	\$13,550
Net capital movements, 1951 ..	+\$ 603
Reinvested earnings, 1951 ..	+\$ 703
Other changes, 1951 ..	+\$ 33
Total increase, 1951 ..	\$ 1,339
Value for all areas, end of 1951 ..	\$14,889

Cabinet Crisis in Indonesia

On June 2, the fourteen month old Indonesian Cabinet headed by Mr. Wilopo resigned after the failure of hectic efforts, at a top level conference, to patch up differences between the two major parties in the coalition, the PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party) and the Masjumi (biggest Muslim Party) over the question of PNI's reported support to a motion in Parliament, sponsored by Sidik Kertapati of the Farmer's Front, demanding revision of the resettlement and land distribution programme of East Sumatra for which the Governor of East Sumatra Province, Abdul Hakim (Masjumi) under Minister of Interior, Roem (Masjumi) was responsible, reports the *Merdeka*.

The land problem in East Sumatra dates back to the period of Japanese occupation of Indonesia when the foreign concessionaires under the Dutch abandoned those lands. Illegal squatters then took over those lands. The official land distribution programme contemplated the transfer of the squatters to some other areas.

Mr. Kertapati in his motion had demanded a revision of this resettlement and land distribution programme.

The PNI wanted that the Interior portfolio should be transferred from Mr. Roem.

Mr. Kasman Singodimadjo, Vice-President of the Masjumi, criticized the PNI and declared that any future Cabinet was bound to meet the same fate as that of the Wilopo Cabinet, if and when any of the parties forming the government "co-operate more with the opposition than with the government parties."

The PNI's statement said that in a democratic country it was fair to expect that the various shades of opinions and different political platforms would be reflected in the decisions on matters of State's policy.

Tibet Today

Mr. Chang Ku-lua, reviewing the progress of Tibet during the past two years, since May 23, 1951 when the Chinese People's Army entered Tibet, writes that the Chinese Government had strictly carried out the agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

Interest-free loans amounting to 500 million yuan had been given to the peasants and handicraftsmen in 21 Tsung (counties) and Hsieh (districts below the county level) in the vicinity of Lhasa. Brisk business was going on in Lhasa where the volume of trade exceeded that of pre-liberation days by 50 per cent. Branches of the People's Bank of China had been opened in Lhasa, Shigatse and Gyantse. State trading companies began in 1951 to purchase wool—one of the main products of Tibet.

The Central People's Government of China on taking over gave special attention to the problem of augmenting the very inadequate medical and sanitary services in Tibet. Medical epidemic prevention and veterinary corps were immediately formed to fight disease. Some went deep into the countryside. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) units set up clinics at the localities where they were stationed and offered free medical service to the people.

Two Tibetans, Kaloon Ngabou Ngawang Jigme and Gaoke Pengchojaochi had been appointed Vice-Commanders of the PLA following Article 15 of the Agreement providing for equality of the nationalities.

The Dalai Lama in a letter to Mao Tse-tung on May 23 wrote:

"During the past two years, invaluable assistance has been rendered by the Central People's Government as well as the Local Government of Tibet in the consolidation of the national defence of Southwest China and in various major construction works for developing Tibet, such as the establishment of hospitals and schools, building of highways."

But in contrast to this review we have the following report of the special correspondent of the *Times of India*—which is by no means an anti-Communist paper—as published on June 29:

The food situation in Tibet, which was difficult in the last three months, is reported to have worsened.

Foodstuffs are more difficult to get and their prices are rising.

Barley, the staple food of the Tibetans, sells at Rs. 145 a maund, six times the price before the Chinese Communists took control. Meat, butter and other foods are also very dear.

Insufficient supplies and high prices are attributed to the presence of 30,000 Chinese "liberation" troops, who are living off the land. This is causing much discontent, which is expressed in some places in popular demonstrations.

Posters on town and village walls demand the withdrawal of these troops and the supply of food by the Government at prices within the means of the common people. There has been a growth in crime in certain regions as a result of the scarcity of food.

The Chinese authorities in Tibet are devising measures to combat this dangerous situation. Surplus food stocks in the hands of private dealers and cultivators were requisitioned and rationing was introduced. But this policy failed, for the quantity of food procured was insufficient to meet the demand for rations.

The French in Morocco

Mr. Alex Werth, in an article in *The Hindu* on June 14, writes that the Moroccan inhabitants of the city of Casablanca lived "in the filthy oil *medinas*, or in the outlying *bidonvilles*, unspeakable tin-can slums that have sprung up in the last few years and are said to hold 100,000 people"; while that part of the city where the Europeans lived was "a sort of North African New York," with skyscrapers rising into the blue sky, "where building sites cost up to £40 a square metre, more than in the Champs Elysees."

The Prefect of the city was M. Boniface to whom Mr. Robert Schuman had recently alluded when he wrote that there were certain officials in key positions in Morocco enjoying such support from the big financial interests that no French Government could possibly get rid of them. The Prefect was typical of the French officialdom in Morocco.

Mr. Werth writes: "Certainly M. Boniface left me fully aware that he had no use for Francois Mamiac, whom French businessmen and *colons* here regard as a 'traitor' for having dared to raise a catholic conservative voice against the ruthless handling of the December riots. Equally he had no hesitation in defending French 'colonialism'."

The French in Morocco were concerned with making "money overnight by speculating in land"-values and what not; but for all that, most Frenchmen here have an earnest sense of 'mission.' Like M. Boniface they are "proud of what colonialism has done." They were little concerned with the future and felt that it was no use paying attention to the sentimental and intellectual busybodies in Paris.

The French attitude was to put all blame for the backwardness and illiteracy of the Moroccans on the

shoulder of the natives. In the official French view, the Moroccans were not yet fit for taking up administration. This phrase is familiar to all who have suffered from bestial colonialism.

Mr. Evans on Kenya Situation

Mr. Peter Evans, the Irish lawyer, who accompanied Mr. D. N. Pritt to Kenya for the defence of Jomo Kenyatta and was interned by the Kenya Government, told a Press Conference in Bombay on June 25, that the European settlers in Kenya would ultimately be made to realise the necessity for a change in the economic and political structure of that country, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Mr. Evans added that the European settlers would soon find out that it was not possible to farm the country with a gun on the table all the time. But "much money and more bloodshed" would have to be undergone by the Africans before that realisation dawned on the handful of European settlers.

The Mau Mau movement had outgrown its first stage of "a mixture of crude nationalism, religion and ancestral traditions." He compared the movement to the Irgun Zvai Leumi (Jewish nationalists) which had shown considerable skill in the underground warfare against the Government. Though the Mau Mau movement might take a different form, the Africans were sure to make the present Government virtually impossible. The democratic countries could render valuable help by educating and training African leaders through the grant of loan of scholarships, because the African leadership was pathetically small. The Mau Mau movement also needed funds and legal assistance for those sentenced to concentration camps—"only euphemistically called the detention camps."

In his view the idea of a Pan-African movement was not a practicable proposition on account of the isolation of the peoples of the various territories in the continent.

Mr. Evans saw no possibility for a change for the better in British policy so long as Mr. Oliver Lyttleton continued to be in charge of the Colonial Affairs. He described the Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, as "a liberal-minded man who bears a strong resemblance to a bronze statue erected to himself at public finance."

Pan-African Front

Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane in an article in the *Indian Opinion* welcomes the idea of convening a Pan-African conference at which the oppressed peoples of Africa could devise ways and means of waging a joint struggle against the tyranny of colour. He writes that the intention to convene such a conference by the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Mr. Walter M. Sisulu, was of "very great significance. There is about it a touch of statesmanship and realism which deserve the support of every fair-minded man."

The Africans had come to the bitter realization that nothing better could be expected through a change of heart among the white people. The ineffectiveness of "petitions and drawing-room plans for racial peace" was also clearly borne out by the last elections. The white rulers were resorting to ever more brutal measures to crush the liberation movement of the coloured peoples. The oppressors had on their side military police and political power, which, though by no means deceive, could surely "delay an emancipatory struggle for an unnecessarily long time."

In contrast, the African peoples were relatively weakly organised. One of the weapons which could definitely strengthen their movement for freedom was "the creation of alliances with, firstly, similarly placed people in Africa and, secondly, with free and self-governing peoples in other parts of the world who have or can be made to have sympathy for our cause."

Patrick Duncan on Apartheid

Note: Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General, was a leader, together with Manilal Gandhi and Freda Troup (W.P. correspondent) of a mixed racial group who were arrested at Johannesburg on December 8 for entering a segregated Negro location, in a non-violent defiance of South African race laws. His article is released by Worldover Press.

After 300 years, we are the most powerful state in all Africa. Only in South Africa has the 20th century of the West found a footing; only here is the whole population unanimous in its attachment to that West. Here alone is a society which has the power to invest more than \$500 million in a single project—the new goldfields—which will enrich the whole of that society.

The land is loud with the ringing of hammers, the landscape is changing with the erection of buildings. Here is what General Smuts called "the magnet of Africa." Here is a chance for men of all groups to co-operate, to build, and to share. All this will be destroyed as the shining factories of Germany and Japan were destroyed, if like them we persist in flouting great internal forces and the decency of the world.

If we know that change is inevitable, then we must choose the best time to have it. In South Africa we have a simple choice: *early and safe, or late with hate*. Alan Paton's sentence can have left none of us unmoved: "It was Msimangu who said, 'I have one great fear in my heart, that one day when they turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating'."

The change is inevitable, totally and absolutely. We live in 1953, not 1653, nor even 1853. Tremendous currents of thought are circulating the globe, carrying fertilizing pollen almost invisibly. Do we imagine that our non-white South Africans are blind and dumb and deaf? The blind in South Africa are the *apartheid*-mongers. It is their philosophy to place non-whites in another room with no communication. That works both

ways; it may keep them out in the cold, which is the intention, but it also prevents those round the fire from hearing their grumblings and mutterings. It is a cessation of intelligence.

The change is inevitable because internal economic reality is forcing our non-whites into skilled occupations. The change is inevitable because of our schools. To their credit, as humanitarians, the Nationalists have not allowed themselves to be logical about education. The natural goodness of our white South Africans prevents them from being logical, but makes eventual change inevitable.

White South Africa has its facts wrong. It mumbles to itself that this is "a white man's country." First that it is a white man's country because the climate is moderate. Second that it is a white man's country because it belongs to the white South Africans. No sane person outside South Africa, who knows South African history and economics, could possibly believe this. The facts are that the white man was a second-comer. Economically he has not built this land alone. There is not a pin made in this country that is not produced by race co-operation. How can railways which have been laid with African taxes and African sweat belong exclusively to the whites? How can mines dug by underpaid Bantu shaftsinkers belong alone to the whites?

The way out involves an awarding of first-class status to all South Africans who are worthy of it, irrespective of race. It may be that manhood suffrage is right: it may be that some form of qualifications are necessary for the vote. This is not the place for detailed blueprints. All that is essential is that there must cease to be discrimination built on race alone. The path that unfolds is a path built on the unanimity of South Africans of all races—to build a good society, in which the children shall have chances that their fathers did not have.

The Gospel did not say that we should do unto other whites all things whatsoever we would that men should do unto us. South Africans of all races have much in common. Let us resolve that the next three centuries shall be three hundred years of right, justice and comradeship.

The Rosenbergs

While granting the stay of execution of the Rosenbergs Justice Douglas was apparently moved by the arguments that the provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, rather than those of the Espionage Act of 1917, should have been applied. The Act of 1946 permits death sentence only on the recommendation of the jury, and only in case where the intent was to injure the United States. Ms. Justice Douglas held that the validity of this new argument should be tested, because although the crime the Rosenbergs were alleged to have committed took place in 1944 and 1945, they were not indicated until 1945. Mr. Douglas remarked—

"It is important that the country be protected.... It is also important that before we allow human lives to

be snuffed out, we be sure, emphatically sure, that we act within the law. If we are not sure, there will be lingering doubts to plague the conscience after the event."

Justice Douglas no doubt took a highly contentious and courageous step in granting respite which the Supreme Court as a whole had refused four times. Demands are being made in Congress for impeachment of Mr. Justice Douglas. The outcome of the execution makes "lingering doubts" felt.

We cannot question the right of the United States Government to deal out punishment to the guilty amongst its citizens. And if it were proved beyond doubt that the Rosenbergs were guilty, then they deserved all the punishment their laws provided. But in a democracy the proof should be beyond doubt and the punishment in accordance with law.

Soviet Germany

The "building of socialism" in the Soviet zone of Germany has received a great set-back by the recent economic crisis and the flight of thousands of citizens to the west. The stream of refugees pour, over to the west with their tales of misery and oppression. Tanks are now being used by the authorities to pacify the civilian workers. That is the Soviet way of tutoring into socialism. The Eastern German authorities however quickly realised their error that unless the storm is checked early it may have larger repercussion. The concessions that were announced on 10th June by the Socialist Unity Party in Eastern Germany are taken as a forced admission of weakness. They are intended to check the flow of refugees, and to lure back the producers, particularly the farmers and technicians, who have already sought shelter in the west. The drive towards communism seems to have been for the time being checked a little as sources of food supplies and consumer goods are to be unfrozen. The concessions are also intended to counteract anti-Communist and anti-Russian feelings in Western Germany during the election campaign. This new moderation includes an agreement to stop persecution of the Evangelical Church.

The concessions to the workers in the Eastern Germany include credits for the private traders and abandonment of what are now called errors in "coercive tax collection methods." Returning farmers will get their land back, or receive compensation. There will be an amnesty for peasants who had been convicted for failure to deliver quotas imposed on them, and on all prisoners serving sentences of up to three years for crimes against State property. The decree which in May last deprived well over a million people of ration cards will be reversed. This step was originally taken as part of an attempt to mop up surplus purchasing power. The reversal of the May decree will compel the Soviet German authorities to find some other way to combat the serious inflation in the zone.

Fresh troubles broke out again on 16th June, Martial law has been imposed and Russian tanks and

machine guns are being used to stop the great demonstrations of East Berlin workers. There was large-scale firing and much blood had to be shed before order could be restored. The riots in East Berlin, though different in some respects from those in Czechoslovakia, are part of the same movement—the revolt of the workers against the dictatorship of the "proletariat." The main reason for the revolt of the workers in Soviet Germany is economic. For the past months an intensive drive has been made to raise "norms," that is, the fixed level of output on which wages are based. The workers were ordered to produce ten percent more for the same wages. This step was taken to step up the rearmament drive in Eastern Germany without at the same time creating inflation. But the attempt has been a failure in many factories and the inflationary conditions are increasing the workers' opposition to increased "norms".

The East German riots have put the authorities in a fearful dilemma. They must decide to give up the five-year plans in their present form or to increase terrorism. Following the revolt, the East German authorities made the announcement that terrorist police methods would be relaxed and the five-year plan revised. This much is certain the German workers dislike the local Communists.

Enslaved Labour

A report was transmitted by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Committee's Chairman, to Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld of the United Nations and Director General, David A. Morse of International Labour Organization on May 27, and was made public on June 23rd.

The report said the Committee studied labour conditions and documentary material relating to 24 countries over a period of 20 months. It found no forced labour in free world countries but cited the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Rumania as countries where forced labour is practiced.

"The Committee feels, therefore," the report continued, "that these systems of forced labour, in any of their forms, should be abolished, to ensure universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Of Soviet forced labour legislation, it said: "These measures seem to be applied on a large scale in the interests of the national economy and, considered as a whole, they lead, in the Committee's view, to a system of forced or compulsory labour constituting an important element in the economy of the country."

Dr. Mookerjee's Demise

The following is the full text of Sri Guru Dutt Vaid's statement:

"We, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Sri Tekchand, myself and others, started from Delhi on the 8th May morning. Dr. Mookerjee issued a statement containing the purpose of Dr. Mookerjee's going to Jammu. It was to find out facts there; to see some persons there and to

find out ways and means by which further action for the settlement of Kashmir issue may be taken. During our tour in the Punjab, Dr. Mookerjee sent a telegram from Ambala to Sheikh Abdullah. In that telegram he expressed his intention to go to Jammu to find out ways and means for settling Jammu and Kashmir problem. He also expressed his desire to see Sheikh Abdullah, if possible. Dr. Mookerjee sent copy of the telegram to Sri Nehru as well. After the two days' tour of the Punjab on the 10th evening, when we were boarding the train from Jullunder, a gentleman sitting inside the compartment got himself introduced to Dr. Mookerjee as District Magistrate of Gurudaspur. He informed Dr. Mookerjee that he would not be allowed to reach Pathankot. He had instruction of the Punjab Government to be ready to arrest him. Of course, he could not say the time and place where he would be arresting him as he was waiting for further instructions. The Gurudaspur District Magistrate was coming from Simla after attending a Conference.

At Fagwara on the 9th May, Dr. Mookerjee had already received a reply to his telegram from Sheikh Abdullah (copy of which is not given). When we entered Gurudaspur district on the 11th and at Batala the local S.D.O. entered our compartment, remained sitting with us and introduced himself to Dr. Mookerjee. But he told him that he had not come to arrest him but simply to escort him through his area. His area was over at Gurudaspur and the S.D.O. of Gurudaspur came and sat by when the first man left. He went with us up to Pathankot. At Pathankot, the District Magistrate and many other officials were present on the platform but they did not arrest us nor did they speak to us. At about 12 o'clock a message came from the District Magistrate, Gurudaspur to the place where we have been staying to the effect that he wanted to see Dr. Mookerjee. So he came at about 1 p.m. He informed Dr. Mookerjee that he had received a message from his Government to allow him and his party to proceed to Jammu, in spite of the fact that Dr. Mookerjee and his party had no permit. He offered help to procure conveyance, etc., to us to go to Jammu. In fact, one of his subordinate officers took some of the persons of the party in his jeep up to Madhopur check post. At Madhopur check post, the District Magistrate and all his officers were standing and the District Magistrate wished us good journey. The driver of our jeep had at that time complained that he had no permit to enter Jammu State. We demanded a permit from the District Magistrate. He stated that we should proceed and the permit would follow us. So we proceeded but when we had traversed half the Ravi Bridge, Jammu police officers and good many constables were found to be standing there and one Mr. Aziz, Superintendent of Police, Kathua, informed Dr. Mookerjee that he had to perform a very unpleasant duty to ask him not to proceed further as his Government had issued an order prohibiting his

entry in Jammu and Kashmir State and he showed the order. Dr. Mookerjee told him that he had been allowed by the Indian Government to go into the Jammu and Kashmir State and he would proceed to that place.

On this the Superintendent of Police produced another order from his pocket arresting him. On my and Sri Tekchand Sarma's declarations that we were also going to Jammu with Dr. Mookerjee, Mr. Aziz told us that we were also under arrest without showing us any order. At Lakshanpur post we were kept for about half an hour and one gentleman saying that he was the Inspector-General of Police, Jammu and Kashmir State, told us that we both were under arrest and he read an order from the paper. And after that myself, Sri Tekchand Sarma and Dr. S. P. Mookerjee were made to sit in a jeep and under police and military escort consisting of a Captain and some Kumayu regiment soldiers, were taken to Jammu and from there to Kashmir.

We reached Udampur at 10-30 p.m. where we took our night meals in a Dakbungalow. Dr. Mookerjee expressed that he was feeling very tired and he also said that he was in the habit of sleeping early, so he would like to stay there instead of proceeding further. But the officer-in-charge, that Captain, told us that there was no room in the Dakbungalow available and they had got a room reserved for us by telephone at Batote Dakbungalow and we had to go there. So after half an hour's stay there we proceeded to Batote and reached there at about 2 a.m. So we stayed at Batote for the rest of the night. We started from Batote after taking the morning tea at 7-30. We reached Kazikundu at about 1 p.m. There we took our lunch and started from there at about 2 p.m. and reached the Central Jail, Srinagar, at 3 p.m. After preliminary enquiries, etc., we were taken to a cottage near Nishat at about 4 p.m. There the Superintendent of Jail, the District Magistrate, Srinagar and Doctor, Mr. Ali Mohammad came to see us. They all enquired about Dr. Mookerjee's health and then we were allowed to stay there.

Three days after our arrival there Dr. Mookerjee fell ill of pain in the right leg and he had temperature. We had no thermometer and therefore we could not say what his temperature was. The doctor came the next day and prescribed Beladona plaster and a mixture for taking in. What the prescription of the mixture was we did not know. It was sent from the hospital. He expressed his opinion that it would be better if Dr. Mookerjee was then to the hospital and he would speak to the authorities. For three or four consecutive days another doctor, named, Premnath came and applied plaster. Dr. Mookerjee was all right in four or five days' time. After a fortnight Dr. Mookerjee fell ill again of the same trouble having pain in the leg and fever. Dr. Ali Mohammad came again and prescribed Beladona. Another doctor came

and applied this Beladona. Dr. Mookerjee was all right after two or three days.

Dr. Mookerjee had been constantly complaining to the Superintendent of the Jail, to the Inspector-General of Prisons and to District Magistrate, Srinagar, that there was no sufficient space to walk inside the Bungalow and he might be given permission to go out for at least an hour a day. In fact, the Superintendent of Jail and the Inspector-General of Prisons allowed him to do so under police escort. But the police did not obey them, and Dr. Mookerjee was never given an opportunity of going outside. The police in charge wanted a written order from the Superintendent of Jail and it was never sent. We heard from Mr. Trivedi when he came for interview on the 16th June that permission for taking him out for walk had been given but the actual order never reached there till Dr. Mookerjee fell ill for the third time.

On the night between the 19th and the 20th June, Dr. Mookerjee felt pain in the back and he had high temperature. In the morning when we saw the temperature in thermometer it was 99.4 and the pain was acute. The doctor was called. He came at about 11-30 p.m. and examined Dr. Mookerjee. He declared that Dr. Mookerjee was suffering from dry pleurisy and prescribed streptomycin injection and some powders, the prescription of which was not shown to us. The doctor said that his blood and urine ought to be tested but this was not done so long. Dr. Mookerjee was up to the point, he was removed to the hospital. The doctor advised that he might take two powders a day and if the pain is acute he might take more of them up to 6.

Dr. Mookerjee told the medical officer, Mr. Ali Mohammad that his family physician, Dr. Bose had advised him not to take streptomycin because it does not suit his system. On this, Ali Mohammad said that 'this advice was given long ago and now we know much better about this drug.' So, Dr. Mookerjee need not worry, he would be all right. The medicine came about 3-30 p.m., the injection, full one gram was given. One powder was also given. The doctor left five remaining powders saying that he would take them at least one and if need be more that night. The injection was given by the Jail doctor and not by Ali Mohammad.

Dr. Mookerjee told the Superintendent that news of his illness should be sent to his relatives. That night Dr. Mookerjee was feeling very restless but by the morning the pain was little less and the fever also little lower than what was in the previous day morning. On that day at about 10 o'clock in the morning the jail doctor came and gave another injection of streptomycin, one gram, and supplied more powders. After the injection had been given in the morning by the jail doctor no other medical man either the jail doctor or Dr. Ali Mohammad had come to see Dr. Mookerjee on that day or in the night until the next morning, i.e., 22nd June as stated later on. The Sub-Inspector of Police

in charge came in the afternoon to Dr. Mookerjee to enquire how he was and got the information as above.

There was no arrangement made by the doctor for nurses in the sub-jail. In the evening about 4 p.m., the pain increased and fever also increased a little up to 100.2. In the night at about 11-30 on the 21st June, Dr. Mookerjee felt that the pain was increasing and according to the instruction of the doctor he took another powder. I left his room after 11-30 when he felt sleepy.

Next morning, i.e., 22nd June, I was awakened by the jail servant at about quarter to 5 who told me that Dr. Mookerjee wanted me immediately. I went into his room and found him to be fainting, perspiring and looking very depressed. I saw his pulse. It was very feeble and his whole body was very cold. Dr. Mookerjee told me that he was perspiring for the last half an hour, he was feeling giddy, as if he was going to faint. Dr. Mookerjee also told me that he slept from about mid-night to about 4 in the morning when he woke up with the pain in the heart region and with the perspiration. At first he thought that he would recover without disturbing anybody but found the trouble increasing and was about to faint, he called the servant. He had called him several times as he could not get up.

The sub-jail was a small bungalow with three small rooms at a distance of about 7 miles from Srinagar and about 10 miles from the hospital where Dr. Ali Mohammad is stated to be living. We immediately gave to Dr. Mookerjee a little *darchini* and a little sugar, *labanga* for sucking, and in five minutes' time Dr. Mookerjee began to feel better and in about 15 to 20 minutes' time the perspiration had stopped, the pulse had become stronger and the heart pain was also decreasing.

At that time I asked the Hawaldar to telephone to the Superintendent of Jail to send for the doctor and the Hawaldar took me with him and I telephoned to the Superintendent at the Central Jail between 5-15 and 5-30 and gave him the particulars of Dr. Mookerjee's conditions. He informed me that he was coming with the doctor immediately. There was no telephone at the place where he was staying. There was only one telephone at the water works office which is closed except during the office hours. So it took some time to get somebody to open it. The Superintendent came with Dr. Ali Mohammad at about 7-30 a.m. He examined Dr. Mookerjee. At that time Dr. Mookerjee was feeling better. The body had become warm except the finger tips. Dr. Ali Mohammad stated that the pleurisy is much better and it was on account of low blood pressure and of lowering of the temperature that this heart trouble had been felt. The temperature of Dr. Mookerjee was 96.8 in the mouth but at about 5-15 the perspiration had stopped and the body was getting warm. When the doctor examined him the temperature was 98 under the tongue.

Dr. Ali Mohammad gave him coramine injection, 2cc on the arm, Dr. Ali Mohammad had another doctor

with him at that time. Dr. Mohammad asked the other doctor to get a syringe ready with 2cc coramine but the doctor said 2cc would be too much for one injection. To that Dr. Mohammad said that Dr. Mookerjee has a very heavy body and 2cc is all right, and then he told Dr. Mookerjee that he was asking the authorities to remove him to the hospital.

I asked the Superintendent of the jail to allow us to stay with Dr. Mookerjee in the hospital. At least one of us should be allowed to remain with Dr. Mookerjee in the hospital. He said that that was not possible. Dr. Ali Mohammad said: "I understand your anxiety but you need not worry, he will be perfectly safe in our hands." I asked the Superintendent of Jail to take one of the jail servants who had been serving Dr. Mookerjee in the jail for the last few weeks, to the hospital to serve him there also. The Superintendent said that it was not necessary. The Superintendent of Jail also told us that it would not be possible for him to arrange for our food in the hospital as arrangements would be made for Dr. Mookerjee's diet.

Dr. Ali Mohammad left us asking the Superintendent to take Dr. Mookerjee in an ambulance to the hospital. The jail doctor remained with us. At about 10 Mr. Trivedi came and saw Dr. Mookerjee. After consulting Dr. Mookerjee about the case he left at about 11 and the Superintendent with the motor car came to us at about 11-30. Dr. Mookerjee was removed in a chair from his room to the car standing outside the bungalow and then he was taken away in a small 4-seated car, which was very uncomfortable for a heart patient.

We did not hear anything about Dr. Mookerjee till 7-30 in the evening. At 7-30, a telephone call came for me and I had to go to the place where the telephone was installed and the Superintendent of Jail told me that he was coming from the hospital and Dr. Mookerjee was feeling much better.

Next day the 23rd June the Superintendent of Jail woke me at about quarter to 4 in the morning and wanted me, Mr. Sarma and Premnath Dogra who was also staying with us for the last three days to accompany him to the hospital immediately. I asked him what was the matter. He told me that he had been asked by the D.M. on telephone to take us to the hospital without telling him what for. He himself did not know anything else.

We started at about 5 minutes to 4 a.m. and reached in the hospital at about 4-30 and there I was informed by Mr. Trivedi who was already there that Dr. Mookerjee had expired. After ten minutes I asked the permission of the doctor to go into the room and see the body myself. I, Sri Tekchand Sarma and Premnath Dogra went into the room and saw the body. By that time the body was all cold. When we

were coming out of the room Sri Tekchand Sarma asked a nurse who had followed us into the room "at what time Dr. Mookerjee expired." The nurse replied at 2-30 a.m. She also added that Dr. Mookerjee at about 1 p.m. expressed his wish to have his companion with him.

Two days previous to the last illness Dr. Mookerjee had lost appetite and was taking very little food. From the day it was declared that he was suffering from pleurisy the doctor said that he could take anything he liked but Dr. Mookerjee took only tea, coffee and vegetable soup. On the 20th and 21st he took two cups of vegetable soup and one or two cups of tea and a cup of coffee in a day. He took a little orange juice also on the morning of 22nd on the advice of the doctor.

It is a matter of regret that a precious life was lost in circumstances which I feel could admit of more efficient handling.

(a) *Medical assistance was not available on the spot where Dr. Mookerjee was detained even when his condition became serious.*

(b) *No nursing arrangements were at all made in the place of his detention.*

(c) *No laboratory tests were made so long he was in the sub-jail.*

(d) *None of his fellow detenus were permitted to be at his bed side when he was removed to the hospital.*

Even after Dr. Mookerjee expressed the desire that his fellow prisoners should be brought to the hospital no information was sent to them till he passed away.

(e) *No intimation was at all sent by the Kashmir authorities to Justice Mookerjee, his mother and his other relatives nor was any attempt made to have the service of an independent competent medical practitioner.*

(f) *In spite of Dr. Mookerjee's protest based on competent medical advice during his previous illness at Calcutta streptomycin was administered to him without a previous pathological examination or without consulting his Calcutta doctors who were available on the phone."*

The following is from the text of Sri U. N. Trivedi's statement :

"I met Dr. Mookerjee for the first time on the 12th inside the cottage where he was kept in detention. I was accompanied by the District Magistrate, and after a few formal words of greetings I asked Dr. Mookerjee to move to a room where I could get instructions from him in private after he had so moved into the room. The District Magistrate who had accompanied me informed me that the Government had instructed him to allow instructions to be given entirely in his presence and within his hearing. I immediately refused to have any

such instructions and took the District Magistrate with me where Dr. Mookerjee was sitting and conveyed to him the conditions under which the interview was being granted. He agreed with me and he also refused to give instructions. I, therefore, left Dr. Mookerjee, but at that interview I formed an impression that he was not looking cheerful. On my return to the hotel I was interviewed by some Press reporters and conveyed my idea of his not being cheerful which I think was reported by *Hindusthan Standard*.

I again met Dr. Mookerjee on the 16th at 9 o'clock. I had free discussions with him for about 3 hours and I drafted a petition for him and also an affidavit to be sworn in the presence of the District Magistrate. He did not like the idea of my suggesting that Dr. Mookerjee was not cheerful because he felt that probably his family might construe it in some different light. At this interview he was quiet and jolly and I conveyed to him the information which was given to me by the Government that his request for taking him out for a walk had been granted.

I again saw Dr. Mookerjee on the 22nd morning at about 10 o'clock. Before I reached the place of detention I was informed by the Superintendent of Jail that Dr. Mookerjee was not feeling well and under instructions of the doctor he was to be removed to a Nursing Home and arrangements were being made to remove him there. I enquired from him where this Nursing Home was. He was very reticent and did not disclose the whereabouts of the Nursing Home. My interview with Dr. Mookerjee on this day lasted for about an hour from 10 to 11.

I found him reclining in bed, but he looked quite cheerful. He mentioned to me that probably he would have passed away in the early hours of the morning—'Mere Bhai, Panch Baje To Chale Jata Tha.' It was then only the seriousness of his illness was felt by me. I enquired from him how he was feeling then. He told me that he had no pain and he was feeling quite all right. However, I did not feel very satisfied. I told him, as it was time for me to attend the Court I would then leave him, but see him positively in the evening again. I left Dr. Mookerjee at about 11 and on my way to the Court I met the Superintendent and another gentleman coming in a small car. The Superintendent informed me that he was going to bring Dr. Mookerjee and take him to a Nursing Home. I then went to the Court and there I found I had left some reference books in the hotel. So I sent Mr. Devki Prasad—that young friend of Dr. Mookerjee who had made an application there—to fetch the books from my hotel. This was about mid-day. Devki Prasad on returning told me that he saw Dr. Mookerjee being carried in the small car towards the City and he also informed me that there is no Nursing Home in the direction in which the car was going.

After the Court work was over at about 5-15 p.m. I contacted the District Magistrate and asked him to take me to the place where Dr. Mookerjee had been kept.

Before that I had sent out at least 5 young men to hunt out practically all known Nursing Homes if it was anywhere near and I received information that in none of the Nursing Homes Dr. Mookerjee was kept. In the meanwhile, the District Magistrate came down to me in his own car and picked me up to take to Dr. Mookerjee. I was taken to the State Hospital, about 3½ miles from my hotel and I was taken to Dr. Mookerjee in room No. 1 of Gynaecological Ward of that Hospital on the first floor. I found Dr. Mookerjee in bed in a reclining condition. He looked very pale though smiling. I remarked to him that he was not as well as he was in the morning. But he would not accept that. He said that he was feeling a little better. Then the District Magistrate gave him all his letters (about 15 or so in number). He went through all the Dak, one of which was a telegram from Poona, from one Meera. I read out that telegram to Dr. Mookerjee.

I then enquired of him if he wanted me to send out some telegrams to his relatives or to Hashi at Poona. He informed me that he had already despatched three telegrams through the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate was standing by my side. He confirmed sending the telegrams. And I further enquired from Dr. Mookerjee if he wanted anything more to be said in those telegrams. He said nothing more was required to be said, and there was no cause for any particular anxiety. At that time there were certain papers from some firm in liquidation and Dr. Mookerjee sat up in the bed, took up his fountain pen and went through that correspondence and signed about six or seven statements and 2 cheques.

I had some idle talk with him and continued to sit with him right up to 7-15 or 20 p.m.—may be above 25 also. I did not feel very happy about his condition. I took the doctor a little away and enquired how 'did' he feel about the condition of Dr. Mookerjee. He said there was nothing to be afraid of; the crisis, if any, had already passed and the next morning he would be X-Rayed and he further told me that within 2 or 3 days he would be quite fit.

Inside the room I found one nurse who was always standing by and outside the room I found some police guards posted. So I requested the District Magistrate to allow me to visit him about 9 in the morning. But the doctor suggested that I should come at about 8 as he would be X-Rayed at about 9 o'clock. The District Magistrate asked the guard on duty to allow me to come. At this interview of mine, the petitioner on behalf of Dr. Mookerjee had accompanied me and he was also allowed to see Dr. Mookerjee.

The next when I heard about Dr. Mookerjee was only at about quarter to four in the early morning of 23rd. The Superintendent of Police informed me that Dr. Mookerjee was rather serious and the District Magistrate had asked me to come to the hospital to be by the bedside.

I immediately went there reaching there at 5 minutes to four. I found the door of Dr. Mookerjee's room closed and one doctor seated in the visitors' room. I was asked to sit by his side, but I became restless as I could not tolerate sitting like that. So I enquired within a minute about the condition of Dr. Mookerjee.

The Superintendent of Police, of course, said that Oxygen was being given. Then I told him—'Let us go and sit inside the room; go and find out whether I could go in.' He went inside the room and returned with the doctor who informed me that Dr. Mookerjee had passed away five minutes before my arrival in the hospital.

Then I was taken into the room. I found the body covered up. I removed the cloth from above his head and found him dead.

Within 5 minutes of my arrival, the District Magistrate arrived there and the Dy. Home Minister also arrived. I had a talk with the Dy. Home Minister. I informed him then and there that I would like to take the body to Calcutta and he must make arrangements. And if he cannot he must allow me to contact the Government of India.

He promised me he would be able to do that. I then asked him to send messages to his family members immediately and contact his Calcutta house so that the news may be broken to his mother not by any announcement from All-India Radio, but by some of his relatives concerned. I also asked him to send for the co-detenus and he informed me that they had all been sent for. While I was still at the hospital all three of them arrived. I gave them the news and as the Home Minister Mr. Ghulam Mohamed Bakshi had already arrived there, I asked him to release all the detenus who were there and allow them to accompany me in the aeroplane. He, therefore, asked them to be carried back immediately and get their things packed.

This was at about 4-35 a.m. The Dy. Home Minister had already gone to convey the news. I also returned to my hotel at about 4-50 a.m. and I phoned up All-India Radio man and the *Times of India* representative as well as the U.P.I. man, and asked them to come to my hotel. The *Times of India* man and the All-India Radio man arrived within 5 minutes and I conveyed this news to them. Till then they did not know anything.

I then tried to get telephonic call to Delhi to Moulvi Chandra; I could not get him. Then I tried to get a call to Jammu, but I did not get it. I was informed by the All-India man that he had tried for full 2 hours and he also did not get any connection. At about 8 o'clock, again I went to the hospital and met the Dy. Home Minister. Then he told me that he could not get direct phone call to Calcutta but he was able to talk with Justice Mukerjee through the operator, and he also sent messages to Bombay, through Delhi. He also told me that he had already talked to Dr. Katju before 5 a.m.

In the meantime about 500 people came to the hospital

and gathered at front gate and so the body was taken through the back door.

About 8 o'clock I asked for his things. I got his wrist watch, fountain pen and a suit case; the attache case was not there. There was no key, nor any lock to the suit case. Chappals were lying outside. The spectacles were there, but not the case.

After we left for the aerodrome at about 8-40, the police staff who happened to be all Hindus—the Superintendent, the Dy. Superintendent, Sub-Inspector, and one Head Constable—did not like the idea of Mohammadan staff touching the body.

The Police Officers suggested that if the body has to be lifted to the stretcher I might make a suggestion that their services should be utilised for the purpose, and Mohammadans need not touch. So I asked the District Magistrate to call the detenu friends. I had also asked for their release and also requested the Home Minister to release Premnath Dogra also who was undergoing long sentence of imprisonment.

I asked the District Magistrate to arrange for release of these gentlemen before the body could be lifted, because I felt that at least 10 men would be required to lift the body. At 8-40 these 3 detenus arrived, but before their arrival the body was brought out with the help of the police officers and the military officers. We carried the body to the ambulance, and all of us who lifted the body sat inside the ambulance itself. We reached the aerodrome by 9-5.

At the aerodrome all the Ministers except the Chief Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, were present. At that time practically all the Ministers expressed their very great regret; the Finance Minister broke down, the District Magistrate also again broke down; The Chief Minister arrived at about 10-15 a.m. in between there appeared to be some obstruction by the Indian Government authorities about the use of the Indian Air Force Dakota. The Wing Commander and other Officers on the spot were willing to help, and were awaiting orders from the Air Head Quarters to fly. Mr. B. B. Ghosh of Defence Ministry was phoned up, he was not contacted. For about half an hour obstructive messages were being received from the Head Quarters, Delhi.

The Home Minister then asked the Dy. Home Minister to contact Dr. Katju.

When Dr. Katju was contacted the Home Minister himself talked for about 10 minutes and asked Dr. Katju to talk to the Wing Commander then and there and get subsequent ratification from the Defence Ministry for the use of the Indian Air Force Dakota. The weather was extremely bad; the Civil Aviation had stopped its planes from proceeding; and Dr. Katju did not feel willing to lend the Dakota.

Then Bakshi Ghulam Mohamed told him that (I was standing by the side and listening to the talk) he must not refuse. Then Dr. Katju spoke to the Wing Commander, but I could not make out what was commu-

unicated to him for even after his phone the Wing Commander refused to lend the plane. Bakshi Gulam Mohamed got wild with him and made him to obey his order taking the full consequence on himself.

While this telephonic communication was going on Sheikh Abdullah arrived. All the Ministers then joined in lifting the stretcher and put it in the plane after placing wreaths. Sheikh Abdullah brought a special flowered shawl and placed it on the body. We left the aerodrome at 10-40 a.m. under the impression that we will get down at Delhi wherefrom another plane will take us to Calcutta.

After we passed Kashmir State territory I was informed by the pilot that he had instructions to proceed to Jullunder. Then I told him why not to Ambala? He told me that the landing ground at Ambala was not good. But at Jullunder he received no instruction to land. He tried to get instructions on the radio, but he could not. We reached Jullunder at 12-30. The plane hovered round Jullunder for half an hour; left Jullunder without landing, proceeded 50 miles to the south, returning back to Jullunder again; again left Jullunder and landed at Adampur Airport at 2 p.m.

At 2 o'clock when we got down I met the Pilot of the I.N.A. plane there. I enquired how he happened to be there. He was to take off at Delhi. He said that he was sorry Home Ministry had instructed him to pick up here and so he had come. "I have to refill—that I do not know where—and then proceed to Calcutta."

We left Adampur at 2-30 p.m. got down at the military airport at Kanpur.

We got down there and after refill we left again at 5-30 p.m. At Kanpur we calculated the distance to Calcutta and we found out that still we had 560 miles to fly. The officer told me that we would not reach Calcutta before 9 p.m. He would, however, try his best, but he would not be able to reach before 9 o'clock. We reached Calcutta at 5 minutes to 9 p.m.

After reading the statement of Pandit Guru Dutt Vaid and comparing it with my personal knowledge which I have put down in my statement the following salient features are noticeable :

(1) Dr. Mookerjee was not advised complete rest after the first attack on 22nd morning, 4 o'clock ;

(2) He was not immediately removed to the hospital while 7 valuable hours were lost ;

(3) He was not carried to the hospital in an ambulance but was carried in a small taxi and in uncomfortable position ;

(4) The immediate medical relief was not made available even after entry into the hospital ;

(5) The gravity of the illness was not noticed ;

(6) The Superintendent, Jail, was asked to remove Dr. Mookerjee to the hospital early morning but he wasted time and actually sat chatting with Mr. Raina for nearly one and a quarter of an hour ;

(7) The medicine that was given to relieve his pain

was not well-studied with relation to Dr. Mookerjee's heart trouble ;

(8) When the Doctors knew that he had heart trouble they failed in doing their duty to issue a bulletin immediately and to study the case with the greatest care possible specially when it appeared to be a case of heart trouble ;

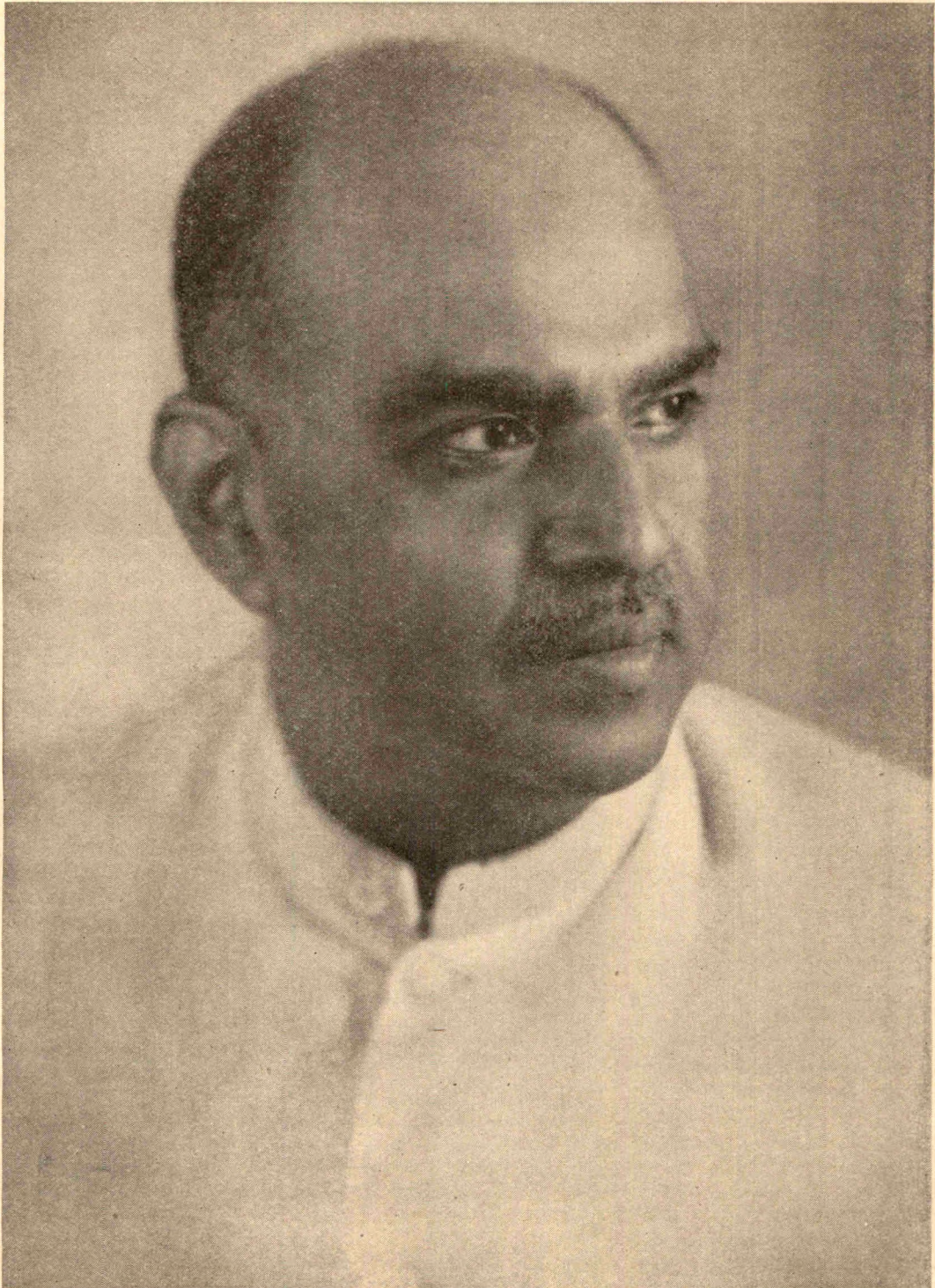
(9) All causes of mental pain ought to have been removed, the posting of police guards at his room and not allowing him to congenial company of one of those who knew him was also bad ;

(10) The treatment for pleurisy might be called expeditious but was symptomatic and not in a studied relation to the physical condition of Dr. Mookerjee and his past medical history ;

(11) The diagnosing doctor left it in the hands of his junior to carry out his behest without reference to Dr. Mookerjee and notwithstanding his suggestions to give him smaller doses of streptomycin and avoiding the use of sedatives.

Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose

Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose passed away on 3rd June at the age of sixty-six. He was not only a renowned physician and the greatest psycho-pathologist in our country, he was the pioneer in the field of psycho-analysis in India. His life-long devotion to this science won for him fame in foreign lands also. After passing the M.B. examination of the Calcutta University he was appointed a lecturer in Physiology at the Calcutta Medical School, and after sometime a lecturer in Abnormal Psychology in the University College of Science. He obtained the D.Sc. degree of the Calcutta University on his thesis on the Concept of Repression. He became the University Professor and the Head of the Department of Psychology of the Calcutta University. He was elected an Editor of the *International Journal of Psycho-analysis*. He presided over the Psychological section of the Indian Science Congress in 1938. Dr. Bose was a Fellow of the National Institute of Science in India, a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a Fellow of the Senate of the Calcutta University. His "Theory of Opposite Wishes" is an original contribution to Modern Psychology. He founded the Psycho-analytical Society and the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital. He was not only an international figure in the field of psycho-analysis, he was a versatile genius. He enriched Bengali literature by his writings such as *Swapna* (Dreams) and *Lal-Kalo*, a children's book. His *Purana-prabesh* is a monumental work of research in regard to the Puranas, and his interpretation of the *Gita* in Bengali shows him to be a scholar and thinker of a high order. His *Andhra Chronology* was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. He was loved and respected not only for his great learning but also for his deep human sympathies.



Born: 1901

Syamaprasad Mookerjee

Died: June 23, 1953

By courtesy Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar

P19217

LAND TENURES AND THEIR REFORMS

By PROF. N. K. KULKARNI, M.A.,

Economics Department, Willingdon College, Sangli

THE growing deterioration of the food situation and increasing dependence on foreign imports of food have thrown into sharp relief the problem of reconstructing the whole framework of an agricultural economy. In planning the agricultural economy, however, the primary emphasis must be placed on the reconstitution of the defective land tenures. So far the emphasis has been placed too much on the technical aspects of agricultural development to the utter neglect of the social and economic aspects of it. It took the colossal tragedy of the Bengal famine to force on the Government the unpleasant realisation that something was rotten in the very foundations of our agrarian economy and only a radical reorientation of it could rescue it from complete collapse. It was no longer a problem of providing cheap finance, irrigation facilities, marketing organisation and other aids to the agriculturists but rather one of reconstructing the whole economy right from the bottom upwards. In such an over-all planning of agrarian economy the reform of land tenures must be given the top-most priority. To say that reconstruction of the defective land tenure systems must be given priority is not to minimise the importance of technical improvements. Technical improvements do have their place in any plan of agricultural expansion, but it is urgent to realise that our agricultural economy cannot be lifted on to a higher plane of efficiency without breathing new life and hope into the hearts of actual cultivators. Agricultural efficiency is determined as much by the social, economic and legal status of the cultivator as by technical perfection of implements and soil. The former reforms the cultivator and gives him the needed incentive; the latter improves the soil, agricultural technique and farm equipment. Unless the cultivator has the necessary means and incentive to put his best into the soil, technical improvements by themselves will achieve but little. Even from the point of view of deriving the maximum advantage from technological improvement of agriculture it is necessary so to readjust the tenancy systems that the cultivator is induced to put his best into the land which he cultivates. The existing land system in our country suffers from this major defect that it does not provide sufficient incentive to the cultivator. This important fact was effectively stressed by Dr. Voelecker as far back as 1889 when he pointed out that the defective land system is one of the causes of low productivity of agriculture in India. He also maintained that

"The feeling of possession is one that acts as a strong incentive to agricultural improvement and it should be fostered in every way."

Mr. Calvert, a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, also held that

"The personality of the cultivator is the most important factor in agricultural productivity."

The replies received by the Famine Enquiry Commission (1945) and the witnesses who appeared before it, emphasised the fact that the land system is an important factor governing the efficiency of agriculture. In particular the replies made it quite clear that the system of Permanent Settlement was a considerable drag on the progress of agriculture and there was no possibility of achieving significant increases in agricultural production so long as the vicious land system persisted. The Kumarappa Committee also stressed the fact that there could not be any lasting improvement in agricultural production and efficiency without comprehensive reforms in the country's land system. The Committee heartily support the land-to-the-tiller slogan.

The present land system has been found incapable of achieving the fullest utilisation of our land resources. It has given rise to such evils as absentee landlordism, rack-renting of tenants, improper cultivation of land, apathy towards effecting improvements in land. Between the apathy of the landlord and the lukewarm attitude of the tenant, land is deteriorating in every way.

It has also given rise to grave social discontent and dissatisfaction. The mounting tide of dissatisfaction with the present land system has been driving the tenants into the arms of revolutionary movements. Unless, therefore, the land system is thoroughly reconstructed so as to meet the legitimate demands of the actual cultivators, the whole country may be engulfed in a revolutionary upheaval. All these considerations of economic efficiency, fullest utilisation of resources and peaceful progress underlie the need for the reconstruction of our land system.

II

Before indicating the method of reconstruction it is necessary to summarise briefly the drawbacks of the existing land system. Broadly speaking, land tenure systems can be classified under three heads. They are : (1) The Permanently Settled Estate System, (2) the Temporarily Settled Estate System and (3) the Ryotwari system. Besides these three major systems, there are a number of minor systems in different parts of the country. The total area held under these minor systems, however, is only a small proportion of the area included under the three major systems. The permanently settled estate system prevails widely in Bengal and Bihar and in some parts of Orissa, United Provinces and Madras. The

temporarily settled estate system prevails in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and in some parts of Orissa. The rest of the area excluding that held under the minor systems may be said to be held under the Ryotwari system.

Under almost all the systems of land tenure the practice of leasing land to the tenants is widely prevalent. It is universal in the permanently and temporarily settled areas, but it is not unknown in the ryotwari areas. Taking the country as a whole, more than 50 p.c. of the land may be said to be cultivated by tenants who have rented lands from non-cultivating owners. The non-cultivating owners are interested mainly in their rents rather than in maintaining and improving the fertility of the land. The replies submitted by four provinces having permanently settled areas to a considerable extent to the Famine Enquiry Commission's questionnaire serve to confirm this view. The Orissa Government, for instance, observed that

"The zamindars in general, whether permanently settled estates or temporarily settled estates, not only do not introduce any improvement to get better yield or to protect the lands from floods or drought but exploit every opportunity for realisation of enhanced rent or other dues from the tenants."

It is obvious that such an attitude on the part of the landlords is hardly conducive to agricultural efficiency. English agriculture owes so much to the keen interest displayed by the big landlords in the improvement of agriculture. Unfortunately their counterparts in our country have failed to fulfil their duties and responsibilities in connection with the agrarian economy of the country. True, there are a few landlords who have displayed some interest in improving their lands and the efficiency of agriculture in general but they must be regarded as an exception rather than the rule.

Another evil associated with the tenancy systems is the practice of crop-sharing. Although the terms of tenancy vary widely in different parts of the country, the crop-sharing system is widely prevalent. We are told that in France the system of crop-sharing has constituted a good deal to the efficiency of agriculture and has operated to the mutual satisfaction of both the parties concerned because of the close partnership between the landlord and the tenant. The landlord contributes a part of capital to the tenant and takes an active interest in promoting the efficiency of agriculture. In our country, however, the system has operated to the disadvantage of the cultivator. It imposes all the burdens on the cultivator and gives all the benefits to the landlord. In some cases the landlords contribute manure, livestock, and other capital equipment to the tenant. But as a general rule, the landlords insist on having 50 p.c., of the gross produce as rent, while all the expenses of cultivation are borne by the tenant. Especially when the holdings are uneconomically small in our country, such high proportions of rent payments amount to rack-renting.

As a result of this the portion of the produce that remains with the cultivator after meeting the claims of the landlord and the expenses of cultivation is not sufficient to maintain him in health and efficiency. Small wonder if the system sets up the vicious circle of poverty, inefficiency and poverty. Nor does the cultivators possess any incentive for effecting any permanent improvements on his holding for he refuses to sow where he does not hope to reap. Moreover, the tenant in many cases has no security of tenure. He is liable to eviction at the sweet will of the landlord. This insecurity of tenure also prevents him from taking a long-range view of things and effecting improvements with a view to raising the fertility of the land.

The unsatisfactory nature of the whole system can be summed up as follows. The cultivator is poor, rack-rented and insecure. He has neither the resources nor the incentive to make any permanent improvements on his holding. On the other hand, the landlord, who is interested mainly in exacting as high a rent as possible from his tenant, pays little attention to the improvement or maintenance of his land. In particular the system of permanent settlement is thoroughly indefensible. Historically it is unjustifiable, economically it is inefficient; socially iniquitous and politically inexpedient. It has involved the expropriation of the ryots, has rendered revenue inelastic, has deprived the Government of close contact with the cultivators, has cramped initiative and enterprise, has produced parasitic intermediary interests, has led to a vast volume of litigation, and has acted as an incubus on the agrarian economy. Whatever merits it might have possessed in the past, it has outlived its usefulness and has become a positive obstacle to the improvement of agriculture.

To remedy this situation, various measures have been passed by provincial governments, but no significant improvement has followed. On the contrary, they have led to an enormous volume of litigation and has caused much bad blood between the tenants and landlords. They have disturbed the right of ownership of the landlord without conferring full right of ownership on the tenant. They have guaranteed to a certain extent fair rent and security of tenure to the tenant, but they have not given any positive incentive to him. The landlord has been sulking in his tent, while the tenant is not very enthusiastic. Between the sullen landlord and the negligent tenant, land is fast deteriorating in fertility. They have also diverted energies of both the parties to litigation in the courts from cultivation of land. They have emphasised the significance of J. S. Mill's sentence: "Half-measures do not yield half results but sometimes cause positive injuries." More than ever it is necessary to realise that mere tinkering with the problem would not be of any avail. It is necessary to go to the root of the problem. It is necessary to invest the actual cultivator with the full right of ownership of the land he cultivates so that he may be afforded an incentive to put his best into the land and strive to turn sand into gold. This implies the

outright abolition of the Zamindari system and the elimination of all functionless intermediary interests.

III

The abolition of the Zamindari system and elimination of intermediary interests, however, are not the end of the problem. It is dangerous to allow us to be deluded into the false belief that the scrapping up of the obsolete system will establish an agricultural millennium. The abolition of the Zamindari system and the intermediary interests, however, is but the first step, though an essential one in the whole process of the reorganisation of our agricultural economy. More important than this is the determination of the constructive pattern of our agrarian economy. Before deciding on any particular pattern it is necessary to be clear about the objectives which our agrarian economy should aim at. The objectives have been well stated by the Kumarappa Committee as follows :

- (a) The agrarian economy should provide opportunity for the development of individual's personality.
- (b) There should be no exploitation.
- (c) There should be maximum efficiency of production.

Of the different possible patterns of organisation we should choose that one which on the whole satisfies better these objectives. We can think of our possible patterns of organisation : (a) Capitalist farming, (b) Collective farming, (c) Co-operative farming, (d) Peasant proprietorship.

It is argued that our agricultural economy should be reorganised along the lines of capitalist farming. The State should auction land to private capitalists for scientific cultivation. It will achieve the fullest utilisation of land resources and make for higher efficiency. Industrial progress owes a good deal to the enterprising capitalists. The organisation of agricultural economy along capitalistic lines will contribute to agricultural progress and efficiency.

It must, however, be remembered that the attempts to create a landlord class in India similar to that in England have failed to bring about agricultural prosperity and there is no reason to expect that our experience would be different in the future. Moreover, capitalist farming will render the question of reabsorbing the displaced persons more difficult because the number of displaced persons is likely to be unmanageably large. From the social point of view also it is doubtful whether the organisation of agriculture along the capitalistic lines will be a feasible solution. The attachment to land is so deep-rooted among our peasants that any attempt at depriving them of their lands is bound to encounter fierce opposition bordering on open revolt. A contented peasantry is the very backbone of our society and it will be dangerous to provoke their discontent and opposition. Above all, it does not satisfy the objectives laid down above. Even granting that it may make for greater efficiency and maximum production, it must be admitted that it fails to satisfy the other two objectives, *viz.*, development of

individual's personality and freedom from exploitation.

The pattern of collective farming also is open to similar objections. Collectivisation implies complete abolition of private ownership of land. Any attempt to attack this right of private ownership of land is bound to be bitterly resented and stubbornly opposed. It took a bloody revolution in Russia to achieve collectivisation of agriculture. Resistance here may be stiffer because the ownership in land is much more universal than in the case of Russia and the democratically organised Government may not be in a position to tackle such resistance. Apart from the question of the feasibility of collectivisation there are more weighty objections to such a pattern. It leads to regimentation and centralisation and consequently to the loss of individual liberty and initiative.

Ideally, co-operative farming is the best pattern of organisation. The Kumarappa Committee heartily support this pattern. It is argued in its favour that it avoids the evils of capitalism as well as of collectivisation. It does away with the weaknesses of individualist petty farming. In fact it is the only workable method by which the benefits of large-scale farming can be attained without seriously interfering with the institution of private property in land. Besides these tangible and material advantages, it is productive of many intangible benefits. It develops the social aspect of individual's personality and elevates his moral level. It gives him a training in the art of self-government. It develops in him a self-reliant spirit and hopeful attitude.

But there are very great difficulties of a practical nature in adopting this pattern in our country. The apathetic and indifferent attitude of the people is the greatest stumbling block in the path of the progress of the co-operative movement. Our rural population is a huge mass of illiteracy. Factionousness is the besetting evil of life in rural areas. The traditional rivalries and jealousies among people incapacitate them for making common cause for achieving common interests. In fact the rivalries are so acute that it has deprived them of consciousness of their common interests. Even the Kumarappa Committee are acutely conscious of the handicaps from which every form of co-operative farming is likely to suffer in our country. Caste and community differences, squabbles in village life, unequal status of men, inability of most men to work under strict discipline due to weak health and friction, difficulty of finding the right type of men for management, red-tape and delays in administration and above all the lack of co-operative spirit are the main difficulties which are likely to present serious problems. Finally, there is the great difficulty of successfully operating and managing the co-operative farms. Their management is likely to call for a high degree of training, skill, honesty and integrity. It is too much to hope that we will be able to get the trained personnel necessary for operating the co-operative farms. Even the much simpler forms of co-operation like credit

and non-credit co-operation have been suffering from paucity of trained personnel. The paucity of trained personnel will be all the more acutely felt in the field of co-operative farming which is bound to be a much more complicated business than the simpler forms of co-operative institutions. For all these reasons, we must rule out the possibility of adopting the pattern of co-operative farming in the immediate future. That is not to say that co-operative farming has no future in the country. Though we may not be justified in placing too much emphasis on co-operative farming, yet a beginning in that direction should be made on reclaimed lands and cultivable waste lands that may be brought under the plough. There are about 89 million acres of cultivable waste land spread over the whole country. This area offers great scope for co-operative farming. The experience of co-operative farming in Palestine, Italy, the U.S.A. and other countries reveals the effectiveness of co-operative farming in making the maximum use of land as well as in moulding the social life of the settlers. These new settlers with no deep sense of private property in land, no traditional rivalries and jealousies, are likely to possess greater capacity for co-operating for common ends. These co-operative farms may become great radiating centres of co-operative spirit in the neighbourhood areas. While propaganda has an important part to play in inducing co-operative spirit among the people co-operative farms will be potent factors in diffusing the ideology of co-operative farming. A policy of offering concessions to co-operative farming societies with a view to inducing the cultivators to join them should be followed. For example, they may be given concessions in land revenue and other taxes, cheap credit facilities, capital equipment at concessional rates, preferential right of acquiring waste lands, etc.; even with all these inducements, the progress of co-operative farming is bound to be at least a slow and gradual process. The Kumarappa Committee have suggested the use of compulsion in the case of holdings below basic in case the methods of persuasion and other inducements fail. It is, however, an open question whether methods of compulsion will be able to enlist the constructive co-operation and enthusiastic participation of the members of the co-operative farms. The villagers must be educated into the spirit of co-operation. Co-operation is not worthwhile unless the urge to co-operate comes from the people themselves. It seems, therefore, a sound policy to hasten slowly in the matter of forcing the unwilling cultivators into a co-operative farming society.

The immediate reconstruction of agrarian economy must be along the lines of peasant proprietorship. The cultivator must be made the owner of his holding and must be placed in direct contact with the Government. This is certainly not an easy task because it involves an attack on vested interests. The merits of peasant proprietorship have now been widely recognised and the agrarian systems in several European countries during the last

century were reorganised on the basis of peasant proprietorship. The formation of a class of peasant proprietors was of fundamental importance in the social and economic regeneration of these countries. It played an important part in establishing a stable and balanced social and economic system. Apart from its social significance peasant proprietorship possesses a number of other favourable features which make the system most suited to our country in the present circumstances. Firstly, it will provide maximum amount of employment. This is certainly an important aspect so far as our country is concerned, for in the existing circumstances not the most ambitious programme of industrialisation will relieve the immense demographic pressure on our land resources. Any system, therefore, that lessens the intensity of the problem without seriously impairing the efficiency of the agrarian economy has much to commend it. Secondly, it is suited to the genius of our peasantry and country. Thirdly, it will preserve liberty and democratic rural society and promote social stability. Fourthly, it will give an independent means of support to the majority of producers and bring about economic decentralisation which is devoutly to be wished for. Finally, it may conduce to higher efficiency by giving the peasant a stake in the land which he cultivates.

It may, however, be objected that in the existing circumstances peasant proprietorship may not conduce to maximum production. On the contrary, it may perpetuate an inefficient system. The problems that confront our agriculture are legion and the efficiency of agriculture depends on their effective solution. But most of them are beyond the power and poor resources of the peasant proprietor. Hence peasant proprietorship may not be a satisfactory solution. It must, however, be remembered that we are not advocating peasant proprietorship as the most satisfactory and perfect pattern of our agrarian economy but rather as the immediately practicable, workable and least objectionable pattern. While we look forward to co-operative farming as the long-range solution, we regard peasant proprietorship as an immediately practicable solution. It is true that the size of our farms is uneconomically small. Farms are fragmented. The marketing system is poorly organised. Credit system is unsatisfactory. The cultivator is illiterate and does not possess the technical knowledge or the necessary means for making the best use of his tiny holding. All this is true. But it must be remembered that peasant proprietorship is not suggested as an isolated measure. It must be viewed as an integral part of a comprehensive plan of rural economic regeneration. The establishment of peasant proprietorship must be accompanied by other reforms calculated to raise the efficiency of agriculture all-round. Attempts must be made to give the cultivator what may be called a basic holding which is not palpably uneconomic. For this purpose the State must put

through a scheme of consolidation of small bits of land into sufficiently large units. The fragmented holdings must also be brought together into compact holdings. The minute subdivision and fragmentation of land, given the laws of inheritance, are due to the excessive pressure of population on land. Any plan of agricultural reconstruction must take into account this primary fact. There is not enough land to provide every cultivating family with an economic holding. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to make an attempt to transfer surplus population on land to non-agricultural occupations. The Kumarappa Committee hit the nail right on the head when they pointed out that unless this fundamental reform is effected the reform of land tenure alone will be barren of any perceptible result so far as the standard of living of the peasant and agricultural efficiency are concerned. This means that new employment opportunities must be created to absorb the surplus agricultural population. At the same time the provision of finance, improvement of marketing facilities, expansion of health services, spread of education, will have to form part of an over-all plan. In fact, comprehensiveness must be the keynote of our future plans. All the belated measures of the past failed to yield satisfactory results because they were applied in a haphazard, piecemeal and uncoordinated manner with consequent loss in their effectiveness. If peasant proprietorship is to bear fruit, it must be accompanied by other measures directed towards raising the whole agricultural economy to a higher plane of efficiency.

IV

Having agreed on the pattern of our agrarian economy, there arises the question of the method by which it is to be put into a practical form. There are three possible ways in which the proposed pattern can be translated into practice. The first way is to prohibit the leasing of land. This is proposed by the Kumarappa Committee and the National Planning Commission. The idea underlying the proposal is that since large estates cannot be personally cultivated by landlords because there is very little capitalistic farming at present, landlords will be compelled to sell much of their land to their tenants. The ban of lease, however, may be got round by keeping tenancy in practice while changing the agreements to show tenants as labourers. This may defeat the purpose of the ban.

The second way is to enable tenants to purchase lands they cultivate. Provision to this effect has been incorporated in the Bombay, Hyderabad, U.P. and Saurashtra Acts. Lack of finance, however, has precluded most tenants from exercising the right in the first three States. In Saurashtra the picture is slightly better because the price at which the tenants can claim the land is very low and the Government actively assist the tenants in purchasing the lands.

The third method is to set a ceiling on individual holdings and straightway to declare tenants as peasant

proprietors. This is being done in Kashmir and is now proposed in Travancore-Cochin. The maximum size of an economic holding should be determined with reference to the quality of land and the size of the family and the rest of the land should be turned over to the tenants and the price to be paid by the tenants should be spread over a reasonable period of time. The annual instalment should be less than the difference between the present rental and the land revenue he may be paying in the future, so that the tenant may not be made to suffer great hardships. Personal cultivation of the land that remains with the landlord should be made obligatory on the landlord. With a view to making it unprofitable to lease land, legislative control of rent should be attempted. Wholesale expropriation of land while justified theoretically may have an unsettling effect on the economic life of the country.

The Five-Year Plan shows a welcome awareness of the importance of the problem of land ownership. Its recommendations aim at bringing about a wider distribution of land ownership by fixing a ceiling to the maximum holding of an individual farmer. The Plan also accepts the necessity of tackling the land problem on all fronts simultaneously. A wider distribution is only the first step in the process of the reconstruction of our agricultural economy. Several other measures must also be undertaken to improve the efficiency both of the agriculturist and the agriculture. The Plan rightly emphasises the need for providing facilities in different spheres to the agriculturist with a view to removing the handicaps from which he suffers at present and for speeding up the tempo of the progress of co-operative farming. The recent decision of the Central Government to set up a Committee to go into the question of land legislation and its implementation is also a welcome step.

The problem is an extremely complex one and the complexity is rendered almost bewildering by the vastly varying conditions prevailing in different parts of the country. No single uniform formula will satisfy the peculiar needs of the different regions. An expert committee should be appointed to work out the details of a comprehensive plan along these lines.

V.

To conclude, the existing land system is faulty and defective. From the point of economic efficiency, social stability and peaceful progress it is necessary to reform it. Peasant proprietorship seems to be the immediately feasible pattern for our agrarian reform though in the long run we may look forward to co-operative farming as the desirable pattern. Peasant proprietorship must not, however, be conceived as an isolated measure but must be accompanied by other measures directed towards lifting the whole rural economy on to a higher plane of efficiency.

EDUCATION WITH LITERACY

By RICHARD W. CORTRIGHT

LITERACY is a product of modern linguistics, modern educational psychology, and democracy.

Contemporary thought emphasizes the importance of language. Aside from the discipline of linguistics itself, language has become a prominent subject in modern philosophical thought. Not only do logical positivists in the tradition of Wittgenstein place the study of the problems of language foremost, but many Thomists also view logic and language as first fields for study.

Scholars of literature have looked anew at language. Wellek and Warren attest to this in their *Theory of Literature* where they point out new linguistic approaches to literature.

The study of mass communications and propaganda analysis have further encouraged a study of language.

Linguistics itself has most deliberately reconsidered the older discipline of philosophy. The list of descriptive linguistic publications is long. The new names of this century include Sommerfelt, Pokorny, Sapir, Jespersen, the Prague and Copenhagen Schools. The increased number of foreign languages offered at leading universities around the world, make vivid the fact that pure linguistics and applied linguistics are important divisions of serious modern thought.

Out of the concern for language, literacy has borrowed the linguistics emphasis on concise objective examination of language and concise precise expression in language. Neo-literature (literature for neo-literates) is written this way.

Sample linguistics statements in such international Journals as *Language* or *Les Archives Linguistiques* often contain semi-mathematical formulations in descriptive linguistics. They are concise and objective. Contrast the style of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* with the writings of such 19th century linguists as Max Muller or William Carey.

A recent emphasis in linguistics is to make descriptive analyses of different languages. At Yale University the new cross reference file of anthropological data intends to include much linguistic data about Amerindian languages. Anthropological linguists are trained to phonemicise and morphemicise languages rapidly, and eventually write descriptive statements of the structure of different languages. The analysis of many of the languages of the world has made it possible for follow-up literacy work in more than 255 languages in over 60 countries.

Dr. Frank C. Laubach, one of the leading pioneers in literacy education, has many times said that literacy is only a means to an end. He has written that a literate man is not necessarily an educated man and neither is an educated man necessarily literate. With the flood tide of useless "Literature" available through modern mass education means, other leading educators like Robert Hutchins and James Bryant Conant have actively asserted the importance of wise decision in choosing reading matter.

In 1940 Dr. Laubach wrote in his book *India Shall Be Literate*:

"If this is an hour of new hope for India, it is especially so for the millions of illiterates . . . for these people are not only illiterate, but they are the victims of the hard-hearted men who prey on their ignorance. Almost all of them are in debt all their lives . . . As a rule, they do not know how much the debt is, now whether the interest is correct . . . Illiterates almost never have surplus flesh; money-lenders see to that. In one form or another this is the sorrow of nearly all the illiterates. . . . They are hungry, driven, diseased, afraid of the unknown in this world . . . These illiterate people never had a delegate anywhere, they have been voiceless, the silent victims, the forgotten men . . . Now through the power of reading and the vote, they shall be heard."

Many illiterates are most keen. Many illiterates have fine arithmetical minds and others large stores of folk wisdom accumulated orally. Folklore scholars have met Irish bards who could recite reams of Celtic tradition or Hindu farmers who know reams of the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata*.

Such an eminent scholar as Ananda Coomarswamy bent over backwards to emphasise the importance of the oral tradition. At first Mohandas Gandhi also felt that the *nai talim* held no place for literacy. He reversed his opinion. In the August 28, 1937 *Harijan* he wrote:

"I wish to answer the grievance . . . of the neglect of literacy of which . . . I have been guilty. There is nothing in what I have written to warrant such a belief."

Although scholars like Coomarswamy have tended to undertake literate traditions, they have well emphasized the weakness in some primary literate education methods which have severed the student from his homelife and tradition. The lack of a balanced education methodology is responsible. The best education comes from combination of the literate education (teaching the latest and best known ways of agriculture and sanitation with the older oral tradition of arithmetic and the epics). Education for literacy is unwise; literacy is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end; with the use in the oral tradition it opens a better life for many through expanded horizons.

The Laubach literacy method is eclectic. Historically it is a combination of different methods used by educationists during the last 50 years. One by one the older methods have been left behind or incorporated in the new method: the word method, phonics, the story method, the method of controlled vocabularies, the method of meaningful context, Albert J. Harris' studies in educational psychology—antedated Dr. Laubach's early experiments in the Philippines. Dr. Harris based his work upon the following processes of the new reader: recognition, comprehension, perception, detail denotation, discrimination, generalization, classification, justification, and understanding.

The Laubach eclectic literacy method uses (1)

phonemic analysis from descriptive linguistics, (2) the configuration of the appearance of the letters, (3) context clues, (4) a controlled vocabulary set within the limits or Dr. Laubach's modification of the Thorndike-Lorge and Basic English lists of the most common English words.

Students of literacy methodology have held heated controversies over the relative merits of teaching the new literate his own language or a *lingua franca*. Proponents of the latter argue (1) that a larger amount of literature will be available in a *lingua franca*, (2) the learner of a *lingua franca* has a greater chance to climb the economic ladder since he will be able to speak the language of the more educated and economically prosperous, (3) he will have a *Weltanschauung*, (4) in some countries (of Africa) it is easier to obtain government backing if the *lingua franca* is taught.

Those who favor teaching one's own language first argue: (1) It is easier for the learner to learn his own language and hence will be more economical for the literacy organizers, (2) The learner has less initial discouragement, (3) The learner does not feel he is being talked down to, (4) "A man who forgets his native tongue forgets himself."

The most well-known part of the Laubach literacy method has been "Each One Teach One." Many know literacy work alone by this title. Its underlying principle is that literacy can be spread most easily and economically if the new readers themselves become teachers. By teaching they will themselves become better learners and build confidence in their "students." The new teacher will become a more highly respected member of the community. Hence a chain-reaction will be set off to encourage more and more new teachers. Dr. Laubach has explained this method in detail in his books *The Silent Billion Speak*, *Teaching The World To Read*, and *Wake Up or Blow Up*.

Dr. Laubach uses literary tools in India: (1) A set of coloured wall charts with pictures of known objects; a superimposition of the first letter of the word, which stands

for picture, on the picture of the object; and the word and first letters of that word, (2) a primer with a reduced copy of the charts, and easy sentences built in substitution frames, (3) a scientifically graded series of story-information booklets about the villager Anand whose life is expanded and transformed by literacy.

The booklets have also been used in Arabic-speaking lands where Anand becomes Hussain and in Burma where he becomes U Sein.

Literacy has spread as a logical extension of democracy. Literacy assumes that everyone has the right to learn how to read and write at least his language. It realizes the fact that the more a man knows the more he wants to know; and reading is often the fastest and sometimes the only way to disseminate information he wants. Literacy grows in free countries where there is an expression of the will of the individual, or in slave countries by the will of the master. Literacy movements are in progress around the world, but especially in Africa and India. Since India is the historical home of democratic movements it is most natural that literacy is now alive in India. Earlier Indian democracies like the Chukla recognized the individual, but it is only in 20th century democracy that the right of every member to learn to read is recognised. Literacy on a mass scale is the product of democracy. Knowledge is not to be hidden but is valuable to all.

Literacy is a product of modern linguistics, education and democracy. Dr. Laubach wrote in *Teaching The World to Read* (p.1):

"Three-fifths of the human race . . . cannot read or write. They are disqualified for skilled labour and therefore are unable to hope that they will ever earn more than the wages of unskilled labourers . . . Literacy has an enormous bearing on world peace and security. If only a small part of our world remains on a fairly high economic plane, while the majority of the world remains in poverty and degradation, the areas containing these under privileged peoples will be centres of resentment, unrest and revolt . . . Only in the direction of loving co-operation can we look for permanent peace and contentment. People are happy when they are in the process of improvement."

—:O:—

REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL, M.P.

We are all painfully aware of the fact that our educational system has not undergone any revolutionary changes with the advent of political freedom in India. Just as a new State flies a new flag, so a new Government should evolve a new type of education. Unfortunately, our educational structure does not bear the imprint of Swaraj and appears to be almost as listless and 'academic' as it used to be during the days of our political dependence. The courses of study and the text-books in our schools and colleges do not breathe the air of freedom and national independence. Students in our educational institutions hardly feel that they have now the good fortune of being the citizens of Free India. This is, certainly, not a happy state of affairs.

Gandhiji had given us a new system of education about fifteen years ago. It was born of his own experiments in his Ashrams in South Africa and later in India. He wanted us to impart education to the children through the medium of useful and productive activity. The teaching of various academic subjects like History, Geography, Arithmetic, Civics, Science and Economics was to be "correlated" to the teaching of certain Basic crafts like spinning, weaving, carpentry, smithy, agriculture and gardening. Thus, the school children could follow the principle of "learning through doing" and also "earning while learning." This new type of Basic education has now been before the country for a number of years and many Basic schools are being run,

in different parts of India. The Planning Commission and the Government of India have also accepted the principles of Basic education for primary schools all over the country. But it is yet not clear how the Government plans to convert the existing schools into the new pattern of Basic education. One thing, however, is clear to all of us. It is no longer desirable to open only a few experimental Basic schools and allow the old type of educational institutions to continue to function in the conventional way. If the Government is earnest about the introduction of the new type of education, let all the schools in the country be transformed into Basic institutions. The policy of having the old and the new types of schools side by side will not work. If the Government is yet not prepared to accept the Basic type of education in all its purity, let it say so frankly. We will be content, for the present, even if the State Governments introduce part-time work and part-time study in all the schools in the country. The existing institutions are, at best, centres of Information and not Education; they have had their day and should now cease to be.

Recently, the Government of Madras have introduced certain radical changes in their elementary schools, specially in the rural areas.

"It is not desirable," states a Press Note, "that because of their schooling the pupils should become physically and mentally incapable of productive activity which is needed for their individual advantage and that of the country."

A school day, therefore, for the pupils is being reduced to three hours a day, although the working week will extend if necessary, to six days. This scheme will leave the children free for one-half of the day; during this time they can join their families and do whatever work the family normally does. This will apply to all persons belonging to occupational families, i.e., those who work with their hands either as agricultural labourers or landowning peasants or artisans, such as potters, carpenters, ironsmiths, etc. We congratulate the Madras Government for this new scheme of education although it is very much different from the Basic type. We are, however, sorry to find that the modification in the educational system will for the present apply only to Lower Elementary Schools in the rural areas and not in municipalities or major panchayats. We would earnestly suggest to the Government of Madras not to confine the new scheme to the rural areas alone; it should be worked out in the urban schools as well, although the type of activity in the cities will naturally be different from that of the villages. Children in cities may be occupied for one-half of the day in learning crafts and cottage industries which will stand them in good stead in later life. We also hope that the modifications will gradually be extended to the Middle and High Schools. These changes in the existing schools should ultimately pave the way for the introduction of Basic education in all the educational institutions in the State.

Unless our existing schools are overhauled and reoriented, it is, in our view, extremely risky to plan for their expansion. Our young boys and girls who pass out of such institutions spread utter discontent and frustration in the public and swell the ranks of the unemployed. This army of unemployed young men in India is a potential menace to the smooth functioning of democratic government. Unemployment among the educated is now assuming alarming proportions and the problem, therefore, must be tackled by the Government and the people in all seriousness. This can be done only if our schools and colleges, instead of remaining the centres of bookish learning, become real beehives of productive activity. It is true that ready markets for the products of these educational institutions must be found by the Government; most of the home-made and school-made articles could be purchased by the State Governments themselves for the use of their various Departments. The spirit of Swadeshi has also to be inculcated in the people for patronising the products of home, village and cottage industries. In order to achieve lasting success in this sphere it is desirable to effect radical changes in both or educational and industrial domains. If we introduce Basic education in our schools without adopting a definite policy of decentralised production through small-scale and cottage industries, the products of these schools and the training imparted to the young boys and girls would be futile. On the other hand, if we change the industrial pattern without effecting modifications in the educational structure there will be great dearth of trained personnel for running the industries efficiently. The introduction of reforms in both the educational and industrial spheres, therefore, should be regarded as an integral part of the National Plan.

There is one more aspect of education to which we would like to draw pointed attention. The existing type of schools and colleges in the country do not breathe in Indian atmosphere. The syllabus, the chain of textbooks and the general atmosphere in these educational institutions do not make a young boy or a girl feel that he or she is an Indian citizen endowed with a rich cultural heritage. In the name of secular education, our schools have become so colourless and un-Indian that their students do not feel any sense of legitimate pride in being citizens of Free India. We do not suggest that attempts should be made to instil in our youngmen ideas of narrow nationalism; we must try to broaden the outlook of the students and make them feel the citizens of the world also. But we do not see any inherent conflict between healthy nationalism and human brotherhood. We earnestly hope that the State Government's as well as the managements of private educational institutions will take early steps to Indianise the schools and make them living centres of productive activities on the lines of Basic education as propounded by Mahatma Gandhi.

EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM IN INDIA

By PROF. ROLAND E. WOLSELEY

INDIA is exhibiting an increasing interest in Journalism education. Within the span of a few years several courses have been begun or departments established and others planned. The subject is being discussed at journalists' meetings as well as in educational circles.

This interest undoubtedly is related to the great need for education of all kinds throughout the country. The yen for schooling in more orthodox subjects has spread even to the relatively new area of journalism.

But it is an interest that hardly is novel, for there has been a university department of journalism in India since 1941 and three other institutions have had courses since 1947 or 1950.¹ Several more had offered journalism instruction in English or one of the vernacular languages from time to time even earlier but have not been able to keep them going, either for lack of experience in this type of education or insufficient money.

Journalism education has not developed much beyond the stage it reached in the United States, the pioneer, around 1910. Then a few American universities offered courses whose merits were debated, with journalists generally skeptical. Now in India, similar skepticism exists but the point of argument is not so much whether training is valuable as what form it shall take to obtain best results. Indian journalists have been sufficiently (and naturally) influenced by British journalists and journalism training to be uncertain about the unfamiliar American plan, with its integration of journalism education into standard college work. When the American system is explained, opponents shift to the position that while it is effective and necessary in the U.S.A., it can be neither in India because of language difficulties, a smaller press, and a generally lower economic level that makes journalism a less desirable occupation than it has become in the States.

DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTION

India's first journalism instruction at the modern university level probably was that offered in 1938 at Aligarh Muslim University, a diploma course. The class was begun that year by the late Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court of India.

In charge of the class was Rahim Ali Alhashmi, who brought experience in both English and Urdu journalism as his background for the post he held as lecturer. He arranged for professionals to lecture on various phases of journalism and took students on visits to newspaper offices. After the death in 1940 of Sir Shah Sulaiman, the teacher-in-charge resigned "on account of some differences with the authorities"² and the course was abolished.

The country's first continuing professional journalism instruction was established in 1941 at the University of the Panjab, a noted institution at Lahore. A department was set up by a University of Missouri journalism graduate, P. P. Singh, who had worked for International News Service and on *The Pioneer* and other Indian papers. About 30 students received journalism diplomas each year until 1947, when partition divided the university and with it the department of journalism.

Among the university staff which fled to the Indian side of the border was Professor Singh, who set up a new department in New Delhi. The original one continued in Pakistan and now is headed by a graduate. The Indian university, a refugee institution, is called Panjab. It has continued to turn out about 30 graduates each year. The move, however, destroyed for the new school excellent relationships with the publications of Lahore, as for example, with the *Civil and Military Gazette*, of which Rudyard Kipling at one time was assistant editor. It also left the Indian department with physical facilities far inferior to those it had previously possessed. Classes now meet in a former high school building, and only lately has the head of the department been able to arrange with several Delhi papers, news agencies, and other journalistic media for co-operation at all comparable to that enjoyed prior to partition.

Professor Singh continues his work under these and such other difficulties as inability to obtain text-books, lack of proper library facilities, and a national press that offers a bare livelihood to its employees. His department offers courses in reporting, sub-editing, editorial writing, special-article writing, newspaper make-up and typography, press law, sports, and advertising. He is assisted by part-time lecturers, several of them widely-known newsmen, including a former editor of *The Times of India*, and other leading papers, as well as several practising newspapermen and magazine journalists. One teaches in Punjabi, another in Hindi, although most classes are in English. This course, leading to a diploma, is open only to college graduates. The laboratory, discussion, and lecture methods of instruction are used.

The University of Madras, opening its course in 1947, has maintained the study under Dr. R. Balakrishnan, a distinguished teacher of economics, who makes no pretension to knowledge of journalism. He arranges a series of lectures by prominent Madras newsmen, including top editors of *The Madras Mail* and *The Hindu*, two of India's leading dailies, himself giving only the advertising course. Together they teach as examination subjects an omnibus course called "journalism," which embraces reporting, copy-editing, magazine features, and editorial methods and techniques, as well as separate classes in history of

1. Omitted here are: the Horniman School of Journalism, a private institution in Bombay, which in the opinion of this writer promises far more than it can possibly hope to accomplish for its students, and several correspondence schools.

2. From correspondence with the author, September 11, 1952.

freedom of the press, ethics of journalism, composition, precis-writing, and proof correction. Radio news editing and broadcasting is a non-examination subject. Also given are special lectures in shorthand and typing. The lecture method and internship are the principal means of instruction. A diploma is granted; twelve students are accepted annually, and three or four complete the work each year.

THE CALCUTTA COURSE

In 1950, the University of Calcutta opened the only two-year course to date: a diploma program offering not only practical journalism instruction but also insisting upon further study of such background subjects as constitutional law and political, sociological, and economic developments. Optional is study of literature and art and scientific and cultural trends. Strictly journalistic subjects are principles and history of journalism, the making of a journal, business and journalism, commercial journalism, sports, stage and screen, art of advertisement and layout, editing of monthlies and periodicals, press and production, and an internship in which the important Calcutta press co-operates. As at Madras and New Delhi, leading local newsmen handle the subjects, which are administered by a standing committee. Fifty-five students were in the first class, which was reduced to about 25 by the end of the first full course.

In 1948, the University of Bombay appointed a committee to study the possibility of offering instruction through a school of journalism, which India has never had and still is not clearly in sight. Because of lack of money and space the blueprint was reduced to a diploma program, following more or less the Calcutta plan. This has not yet been instituted, partly because of lack of experienced staff and partly because of public pressure for instruction in subjects thought by more persons to be more vital.

Because it insists upon proper backgrounding in certain non-journalism subjects, the Calcutta course in one respect is the soundest of all. Applicants for studies in journalism come from various Indian universities and bring differing amounts of study, if any, in such subjects as constitutional law, sociology, politics, literature, and art. The men in charge of the Calcutta program, who include some of the leading editors of the past and present, anticipated this uneven background in studies all journalists require, and have required two years of work for the diploma, during which deficiencies are met. This policy was adopted in face of certain knowledge that the mortality in enrolment would be great as a result, which it was.

Another way in which the Calcutta plan is superior to all others is the insistence that every person earning the diploma first have assurance of a position in journalism. This plan is a defence against the wasted training which occurs so often unless there is implementation of the sort. Like Madras, Calcutta insists

upon an internship period, which the students must arrange for themselves.

Admission regulations are somewhat more liberal than might be expanded considering the other requirements. The prospectus declares:

"Graduates of the Calcutta University or of any recognized University and those who have passed the Intermediate Examination of the Calcutta University or of any recognized University and have at least one year's experience in a Newspaper, Periodical or News Agency office will be eligible for admission to the course."

In 1951, the University of Mysore, through Maharajah's College in Mysore City, introduced three journalism subjects in its Bachelor of Arts program. These are History and Survey of Journalism, Journalistic Practice, and Newspaper Administration.

"Our aim," Dr. B. L. Manjunath, the Vice-Chancellor, explained when the program was under reconsideration, "is to teach Journalism as a subject of general studies as one of the three subjects required for the B.A. degree. The objective has been more to introduce students to journalism than to train them as professional journalists."

The course was placed in the charge temporarily of an English teacher, Prof. O. K. Nambiar, who developed strong interest in the work among the students. He was assisted by a history professor and a professional journalist. But he was handicapped in several ways. In 1953, the instruction was turned over to a professional journalist, Prof. N. Krishna Murthy, who like Professor Singh of Punjab received his journalism education at the University of Missouri. Enrolment in 1951 was 24; in 1952 it was 18. A good nucleus of journalism books was obtained and a practice paper issued.

Mysore's course is unusual in that it is the only one which puts the instruction in the undergraduate years, for all others are fifth year courses.

During the early part of 1953 consideration was being given to the establishment of courses at Agra University and Osmania University; some special work related to journalism also had been begun in February, 1953, at Allahabad Agricultural Institute.

The newest large program is that at Hislop College, which is affiliated with Nagpur University in the Madhya Pradesh capital.

THE HISLOP PROGRAM

A program in journalism for Hislop, a 1,000-student liberal arts institution affiliated with Nagpur University, was requested by a university committee in 1946 but did not materialize until 1952. It differs in several ways from the programs at other universities. For the present it was a one-year diploma program also offering a certificate to experienced journalists without college education. Diploma candidates must have completed their undergraduate study creditably and certificate seekers must have demonstrated journalistic ability.

3. From letter to the author, August 29, 1952.

This liberal admission attitude is one innovation. Another is the reliance not only on internship, lectures, and laboratory but also on project methods and greater class participation. A third is the offering, in addition to the standard courses—news writing and reporting, editing, article and feature writing, an internship, introduction to journalism, creative writing, business and law of journalism,—with current events and shorthand and typing as extras—of one never before available in India and probably nowhere else. It is study of and practice in the preparation of written materials for use in social education work. This class was included at the request of church and state agencies concerned with social education, one of whose facets is combating illiteracy. New literates are being rapidly created in India, through the Laubach and other methods, but little reading material of the proper grade is being printed. The Hislop course is studying the production of manuscripts of various types, and is carrying forward journalistic experiments begun in 1950-51 through the religious journalism division at the School of Journalism, Syracuse University. The newspapers, magazines, radio station, printing industry, and news agencies of Nagpur, a city of nearly 450,000, have given complete co-operation to the college in the new program.

The intention is to increase the faculty (in 1952-53 it was two full-time and two part-time men) as soon as feasible and to double the classes in order to offer an undergraduate degree as a school of journalism and provide work at both graduate and undergraduate levels, moving genuine graduate study into the fifth year.

With a controlled final enrolment of 42 students, most of them college graduates and almost half experienced in professional journalism or a related field, this program has broken the tight grip of examinations on at least a few Indian students. Nagpur University officials have approved a division of marks which leaves the passing or failing of the student finally in the hands of the teachers rather than the examiners.

Direction of the Hislop department (which also is a Nagpur University department) is in the hands of a university body, the Board of Studies in Journalism. This body ordinarily is elected from a departmental faculty, but since journalism is a small unit at Nagpur the group consists of three faculty members, three Nagpur journalists, and a member of the Calcutta journalism faculty.

ACADEMIC OBSTACLES

While in some parts of India practising journalists, especially those who have reached positions of influence without benefit of college training, provide some obstacles of a negative type, such as refusal to let students come into their offices for practice work, the academic world has set up barriers also.

In addition to the usual one of disbelief in the idea of professional training at the university level, which exists in some Indian academic circles, is insistence that journalism, like non-technical subjects, can be learned largely through memorizing prescribed text-books and listening to lectures. An almost uncanny repetition of the early U.S. experience is the academic view that journalism needs little special equipment; in the few courses offered, therefore, only the minimum is provided. There are no typewriters, no type labs, or other such necessities; the teachers must make do with the help of the local press and by inducing students to obtain their own typewriters, if possible, which it rarely is. A university may induce wealthy industrialists to provide many lakhs of rupees for medical or science colleges but make no attempt to interest a newspaper proprietor in financing a first-rate journalism plant. This is indicative of the requirements of the press as understood by the academic mind. There is little realization of the talent and skill needed to do a good journalistic job because good jobs are done often enough.

TEXT-BOOKS

From the foregoing the text-book situation perhaps can be imagined. Only a half-dozen text-books on Indian journalism has been published. They are in different languages and moreover are out of print. In fact, the total number of books dealing with the Indian press does not exceed fifty. These are either historical or reminiscent or discussional, their subjects usually being freedom of the press or the press and political affairs.

British and American texts are respected and used if any can be. But in most instances students are prohibited from buying their own texts by the cost of these imported volumes. One or two are prescribed for each course and others recommended are read in the libraries. An American text of the type used commonly in U.S. schools of journalism costs a sum equal to one-fourth the year's tuition.

Texts do not find their way into the professional newsroom as they do sometimes in other countries. Most practising journalists are unacquainted with the scant literature of Indian journalism and have only slight knowledge of that of other countries.

Few books of any kind on journalism are contained in university and public libraries.⁴ Private collections of certain proprietors and editors contain journalism books but mainly United Kingdom or U.S. treatments of press law and management. The Nagpur University and the Hislop College libraries have what is undoubtedly the most modern if not

⁴ The United States Information Service libraries in India, however, have done much to bring U. S. journalism books to the attention of the Indian people.

the largest collection on the press, between them possessing about two hundred titles of U.S.A., U.K., and Indian volumes the majority of which are new and recent editions.

ATTITUDE OF THE PROFESSION

The attitude toward journalism education of the professional journalistic world, as already noted, is somewhat like that existing in the United States early in the century, except that the skeptics are disconcerted by the success of the idea in the U.S.A. It might be summarized to range from outright antagonism (a minority view) through indifference (a majority attitude) to enthusiasm (a minority position). One antagonist is a practising newsman who has written a short book on journalism.⁵ He includes a brief chapter attacking the idea of teaching journalism in a university, declaring that American journalism schools are possible only because they are subsidized by millionaires. When he heard of the news department to be opened at Nagpur however he sent copies of his little book to three officials, suggesting its adoption as a text.

The indifferent are open to persuasion. Among the enthusiasts are certain officers and members of the national press associations, such as the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference and the Indian Federation of Working Journalists, as well as regional groups like the large Southern India Journalists' Federation. The A.-I.-N.-E.-C., with about 200 members, appointed a committee in 1949 consisting of three Nagpur journalists "to prepare a scheme for the establishment of an All-India Institute of Journalism for giving higher training to journalists and . . . to submit its report to the Standing Committee within three months."

The proposed institute would be governed by representatives of the Ministry of Education of India, the A.-I.-N.-E.-C., and other recognized journalists' associations. Five years' practical experience and two years' college education are to be prerequisites of admission. The Central and State Governments would finance the plan, with some aid from A.-I.-N.-E.-C. English and Hindi would be the media of instruction.

The suggested syllabus covers courses in news reporting and writing, news editing, editorial writing, public opinion and propaganda, pictorial journalism, ethics of journalism, law of journalism, the graphic arts, shorthand and typewriting, and some background work in economics, politics, civics, and history.

A.-I.-N.-E.-C. members would be expected to co-operate on an internship or practical training plan; laboratories would be set up for certain courses.

The report, on which no action has as yet been taken but which may come up for examination again if the Press Commission suggests the idea, ends on a hopeful note not often heard in writings about Indian journalism:

5. K. D. Umrigar : *Lest I Forget*, Bombay, 1949.

"With democracy, adult franchise and increasing literacy there is great scope for the development of newspapers which will need trained personnel in increasing number."

If the few departments and courses did a better job of promotion, there would be less indifference or opposition to them. Journalists in India rarely know the extent of journalism education in their country. An example of the damage that ignorance can do is an article printed in April 1952, in *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi, which declared that the Panjab department was unsuccessful because the press never hired any of its diploma-holders.

Professor Singh, although he had published the facts in his catalogue, forthwith listed a host of press people who are his graduates, including some on the staff of the *Times* itself.

What are the answers to skeptics who say that university education in journalism works well in the United States or other countries but will not function in India?

To begin with, the Indian journalists or educators who take this view are discovered, usually, to know almost nothing about what has been done in their own country in this area of study and to have only the barest understanding of what has taken place elsewhere in the world. At best they conceive of a school of journalism as no more than a trade school. They know nothing of the research aspects, the opportunities for self-expression, the chance to orient the student, the teaching of responsibility and proper use of communications media, and the possibilities of making the whole educational experience more meaningful and more interesting to the student.

Nevertheless the opponent's arguments are not all pointless. His strongest one is the existence of language difficulties. Hindi gradually is displacing English in education, government, and business. Yet it will be many years before most of India's people can use it in addition to their regional language. D. R. Mankekar, editor of the Delhi edition of *The Times of India* and a friend of journalism education, nevertheless had to tell the Panjab journalism students that

" . . . when one talks of the future of Indian journalism one does not mean English language journalism. For all the good and noble work it has done, English journalism is doomed. The future is all with Indian language journalism, and particularly with Hindi journalism. In fifty years' time, perhaps, when Hindi has sufficiently developed as the all-India language, our dreams of six-digit circulations for Indian newspapers might at last be realized."

It is true that the student who is taught his basic journalistic techniques in college can learn them most

6. Report of the Sub-Committee on Establishment of an All-India Institute of Journalism, All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, 1949.

7. D. R. Mankekar : *Post-Independence Trends in Indian Journalism*. Report of his presidential address on the occasion of the Fourth Journalism Day Conference of the Panjab University Department of Journalism, New Delhi, July 14, 1950.

readily if universities in all the provinces or linguistic areas offer such work. A program entirely in English or any one other language for the present is handicapped by being unable to accept brilliant students with insufficient mastery of English or another language not their mother tongue and by being unable to help place graduates in journalistic occupations requiring excellent command of some regional language unknown to them. A Malayali, for instance, cannot serve out his full internship in Nagpur or New Delhi because there are no publications in his language in these cities. This is a real difficulty but it is not insurmountable, inasmuch as regional departments can be set up and run by experienced journalists in at least the major languages.

E. B. Brook, news editor of India's only remaining important British-owned daily, *The Statesman* of Calcutta and New Delhi, expressed a second objection from the field when he said:

"I am afraid the principal problem will be, for those who have been educated in journalism to find adequate employment."⁸

His ground for this statement is his knowledge that India has only about 6000 newspapers and magazines of all types and in all languages and that many are one-man jobs. However, he overlooks All-India Radio, with its two dozen stations, whose news coverage increases constantly; the mounting number of trade journals and other specialized periodicals; the developing public relations and publicity businesses; the news agencies; the new field of preparation of journalistic materials for adults just become literate; and numerous non-journalistic areas where the journalist's skills are needed.

A third contention is less easily dealt with: the low pay scale, poor working conditions, and lack of future for practising journalists which are real conditions in the newspaper and magazine worlds. U. Bhaskar Rao, editor of the *Delhi Express*, told the Panjab students not to look forward to "a life of ease and luxury. The work is tough, the spiritual rewards are very satisfying, but alas there is not much monetary reward in this profession. It will be a life of struggle, asceticism, in some cases of downright poverty."⁹

But for many talented and ambitious people these circumstances are not insurmountable barriers. These people will put up with almost any hardships for the sake of remaining in their chosen field of journalism. And there are signs that conditions will be bettered. The rank and file newsmen have solidified their rank slightly more and formed the Indian Federation of Working Journalists; numerous regional groups have been organized as a consequence. These organiza-

tions are asking for training. Furthermore, the era of unquestioning acceptance of policies and actions of the Congress Party, which led India to freedom, is over and this group, now in the seat of government, is being pressed for stronger social reforms, certain of which will benefit the Indian journalist.

THE FUTURE

When, as Devadas Gandhi, managing editor of *The Hindustan Times*, has pointed out in several speeches and articles, the rate of illiteracy decreases sufficiently and newsprint once again is available in adequate quantities, there will be a growing demand for publications in India. The number of papers and magazines will increase rapidly, and the circulations will mount. He anticipates a flood that must be met, when the time comes, with many well prepared publications. These will need trained personnel in abundance.

India's present four or five departments and courses obviously will be totally inadequate to the situation. They will be insufficient not only because the future demands for staff will be great but also because the spread of Hindi and the necessity for knowledge by most journalists of at least two languages will further complicate the problem.

This country, it seems to me, should plan for 25 schools and departments of journalism connected with universities in all the principal linguistic areas of the nation. Hindi, Marathi, Urdu, Bengali, Malayalam, Gujarati, Telugu and Tamil journalisms, for example, are so strong and well-developed that they will continue to exist for many years within India. University study of journalism in Hindi or English, while it will help greatly in preparing journalists for necessary service, will not be as valuable for the time being as study in the student's mother tongue.

An instance supporting this contention occurred recently at my own institution, Hislop College of the Nagpur University. Long before coming to India, I searched for a history of India's press. The best one I could find was Margarita Barns' *The Indian Press*, which is not satisfactory, because it carries only through the 1930's and because it deals, as do most studies of India's press history, primarily with the conflicts between the press and the government. It ignores most of the important technical and professional developments.

One day last July, however, the college librarian came upon what appears to be a much more useful book for general study of the role the press plays in India, *History of Newspapers* by V. K. Joshi and R. K. Lele, published in 1951 in Bombay. But it is in Marathi, and, therefore, unreadable not only for the American faculty members of the Department of Journalism of Hislop, but also for more than half of the students in their classes, who came from eight States. At Punjab, Calcutta, and Madras, the journa-

8. Letter to the author, April 18, 1952.

9. U. Bhaskar Rao: "Inaugural Address" delivered at the Fourth Journalism Day Conference of the Panjab University Department of Journalism, New Delhi, July 14, 1952.

lism students would be under even greater handicap in using this volume.

The suggested 25 schools and departments, it seems to me, should be organized with co-operation between universities, colleges, governments state and central, and journalists' organizations. They are necessary and feasible, because literacy is increasing, newsprint supplies are likely to return to normal in the near future or at least improve considerably, India's journalistic organizations are becoming stronger and more nearly national in scope, and teaching personnel is available.

Just as has happened in my own country, the United States, the existence of sound schools and departments of journalism will help improve the standards of the press, better the working conditions for journalists, and enrich the educational background of students, professional journalists and readers.

What should these schools and departments teach? Here there are legitimate differences of opinion among teachers of journalism and practising journalists who do acknowledge the need for university training.

Thus far, the courses offered in India have been of two kinds. One emphasizes technical preparation (Punjab and Nagpur) easily within reach of all. Such a graduate programme would work out variously depending upon the student's background. The other stresses along with journalism such general studies as law, history and economics (Madras and Calcutta). Neither in my opinion is sufficient for India's needs, present and future. For under both these plans the student receives inadequate technical training and usually does not master the general subjects required by the journalist.

It is possible for Indian students to obtain their B.A. without studying political science, psychology, or sociology, all of which are essential for proper preparation for modern journalism, especially in this country, where social development is dynamic. In their journalism education they are able to obtain a diploma without studying more than superficially, if at all, the business side of journalism (advertising, circulation, management).

Little, if any practical instruction is given in printing and typography, press photography, radio journalism, specialised journalism, and journalistic and communications research. All courses at present are at the post-graduate level; almost none of these now taught really is of graduate calibre. On this basis journalism instruction in India cannot acquire depth.

Journalism instructions at its best, should begin not later than the first or second year of undergraduate college work.

Let me say at once, however, that this does not mean that students should take nothing but classes in journalism for four years. What it does mean is

this: They study for their B.A. as usual, but their B.A. program is carefully planned to give them the broad general education necessary in all walks of life, plus selected courses in journalism, taken one or two at a time each year for the four undergraduate years. A student's time might be divided thus:

First Year: Language, natural sciences, mathematics, social sciences, and an introductory course in journalism (the latter might be one pre-professional class meeting once or twice a week during the year).

Second Year: Continuation of the general studies, including economics, history, and other social studies, more language, art, science, etc., plus a course in news reporting and writing (not as handled by the newspaper alone) and one in printing and typography for the journalist.

Third Year: Further general studies, with municipal organization, government, and constitutional law imperative, plus technical and non-technical courses in editing, article writing, history, ethics, and problems of journalism. Press photography, radio journalism and a few free-choice subjects.

Fourth Year: Completion of the general studies; to which are added courses in press law, specialized journalism, business aspects of journalism, and contemporary affairs.

Not more than 25 per cent of the courses should deal with journalism, so that the student is sure to study all basic general educational subjects. Mastery of shorthand and typewriting would be essential as a technical subject to be completed privately. A period of practical experience would be included.

This course of study would lead to a new degree for India: A Bachelor of Arts in Journalism, or to a simple Bachelor of Arts with journalism and some social study as the principal concentration of courses.

Students with either degree, as well as regular college-degree-holding professionals who wish advanced training would be eligible then for genuine graduate work, which might be offered at a selected few of the 25 universities offering undergraduate journalism. These institutions should be well distributed geographically so as to be easily within reach of all. Such a graduate programme would work but variously depending upon the student's background.

Graduates of schools and departments of journalism would spend from one to two years taking advanced study in the various phases of journalism already begun in their undergraduate days. They might concentrate on magazine journalism, newspaper journalism, on the business aspects, or on research phases. Those who undertake to write a book as part of their work would need two years and would receive a master's degree that reflects such effort. The non-research degree might be called Master of Arts in Journalism; the research degree Master of Science in Journalism.

Graduates of recognized universities who did not study journalism while at college would spend from two to three years taking similar advanced courses. If they lacked the proper study of government, law, history, economics, sociology, or other subjects already indicated, they would require two or three years to obtain the master's degree, depending upon, whether they produced a book.

Graduates of recognized universities who did not study journalism but have had at least five years of professional experience in the field on accepted publications and in areas related to journalism would obtain the master's degree in from one to two years. The time would depend upon their general study and upon how much of their professional work could be accepted in lieu of classes (to be determined by examinations of a practical nature).

By the time such programs can be developed, it is assumed that Hindi will have become more nearly India's national language, and advanced instruction in that medium will be feasible.

All this, of course, presumes adequate staff and

equipment. These schools, therefore, should be associated with universities in the biggest cities or in cities where the fields of journalism, printing and radio have been highly developed, so as to provide living laboratories.

An estimate of the annual cost of operation of an average undergraduate school of journalism would reach Rs. 1,00,000. This sum would be needed for four or five full-time teachers, several part-time lecturers from the field, maintenance of a small professional library, purchase of supplies, and other basic costs.

A dream? It was a dream once in many other countries of the world. It need not remain a dream for India.*

* This article is a chapter from a book soon to be published, *Journalism in Modern India*. Edited by the author of this article, the volume is an examination by 15 prominent Indian journalists of this occupation in India today. The author, was for a year head of the Department of Journalism at Hislop College, Nagpur University, and a visiting Fulbright professor of journalism in India. Portions of the article have already appeared in *Journalism Quarterly*, and are reproduced here by permission.

SOME ASPECTS OF DEVALUATION

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

IN recent times there has been much talk of devaluation, and many people think that devaluation is an effective cure-all for exchange difficulties. This idea, however, is not correct. Devaluation is suitable only as a temporary expedient to correct a maladjustment in the internal cost-price structure, and thus to remove a disequilibrium in the balance of payment under certain circumstances, but it cannot be suggested as a permanent remedy or panacea for an adverse balance of payment situation. The devaluation of the sterling in September, 1949, is a case in point. Although the continual adverse balance of payment from which England had been suffering was to some extent removed by this measure, there were other contributory factors such as austerity measures adopted, surplus budgeting, increase in production, etc., which actually helped in changing the balance of payment into a favourable one. Thus devaluation can only prove helpful as a stop-gap measure to iron out a difference between the internal and external value of a country's currency, and thus to help the flow of foreign trade to reach its normal level by removing the bottle-necks to exports.

In this article an attempt has been made to explain the term 'devaluation' and to analyse critically the case for and against devaluation as a practical policy in all its bearings on internal economy and foreign trade of a country.

DEFINITION OF DEVALUATION

Under the gold standard the value of the unit of national currency was fixed in terms of gold, and the Central Bank was under the obligation to purchase

and sell gold in exchange for local currency at this fixed rate. So under the Gold Standard regime there was a fixed and unalterable relationship between gold and national currency, and the Central Bank's obligation to purchase and sell gold at this fixed rate prevented the national currency from depreciating, and tied the exchange rate within the two ends of export and import gold point. When there was war, or any other catastrophe, the gold payment was suspended as happened during 1914-18, and after the Great Depression of 1929-31, and the exchanges depreciated to find their natural level as determined by the forces of demand and supply of foreign currency. Devaluation, therefore, originally meant in the context of the Gold Standard a reduction in the gold value of the national currency.

Under paper standard as the currency is divorced from gold, devaluation is synonymous with exchange depreciation.

Today the value of the national currency of a country which is a member of the I.M.F. has been fixed in terms of the U.S.A. dollar, and devaluation means a reduction in the dollar value of the currency. The constitution of the I.M.F. permits devaluation to the extent of 10 per cent in the first instance to remove a permanent disequilibrium in the balance of payment of a country, but greater doses of devaluation require specific sanction of the authorities of the I.M.F.

THE RATIONALE OF DEVALUATION

The supporters of devaluation point out the following advantages of it:

(1) Firstly, it is claimed that devaluation stimulates exports and discourages imports, and thus relieves the strain on the foreign exchange of a country suffering from continued adverse balance of trade. As a result of reduction in the value of the national currency in terms of the currencies of other countries a larger number of the units of the currency of the depreciating country are now exchanged for the same amount of foreign currency. If the price of the exported goods is retained in the foreign market this means increased earnings of those engaged in the export trade. If however, the price is allowed to fall in the foreign market as a result of depreciation, it will increase the competitive strength of the country inasmuch as the lowering of prices will stimulate foreign demand and promote exports.

On the other hand, foreign goods will now become dearer in the home market as a result of appreciation of foreign currency, and hence imports will be checked. Thus the net effect will be an increase of exports and decrease of imports which will correct an adverse balance of payment situation that is responsible for deflationary pressure within the country.

(2) A second argument advanced by the protagonists of devaluation is that it enables a country to attain prosperity in the domestic sphere by following an easy money policy and engineer a mild inflation, and thus removes the maladjustment in the cost price structure which would otherwise have brought about slump and depression. As Prof. Milton Gilbert writes in his book *Currency Depreciation*:

"The depreciation of the pound sterling after the suspension of gold payment in 1931 corrected the overvaluation which was several years' standing. By allowing the authorities to seek a monetary expansion, it was eventually to relieve a depressed economic situation which had characterized the British economy since 1925."

The desire to raise prices and thus to initiate a successful recovery programme at home was also the foremost objective of the Administration in the U.S.A. in abandoning the Gold Standard in 1933 and adopting a policy of exchange depreciation. Under a fixed and unalterable parity as prescribed under the Gold Standard the autonomy to initiate an expansion was strictly limited inasmuch as such a policy led to a heavy efflux of gold, and an infringement of the rules of the game. Devaluation offered a way out of this difficulty and enabled a country to avoid falling prices, declining income and production, and unemployment. As Prof. Harris writes in his book *Exchange Depreciation* that the most significant gains from depreciation lie in the rise of production and income, an improvement to be explained largely by the more profitable cost price structure.

THE CASE AGAINST DEVALUATION

The above two arguments, although they may appear as invulnerable have to be accepted with some amount of reservation.

Regarding the first argument, it is pointed out that whether devaluation will increase exports and decrease imports depends upon the elasticity of demand. If the home demand for foreign goods is inelastic, a rise in their price in response to devaluation will not lead to a slackening of the demand for those goods, and accordingly there will be no diminution in the quantum of imports. Similarly, if the foreigners are not very keen about the purchase of the goods of the depreciating country, devaluation will fail to stimulate exports.

Again, as Prof. Harris points out that

"Though there is a short time-lag, the home price-cost structure will soon rise due to various reasons (e.g., rise in the earnings of the export industries, and its multiplier effect on the total income of the community and level of prices, effects of the rise in import prices on the general price level) and detract from the gains arising from exchange depreciation which enables the exporters to dump the goods at low price abroad."

To the extent that an adjustment of 100 per cent in the home price level is not obtained the country gains a competitive advantage. The second argument is more important than the first, but against the advantage arising from a policy of devaluation which it claims, we have to note the following countervailing disadvantages:

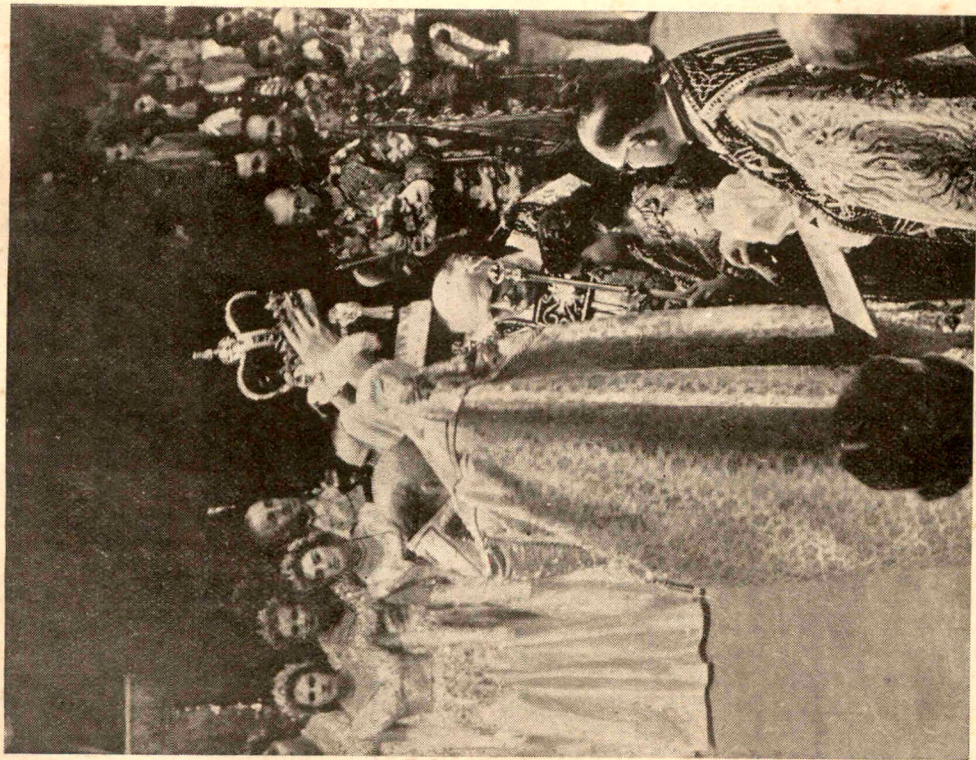
(1) Depreciation necessarily involves a change in the barter terms of trade against the depreciating country. It means that a larger volume of exports would have to be surrendered for any desired quantity of imports, and thus involves an economic loss for the country.

(2) Devaluation frequently leads to competitive depreciation of exchange by other countries, and currency warfare by adoption of restrictive devices such as tariff, import quota, etc., which result in a sizeable diminution in the volume of international trade.

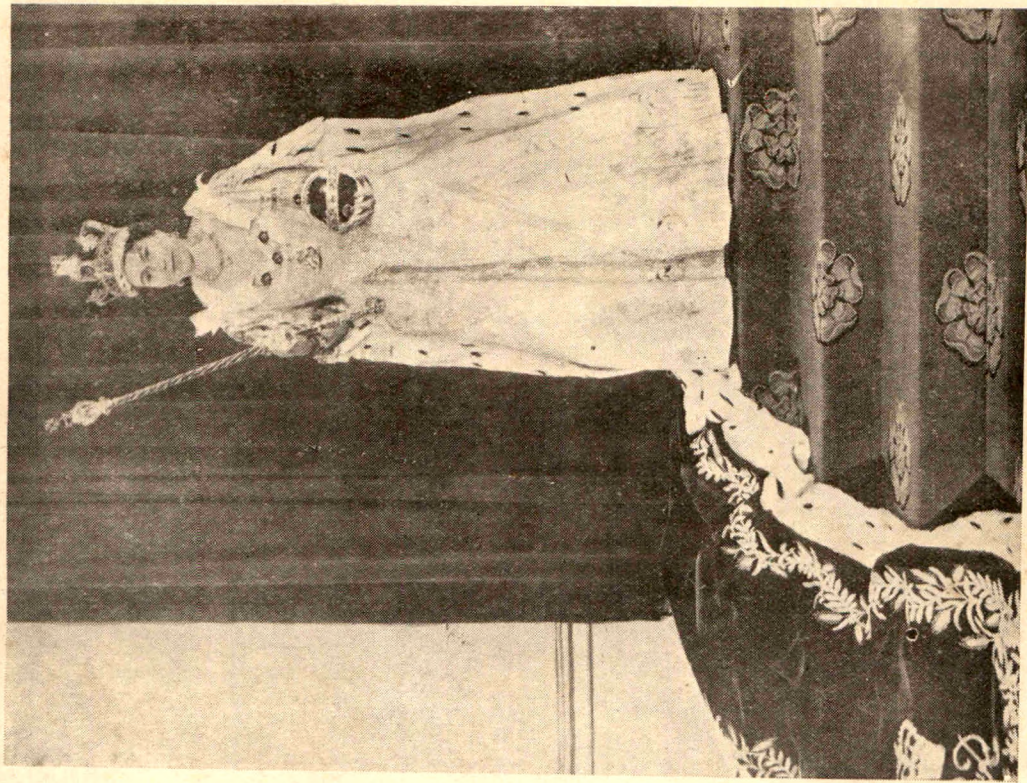
From the above it is clear that devaluation can not prove an unmixed boon under all circumstances. In judging the issue whether time is ripe for devaluating the currency of a country the following tests should be applied:

- (a) Whether the home level of prices is out of tune with the international price level leading to a discrepancy between the internal and external value of the currency, and resulting in a continual deficit in the balance of payment.
- (b) Whether the internal cost structure has risen in proportion to the price curve, and consequentially a mal-adjustment has arisen in the cost price structure exerting a deflationary pressure on prices, income and production.
- (c) The pattern of its exports (whether agricultural or industrial) and its importance in the context of world trade.
- (d) Whether devaluation will promote international trade and commerce.

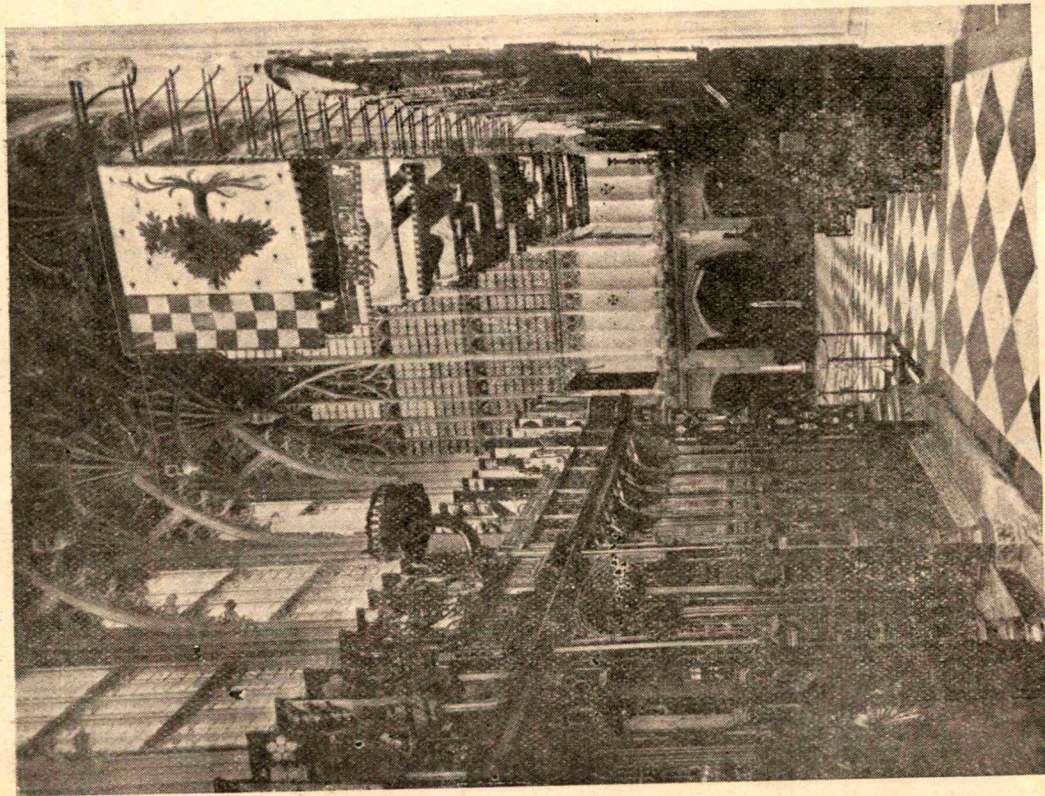
The result of devaluation will be beneficial if it constitutes a movement towards an international equilibrium.



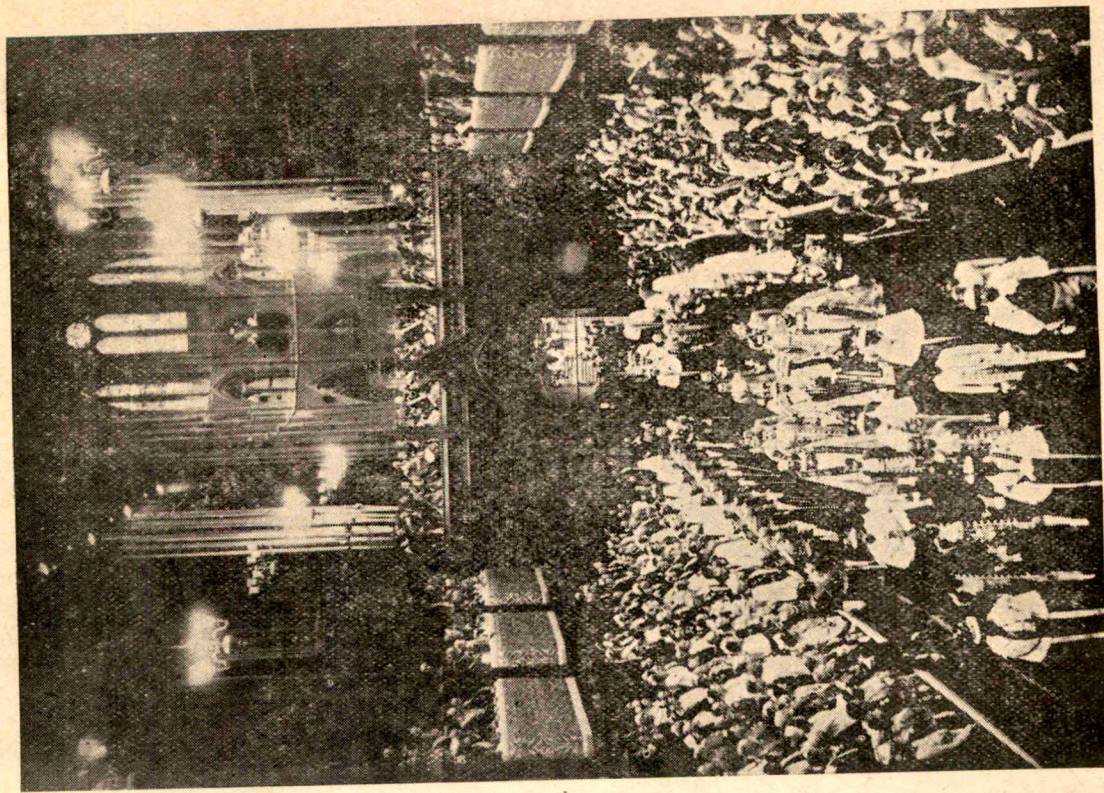
Queen Elizabeth was crowned in Westminster Abbey with all the splendid symbolism that has come down through a thousand years of history



This portrait of Queen Elizabeth II was taken in the Throne Room of Buckingham Palace on the evening of Coronation Day



Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey



Scene inside Westminster Abbey after the Coronation, in 1937, of King George VI

THEORY OF DEFICIT SPENDING AND INDIAN PLANNING

By SURESH PRASAD NIYOGI, F.A.E.C.O.S. (Lond.)

The most important subject of discussion in the Indian economic circle today is the role of deficit spending in Indian economy. In its Draft Report the Planning Commission observed that it might be necessary to indulge in deficit spending to the extent of Rs. 290 crores as the last source of finding funds for the Plan. But for want of funds, the Government of India has already indulged in a certain measure of deficit spending even before the publication of the final version of the First Five-Year Plan where the Planning Commission has recommended deficit spending up to Rs. 290 crores in the absence of foreign aid. Hence, the problem assumes special importance at this dawn of planning era in India.

A historical study is necessary to understand the principles, application and economic necessity of the concept. The classical economists were guided by the dictum that the principle of individual economy is equally applicable in the case of Government expenditure policy. For this reason the orthodox economists disliked deficit budgets. Even in the beginning of the twentieth century deficit budgets were regarded as signs of weakness of Government and the beginning of an economic disaster. The great depression of 1930 gave a death-blow to this view of the older economists. For it was found that if the expenditure policy of Government was directed towards public works programme then the country may be saved from depression by increasing total investment and total employment. This brought a new light in the field of economic thinking. One after another the Governments of U.S.A., Sweden, Germany, etc., began to use deficit spending as an instrument in fighting depression. In fact, the economists found that the bank rate policy of the Central Bank alone was not sufficient. So reliance was made on budgetary policy as an essential supplement.

In fact, deficit spending has been necessitated by a special phase of capitalism, because the set of forces stimulating employment that were present in the later part of the nineteenth century and first part of the twentieth century (such as increase in population, territorial expansion, colonisation, etc.) could hardly be found in the thirties of the present century. Due to inadequacy of these stimuli there was contraction in private investment and in order to meet this deficiency in private investment, public investment was necessary. So, in order to meet the situation deficit spending became necessary.

But in recent years due to the rise of various complexities (such as monopoly, import trade control, pressure of Trade Unions, foreign exchange control, etc.) in the economic world, the States abandoned the old *laissez faire* ideas, and governments of all capitalist countries realised that the responsibility of Govern-

ment in economic field could not be ignored. For this reason even the Conservative Government of England had to realise the utility of deficit-spending. If we discuss the history of finances of the Government of India, we find that she produced deficit budgets one after another since 1917-18 with few exceptions. In producing these deficit budgets the Government of India had no motive behind, although there was a curious coincidence of deficit budgets and depression. In fact, this was due to Government's unwillingness to increase taxation or to curtail growing expenditure. So this can not be called a perfect deficit spending.

In this connection a question may be posed: What is perfect deficit spending and what is its practical utility? To answer this question it is necessary to discuss the principles of deficit spending. In short, the volume of total investment, employment and national income depends on effective demand. Then again if investment declines full employment and national income will also decline. For this reason, we are to face chronic depression. So, if investment is to be corrected (or increased) effective demand should not be allowed to decrease.

In fact, this deficiency of effective demand leads to chronic unemployment and its evil effects. To remove this deficiency deficit spending is absolutely necessary. According to this policy, the Government increases its expenditure in public works programme or spends in investment. Due to this, deficiency in private demand is fitted by the increased demand caused by the increased public expenditure. So the total aggregate effective demand, instead of decreasing increases the investment, employment and national income. Thus the role of deficit spending is quite clear. According to Lord Keynes, if income decreases due to unemployment, then the Government should take recourse to deficit spending willingly or unwillingly or it has to pay unemployment relief. But it is true that deficit spending is not always feasible in all cases particularly at the time of inflation. For during inflation as extra demand is directed towards few goods the price level increases gradually. If in this circumstance the Government appears in the market with extra demand created by deficit spending then inflation will rise.

Now there are the following three courses open to a Government to reach full employment through deficit budgets:

- (1) Public works programme
- (2) Pump-priming.
- (3) Compensatory spending.

(1) Individual investment often fluctuates. So the aim of public works programme is to resist the bad effects of fluctuations in private investment. The great disadvantage of this policy is that it cannot be

got on the way immediately and it provides the purchasing power gradually. Even if the scheme is there it takes time for Government to pump purchasing power into national economy although this pumping is urgently needed to fight depression straight in the face. Suddenly, once the scheme has been got gaining it cannot be stopped immediately even though the conditions of depression soon become non-existent.

(2) With a view to remove these difficulties the pump-priming as advocated by the American writers like Hansen, Samuelson, etc., is restored to. It makes money immediately available to those who will spend the money by means of socialised consumption. The duration of a programme of pump-priming is very short. It is advocated as a contra-cyclical measure during the depression period. The underlying idea is that once the national economy is made to start the machine will move on its own momentum only for a short period so as to keep the machine running just as the sparking plug keeps a motor car running. The economy goes on under the stimulus of acceleration principle. The initial investment is multiplied in consumption effects and increase of consumption in turn gives impetus to increased demand for capital goods. When socialised consumption is increased by pump-priming both the quantum of consumption and the demand for capital goods are increased thereby.

(3) Both public works programme and pump-priming are restored during depression and as such they are short-term policies or temporary palliatives. But the third type, *i.e.*, compensatory spending is characteristically different. But by adopting pump-priming policy underdeveloped countries like India will not gain much.

The essence of the concept of compensatory spending is that the Government must compensate for the deficiency in private investment. It has no time limit as to duration. Besides, it can go on throughout all the phases of the trade cycle. This policy associated with the concept of secular stagnation has been prescribed by Prof. Hansen for mature economy marked by vanishing investment opportunities. It has been advocated on two grounds: (i) It is not a short-term policy and, (ii) it is operative at all times to come.

Some say that in the period of depression deficit spending is not desirable. There are three arguments for this. Deficit spending will exert upward pressure in the rate of interest and consequently there will be a decline in private investment, so much so that increase in public investment will not have any substantial effect. Whether a particular rise in public debt will raise the rate of interest will depend on the credit policy of the Central Bank. If the credit system is inelastic then there will be a rise in the rate of interest. But with greater control of the Central Bank on money market credit policy has become less inelastic.

A large-scale Government borrowing will lead to a rise in the demand for credit. But it is desirable to expand the supply of credit when Government takes to large-scale borrowing. Hence, there will be less possibility of the rise in the rate of interest. All the advanced countries (specially in course of war) have continually pursued the policy of cheap money through credit expansion.

Deficit spending leads to inflation and its evil effects. If the rise in the rate of interest is to be avoided then credit expansion is needed, but the latter will accentuate inflation; when there is credit expansion there will be greater demand for resources. But the price of different factors would rise only if the supply is inelastic. But if their supply is elastic greater demand for factors will not raise their prices. It is only after full employment that the greater demand for factors will result in enhancement of their prices. This is only a fault of initial statement. Even before full employment is reached bottlenecks may develop in particular sectors (*e.g.*, particular raw materials may be scarce or there may be paucity of skilled labour). If such bottlenecks appear and if credit expansion is not accompanied by other measures there will be sympathetic transmission of upward trend of prices from one sector to another. Hence we should remove the bottlenecks.

Thus we may conclude that deficit spending need not necessarily lead to inflation so long as the supply of different factors is elastic. There is little fear of over-all inflation before full employment but sectional inflation may set in due to rigidity.

For covering deficit spending it is possible to divide the sources of finance as follows:

- (a) Banking institutions,
- (b) Idle balances at the disposal of individuals and corporations and
- (c) Current income of individuals and corporations.

(a) If Government is taking loans from credit institutions and credit institutions are not at the same time restricting credit there will be larger amount of medium of exchange in circulation.

(b) There will be a rise in the velocity of circulation of money if Government takes loans from idle balances of individuals and corporations. This may lead to an inflationary situation provided the supply of different factors is inelastic.

(c) If Government draws on the current income of individuals and corporations there will not necessarily be a rise in *M*, or *V*. Considering the flow which takes the form of income on the one hand and expenditure on the other, the statement is true. *A priori* there is nothing to believe that there will be a rise in *M*, or *V*.

In this connection it may be argued that what the Government takes away could have been spent by private individuals even if there were no deficit

spending. It appears that only a change in the character and division of expenditure and not only change in M or V has been brought about by the Government. If the Government draws on current incomes after full employment there will be a drawing of capital to the capital goods industries resulting in a scarcity of consumers' goods. Thus a wage-induced inflation may develop.

There may be adverse effect on business psychology leading to a decline in private investment. When the Government adopts a programme of public works business, men are frightened, for the Government then comes into the picture as a competitor. In such a case only those wedded to the orthodox ideas will say that deficit spending will result in financial crash. Credit expansions in the twenties were connected with such financial crash and this created an aversion for deficit spending. In the twenties European countries like France, Germany, etc., had the bitter experience of inflation. This experience had important effect and afterwards many Governments became afraid to pursue the policy of deficit spending. This psychological fear can be removed if it can be shown that inflation does not necessarily follow a programme of deficit spending and also that the monetary policy was much weaker than that in the thirties. It should be remembered that a programme of deficit spending succeeds in stimulating investment even if the business community thinks it undesirable, because an irrational fear has a tendency to remove itself ultimately.

The Government may clearly specify the fields where it will implement the programme of deficit spending. In that case, business community will be free in other fields and the fear will fade away.

Thus we have seen that deficit spending was originally applied by highly industrialised countries to fight depression. But in recent years it has assumed greater importance in economically backward countries as a fruitful method of capital formation. But there are the following three objections against the use of deficit spending in an underdeveloped country: (1) Deficit spending serves as an indirect taxation with all its evil effects, (2) Deficit spending leads to a deficit in the country's balance of payments, for it leads to increased demand for imported goods, (3) It also leads to a rise in the standard of living. So in an underdeveloped country using deficit spending there must be some checks to combat its evil effects.

With this historical and theoretical background let us turn to India. In the post-war finances of the Government of India, the necessity of deficit spending is on the increase. It was Lord Wavell who first put the question whether money could not be found for productive, nation-building programmes when it could be found in abundance for purposes of unproductive war expenditure. The Government of India had been producing deficit budgets successively since

1917-18 and in 1949-50 over-shadowed by the horror of inflation decided to produce surplus budget in future. The Government also decided to cut down even development expenditure. This is indeed very unfortunate. For, this policy may be appreciated in times of increasing inflation, but in this dawn of Planning era this cannot be appreciated. Moreover, deficit budget alone is responsible for India's post-war inflation. In fact, (i) Absence of perfect country-wide central scheme, (ii) Government's unwillingness to stop excess purchasing power by taxation and (iii) Absence of any short-term planning are also responsible for this inflation. So it appears that if other measures are adopted, well-planned deficit spending may combat inflation and thereby increase national income and employment.

The Government of India have already indulged in deficit spending and in the budget for 1953-54 there has been a provision of deficit spending of Rs. 140 crores. Of this Rs. 30 crores will be secured from the reserves of the Government and the rest by selling Treasury Bills. The Finance Minister thinks, "No undue risk has been taken in this respect. Recent trends in the economic conditions of the country indicate that the inflationary pressures, which had been the besetting difficulty, have been brought under control, and the climate seems suitable for raising the scale of developmental expenditure." But the market conditions are not so favourable as the Finance Minister thinks. It is impossible to think that under the present conditions the Banking institutions, the Insurance companies will be able to purchase Treasury Bills to the extent of Rs. 110 crores. The last way open to the Government is to sell these Treasury Bills to the Reserve Bank of India who will in its turn create additional money through its printing press. This will lead to inflation and its evil effects. So some positive checks are necessary. According to Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, the following measures should be taken:

- (1) Import controls should continue;
- (2) All traders should be licensed and effective machinery installed to obtain from them regular returns of their stocks of different commodities;
- (3) Credit controls should be effectively exercised by the Reserve Bank, especially in respect of preventing the use of credit for holding stocks of food-grains and raw materials in excess of normal and thereby helping to raise prices;
- (4) Investment undertaken in the context of deficit financing should, as far as possible, be quick-yielding and high-yielding and it should be directed towards increasing the marked supplies of the basic essentials of life;
- (5) The supply and distribution of essential commodities should be so organised as to make minimum supplies at fixed prices available to the bulk of the population;

- (6) Special measures should be taken for the taxation of high profits;
- (7) Special attempts should also be taken to increase the volume of small savings, full use being made of the incentive of a high rate of interest;
- (8) Finally, there should be a firm and clear policy regarding controls. More especially, there should be an assurance of continuity in that policy over a period of time.

It has been opined by experts that the amount of deficit spending to be incurred will far exceed Rs. 290 crores. But it should be borne in mind that

the future of deficit spending does not depend on the volume of deficit alone, but on the condition of timing of application and on Government's anti-inflationary measures suggested above. Then again, as an underdeveloped country India shall have to face certain bottlenecks of transport, skilled labour, etc. The steps suggested in the Plan in this respect seem to be quite inadequate. So more care should be taken to remove these bottlenecks otherwise the hope of success will be nipped in the bud. Moreover, our Government should see that loans are raised from the genuine savings of the people as far as practicable.

—:O:—

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS IN THEIR RETROSPECT (1860—1950)

By PROF. UMA MUKHERJEE, M.A.,
Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta

I

THE Sino-Russian relations of modern times have exhibited in bold relief two distinct phases in course of their historic evolution. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 may be conveniently taken as the dividing-line between the two. Ideology has played, of course, an important role in both the phases, whether Bolshevik (since 1917) or pre-Bolshevik (1860-1917); but it has been perpetually modified in practice under the impact of *Realpolitik*. Be that as it may, the pattern of Sino-Russian relations of today radically differs from that of yesterday and day before yesterday. At the present moment Russia happens to be China's closest collaborator and this collaboration has been strengthened all the more by the defensive alliance of 1950. This up-to-date pattern of Sino-Russian relations is by no means older than 1917—the year of the Bolshevik ordeal. The Revolution of 1917 not only wrought epochal changes in the body politic of Russia, but also started her afresh on a career of new international morality which expressed itself earliest in the declared Bolshevik renunciation of all the Czarist rights in China (October 27, 1917). Russia under Lenin thus became a mighty feeder of freedom movements all the world over, and, of course, in China. But the Czarist *status quo* of Sino-Russian relations, marked as it was by China's damaged sovereignty and territorial integrity, was very much detrimental to the realisation of her natural and legitimate aspirations. Since 1858-60 Russia had been one of the first to perpetrate unjust aggressions on the Chinese dominions. Down to the Bolshevik Revolution, she had been as arrogant and aggressive to China as the Powers whom she began to condemn only since 1917.

II

Russia, which had been in the eighteenth century China's good geographical neighbour, gradually

changed her policy to China and the Far East since the middle of the 19th century. At a time when China was suffering blows and enduring humiliations at the hands of the Western maritime nations both in the south and centre of her territory, Russia showed new signs of imperialist activities from the north. After a period of lull (1689-1856), she started a steady renewal of her activities in the Far East after 1856, very largely due to the rebuff from the Anglo-French Powers at the Paris Conference at the end of the Crimean War (1853-56). Pushed back for the time being both from Moldavia-Wallachia and from the Black Sea, with her naval base at Sebastopol shattered and with Turkey put on her legs again as a sentinel in the Near East, Russia conveniently turned to the Far East for seeking compensation with vengeance.

Taking advantage of the Taiping Rebellion as well as China's distraction in the Second Opium War (1856-60), Russia forced her way down the Amur and built up Vladivostok (1858-60) in historic pursuance of the 'warm water policy' handed down since the days of Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Tsarina Catharine II (1762-96). By the Peking Convention of 1860, the so-called Maritime Province was wrung from China by Russia whose hostility to the former had been manifest since then almost in every generation and under every Tsar down to the Bolshevik Revolution.

The land hunger of Russia had been but whetted by the territory she had acquired from China in 1860. In the seventies she made a further drive for expansion in Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) and compelled the Manchu Government by the Treaty of St. Petersburg (1881) to surrender to her certain strategic positions in Sinkiang and to satisfy her imperialist hunger by nine million roubles. China's utter military weakness together with the unfortunate legacies of unsuccessful wars constituted a standing invitation to Russian

encroachment. The decade following 1881 witnessed Russia's extensive preparations, including the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway (1885-1891), while she constantly cast her greedy looks on Manchuria and Korea. Immediately after Japan's startling victory at Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), Russia assumed a pro-Chinese attitude only to deprive Japan of the Liaotung Peninsula through the diplomacy of the Dreibund (April 23, 1895). This ostensible beginning of Russo-Chinese collaboration was destined to end in China's terrible humiliation. The Dreibund diplomacy was, in fact, the prelude to the tightening of Russia's hold over Manchuria and Korea instead of Japan's, but at the cost of China indeed.

The years following 1895 witnessed Russia's imperialist penetration into Manchuria and Korea as well as China proper. Her financial assistance to China (1895) and the conclusion of Li-Lobanov Agreement, extorting thereby the privilege to construct the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria to Vladivostok (1896), set the tone and type of her policy to China. This was followed by her active entry into the battle for concessions and extorting from China in torment the leasehold of the Liaotung Peninsula, including Port Arthur and Dairen as well as railway and mining privileges in South Manchuria. The Treaty of St. Petersburg of 1898 was a sad commentary on the false cloak of friendship Russia wore in relation to China since 1895. The years 1899-1901 saw her virtual occupation of the three provinces of Manchuria and the Sino-Russian Convention of 1902 merely witnessed reinforcement of her troops there. Not only that, Russian plots in Korea continued throughout the same period (1896-1901), bringing her eventually in conflict with Japan, her most serious and deadly rival there. The Portsmouth Treaty (1905)—registering the Russian loss of the Liaotung Peninsula including all her railway and mining concessions in South Manchuria—also defeated at the same time her pro-Chinese policy. Russia at once cast it aside and turned to Japan for collaboration in order to exploit powerless China by joint imperialist drive as embodied by their treaties, notably, of 1907, 1910 and 1912. Along with Japan she even became a party to the secret partition plan regarding Chinese Inner Mongolia (1907-1912). The virtual establishment of Russian protectorate over Outer Mongolia (1913-1915) was another instance of Czarist aggression on Chinese sovereignty and integrity. The outbreak of the World War I (1914-18) brought no immediate changes in her basic policy to China, except causing her major distraction in Europe. She remained still bound by treaties to support Japan in her expansionist activities in China, the height of which was reached in the Twenty-one Demands (1915). What through Japan's pressure and what through Russia's intrigues, China reached during 1915-16 the nadir of her political depression.

III

In the midst of this *status quo* of China's passive submission to everybody's demand, a bombshell was suddenly thrown by the Bolshevik leaders immediately on their capture of power (1917). Perhaps the soul of Russia had been purged through the fire-baptism of Bolshevik philosophy and so it suited the leaders of the Soviet Union to embark on a "policy of thorough-going renunciations of all the rights of the imperial regime with the object of making it possible for the peoples of the East to win back again their lost freedom."

In regard to China, the Soviet leaders in a declaration of October 27, 1917, "renounced the annexations of the Czar's regime in Manchuria and restored the sovereignty of China in those regions in which lie the Chinese Eastern Railway. The right of extra-territoriality of Russian citizens in China and Mongolia was also renounced as well as all those contributions imposed upon the peoples of Mongolia and China under all sorts of pretexts by the old Russian government."

Soviet Russia also recalled all consular guards which the Czar's government and the Kerensky government had sent to China.

This was, as Benoy Sarkar pointed out as early as 1922, "an extraordinary and incredibly supermanic promulgation of a new international morality. Thus has been ushered into existence a new 'categorical imperative,' the Gita or the Bible of a veritable *Yugantara*, the cataclysmic upheaval of a new era."

It was not however clear in the midst of the World War I, how far this "self-denyng ordinance" theory and fact of renunciations could really impress the political psychology of the Chinese masses and classes. China, of course, could not easily forget that the old enmity of Russia to the Chinese people had been no less cruel and aggressive than that of the Powers condemned by her since 1917. The nightmare of the Czarist period still weighed heavily on the mind of China—both her government and her people. Partly due to this old Russian fear and partly due to the pressure of the colonial powers that we find China remaining deaf, at least officially, for the time being to new Russia's call of comradeship. The Peking government even broke off all diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia, since all its obligations had been with the Czarist regime. This was followed by China's resumption into her own hands of all the Czarist concessions and privileges on her soil, wrung from her in the days of her absolute military impotence (1919-20). Peking's attitude was far from being friendly, although Russia's soul had been purged under Lenin by the revolutionary ordeal.

IV

From the very beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution, the leaders of Russia had been particularly

1. B. K. Sarkar : *The Futurism of Young Asia*, p. 236, Leipzig, 1922.

anxious for cultivating deep bonds of friendship with China—China that belonged to the people and not to the colonial-imperialist Powers. But Moscow was misunderstood and her sincere drive for the building up of a new order in the Far East was hardly appreciated by Peking before 1924—the year of the Moscow-Peking Convention (May, 1924). The Treaty of 1924, based as it was on perfect equality as well as respect for each other's institutions, not only restored the normal diplomatic relations between China and Russia, but also cancelled in a totalitarian manner all the Czarist treaties affecting China's sovereignty. It further provided for a later conference to work out the details of boundaries and to settle the question of the Chinese Eastern Railway as a 'purely commercial undertaking' by the contracting parties alone to the exclusion of third parties. Among other provisions, Russia's recognition of Outer Mongolia as China's integral part and the liquidation of Boxer indemnity were highly significant. Altogether, the Treaty marked the opening up of an entirely new chapter in the traditional relations of China and Russia. Be it emphasised that this was the first treaty which China could conclude in modern times with a major European Power on the basis of perfect equality, friendship and amity. Again, China on her part got perhaps for the first time since her national disgrace at Nanking (1842) a genuine collaborator in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Russia by this treaty could enormously strengthen her hands diplomatically in the period of her relative isolation in world-politics. Be it noted in this connection that China in 1924 was hardly a territorially unified and politically centralised state. Her sovereignty still stood vitally damaged by the existence of sphere of interests, fixed tariff, extra-territoriality, treaty ports and economic vassalage. Foreign colonial hold over her was still preponderant while her socio-economic polity was semi-medieval, at least two generations behind the advanced west-European countries and the U.S.A. in science, technology, industrialism and modern institutions. Naturally she stood badly in need of foreign assistance, technical, human and financial, without its dangerous politico-economic corollaries. In Soviet Russia, China could legitimately hope to find a long-coveted friend.

The years following Yuan Shi-kai's death (1916) up to the "Northern Expedition" of the Kuomintang (1926-27) witnessed disintegration of political authority in China, which was shared between Peking, Mukden and Canton. Out of the internecine struggles following 1916, Chang Tso-lin gradually emerged triumphant with his capital at Mukden (1922) and defied allegiance to Peking as well as the Sino-Soviet Treaty of May, 1924 soon after its conclusion. In that situation Russia was compelled to sign a separate, although almost identical, treaty with Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria (September 1924). Again, three years ago

Dr. Sun Yat-sen had set up at Canton a rebel government against Peking (1921) and had been on most intimate terms with Moscow since 1923. Unlike others, Dr. Sun was a man of extraordinary vision, who combined to an unusual degree thought with action and was quick to grasp the political and ideological import of the Bolshevik Revolution.

"Even the 'social democracy' of Germany, the 'left-wingism' of France and the Labour gospel of Great Britain," observed Benoy Sarkar in his *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I, "appear in Sun's realistic imagination to be too moderate, medieval, and inadequate to the requirements of the new age. He seeks enlightenment from the Bible of Lenin and Trotsky."

In 1923, Dr. Sun, consequently, made a declaration for active collaboration with the Soviet Union. At the same time he sought to absorb the Chinese Communists 'as an integral limb' of the Kuomintang and to promote the working class and peasant movements. Finally, he formulated the *San Min Chu I* (1924) and thereby laid the ideological foundations of the Chinese Republic. Sun was not, however, destined to live long enough to guide the Revolution himself and to win back for China her freedom and sovereignty. But before his death in 1925, he bequeathed to the nation his concrete ideology, his well-knit Kuomintang (the nationalist party), his pro-Soviet foreign policy and his rebel government at Canton as the nucleus of a new China.

V

The years following 1925 were for China a period of speedy centralisation of authority and swift recovery of politico-judicial-cum-fiscal autonomy. While the governments of the north and centre (Mukden and Peking respectively) showed symptoms of decay and dissolution, the southern government at Canton,—though not as yet officially recognised by the Powers,—contained immense promise and potency for the future. Dr. Sun died in the midst of an unfinished Revolution (March, 1925). Following his great master, Chiang Kai-shek at first maintained his pro-Soviet attitudes as well as carried on active co-operation with the Chinese Communists. But after the successful "Northern Expedition" of the Kuomintang (1926-27) as well as the liberation of province after province from the shackles of the war-lords and the establishment of the Nationalist Government at Nanking (April, 1927), Chiang "develops a thoroughly anti-Bolshevik policy and attempts purging the Kuomintang party and Southern China of all Communist and pro-Russian elements. He is, in fact, alleged to be responsible for the 'white terror' which has involved the execution of 5,000 to 28,000 Communists." Again, after the liberation of Peking (June, 1928) and the hoisting of the Nationalist flag over

2. B. K. Sarkar : *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. I, p. 162, Madras, 1928.

Manchuria by Chang Hsueh-liang (December, 1928), there took place a further rupture in Sino-Russian relations owing to the dispute and consequent armed conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railway (1929). China did not resume diplomatic relations with Moscow since the disquieting incidents of 1927 and 1929 until December 1932 when the course of events in Manchuria had already taken a critical turn. The new agreement of 1932, while restoring normal diplomatic relations between China and Russia, also affirmed the *status quo ante* 1929. This resumption of relations by China with Moscow was regarded by Toynbee and others abroad "as a move of desperation" in view of the Manchurian crisis (since September 18, 1931) and as a result of her "loss of faith in salvation through the League of Nations."⁸

VI

From the time of the Manchurian crisis (since September 18, 1931) onwards a new chapter of Sino-Soviet collaboration started in the Far East against the permanent background of Japan's rising tide of militaristic challenge. The birth of Manchoukuo (March 1932) under Japan's auspices was equally resented by China and Russia, for the creation of Manchoukuo was merely the first term in the Tanaka Plan (1927) of Japan's conquest of East Asia. Russia saw in the birth of an independent Manchoukuo a perpetual threat to her border safety and to her vast railway interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway (C.E.R.). Henceforward Sino-Soviet collaboration was to continue as a dominant factor in the politics of the Far East, notwithstanding occasional ups and downs.

Since the conclusion of the Agreement of 1932, China and Russia pulled on very closely with each other for the next three years when a strain was produced in their relations as an introduction of three new factors. Both the Russian solution of the C.E.R. problem by sale to Manchoukuo (March 1935) and the conclusion of the Soviet-Mongol Mutual Assistance Pact (March 1936) were resented by China as amounting to a repudiation of Chinese sovereignty and violation of the basic Sino-Soviet Convention of 1924. On both occasions Litvinov, however, defended Russian action, but reiterated her respect for the Treaty of 1924 and reaffirmed China's sovereignty over Outer Mongolia in the latter instance. A third dark point that could, but did not, mar their relations was disruptive Communist activity in China. Fortunately speaking, the Sian Incident (December 1936) successfully restored the internal balance in China, leading to the rapprochement of the Communists and Nationalists as well as to the emergence of the *Anti-Japanese People's Front*. It also registered the patching up of Sino-Russian relations, nay, intensification of their active collaboration for years to come.

VII

The outbreak of the undeclared Sino-Japanese War (since July 7, 1937) constituted another turning-point in the politics of the Far East. While it intensified Russo-Japanese tension of the preceding six years, it at once drew China and Russia into closer reciprocal contact as registered by their Non-Aggression Pact (August 1937). So far as China was concerned, she stood directly under Japanese military challenge which she hoped to successfully resist only by collaborating more actively with the Soviet government. In China's view, Russia had already become a first-class power in world-politics since her admission to the League Council in 1934. What is more, Russia was then fast catching up to the Anglo-German-American standard in techno-industrial might. Her two Five-Year Plans (1928-37) had already been completed and she was on the eve of embarking on the *Third*. So far as Russia was concerned, she considered the Non-Aggression Pact as highly valuable. She stood at that time not only in danger in the Far East as a result of the creation of Manchoukuo (1932) and Japan's invasion of China (1937), but also directly under challenge from the Italo-German-Japanese *Dreieck* which was virtually functioning since November 1936. She could not see China getting worsted and crushed by Japan without risking grave dangers for herself. Like the Agreement of 1932, the Soviet-Chinese Non-Aggression Pact of 1937 drew hostile reactions from Japan.

From 1937 to the termination of the World War II (1945), Sino-Soviet active and intimate collaboration in defence and diplomacy continued to be the most powerful determinant in the politics of the Far East. All Russian assistance—moral, material and military—flowed to China almost in a continuous stream. Not only the Soviet press, *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, held up Chiang as the accredited leader of the Chinese resistance to Japan, but also her government sent war-materials, technicians and advisers to China to fight out the Japanese menace. At the same time Soviet voice was also raised powerfully in the League Council (1937) where Litvinov strove hard, though in vain, to mobilise world opinion and joint allied action against Japan. Litvinov spoke in the same vein also at the Brussels Conference (November 1937) where he was opposed by Italy with whom Japan at once concluded a separate Anti-Comintern Pact (November, 1937), thus giving a logical completion to the Italo-German-Japanese *Dreieck*. The revelation of the Western passivity to China's crying need stimulated further Russo-Chinese collaboration in the face of a common danger. Soviet supply to China soon became a systematic part of her diplomatic support to the latter, notwithstanding Japan's protests in early 1938. The Soviet statistics show, as Miss Moore observes, that seventeen land border points, which handled Soviet trade with Sinkiang, Western Mongolia and Tanna Tuva, were capable of extension along old caravan

⁸ H. L. Moore: *Soviet Far Eastern Policy, 1931-45*. Published by the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1945.

routes into China proper. With the loss of big coastal ports of East China to the Japanese who had become at the end of 1938 the master of the whole of China east of the line drawn from Peiping through Hankow to Canton, the bulk of Soviet supply of war-materials to Free China passed across the common land frontiers.

Neither the conclusion of Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact (August 23, 1939) nor the outbreak of the World War II (September 1, 1939) brought any immediate change in the Soviet view of the Far East. She still considered that China was fighting a "just" war of national liberation against Japan the aggressor. Russian supply of war materials grew in volume and intensity throughout 1940. In April, 1941, China was very much aggrieved at the news of the conclusion of the Five-Year Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact which she suspected to be a blow to the old Sino-Russian *entente*. But China was at once reassured by the Soviet Government that her Pact with Japan did not mean any repudiation of her basic policy to China and the subsequent course of events tended to bear this out. Two months later Russia herself became involved in a deadly struggle against Germany (since June, 1941) and a few months later the Anglo-American Powers were pitted against Japan (since December 7, 1941).

Technically, the Soviet Union stood in very delicate relations to the Far Eastern belligerents on account of her Neutrality Pact with Japan (1941), Non-Aggression Pact with China (1937) supplemented by material military aid, Mutual Assistance Pact with Outer Mongolia (1936), military alliance with Britain and various agreements with the U.S.A. regarding military supplies (1941). Put in such a delicate diplomatic balance and directly involved in war with Germany, Russia had to proceed with her mutually clashing treaty obligations very cautiously at each turn in the Far Eastern situation. At the end of 1941 Soviet supply to China automatically became secret and cut down to considerable proportions.

The years 1942-43 were trying years for the Allies indeed both in Europe and Asia. The positive basis of Russian combination with China against Japan had long ago been ensured, but formal alliance was difficult in view of the Neutrality Pact with Japan. It was not until Molotov's denunciation of the latter Pact in 1945 that China and Russia could be simultaneously represented at any international Allied Conference. That is why we find Russia remaining a silent partner, and even that from a distance, in the Cairo Conference (U.K., U.S.A. and China, December 1943) which passed anti-Japanese resolutions, and devised anti-Japanese Allied operation. Since 1944 with a definite turn in the tide of war and with the assumption of full-scale counter-offensive against the Axis Powers, Russian hostility to Japan automatically became more pointed than

before. The prospect of an open and direct Sino-Russian collaboration in defiance of the Neutrality Pact loomed increasingly larger on the horizon. At the Yalta Conference (February, 1945) Russia decided to join the Pacific War when the Anglo-American Powers secretly promised her the restoration of all her Pre-Portsmouth rights in Manchuria and south Sakhalin. Two months later—when Germany's surrender was in sight—Molotov openly denounced the Neutrality Pact with Japan (April 5, 1945) since the Pact had become incompatible with a speedy solution of the war. Denunciation was followed by Russian entry into the war (since August 8, 1945), which combined with the two Atom bombs, speedily forced Japan into unconditional surrender (August 14, 1945).

But before Japan's surrender was complete, Sino-Soviet Powers had strengthened their bonds by concluding a thirty-year Treaty of Friendship and Alliance (August 14, 1945) which was based on mutual recognition of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Russia by this Treaty recognised Manchuria as well as Sinkiang as an integral part of China, while China agreed to recognise the independence or otherwise of Outer Mongolia on the basis of plebiscites, and to jointly own and exploit the Chinese Changchun Railway (C.E.R. & S.M.R.) for thirty years, at the end of which the whole railway would revert to the full possession of the Chinese Republic at free cost. The Treaty further provided for joint utilisation of Port Arthur as a naval base for the same period on same conditions. Dairen was to remain a free port, open to international trade and commerce, for the same period. Equally noteworthy was the provision by which Russia pledged her all help, moral, material and military, to the Nationalist Government as the Central Government of China. Altogether the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance marked the peak in the ascending curve of war-time collaboration. On conclusion of this Treaty, the Soviet troops at once entered Manchuria and helped forward the cause of China's reoccupation of the long lost three Eastern Provinces. But, on Japan's surrender (Aug. 14, 1945), the Chinese Communists struck a discordant note in the situation and obstructed the way of the easy pass-over of the restored territories to the Nationalist Government. True to the pledge of August 14, the Soviet Government, however, gave a direct support to the legitimate Nationalist Government of Chiang at the Moscow Conference (December 1945) where the former announced the withdrawal of her troops from Manchuria by the following February (1946). Be it noted that China in the meantime had recognised the independence of Outer Mongolia by holding plebiscites (October-December, 1945).⁴

VIII

The termination of World War II (August 1945) was followed by radical changes in world-politics as well as in the history of the Far East. The ideals and values that gave cohesion and solidarity to the Allies were now challenged and changing. The war-time Allied collaboration, lacking as it did any positive ideological affinities, fast broke down as there was no Germany to fight against, no Italy to combat and no Japan to counteract, necessitating a concerted policy of the Powers. Nations and peoples who had hitherto rubbed shoulders in close alliance, daily stood, mentally and diplomatically, far removed from one another. Deep ideological differences among nations and party-differences within each nation, kept down so long in the cellars of the subconscious, suddenly clamoured for reassertion. The warm-hearted Anglo-American-Russian *entente* disintegrated rapidly, like the Anglo-Japanese Alliance after Versailles (1919). The Sino-Russian collaboration in its old form and structure proved no more durable than the former. In the changed and changing world-setting, the *Realpolitik* of each nation acquired novel orientations, thus rendering ideological battle acute, and splitting the world into two rival blocs with their mutually clashing standards of values.

After Japan's surrender as well as China's epoch-making victory in the Far East, the most important, nay, fundamental change was wrought in Sino-Russian collaboration. International friendships or enmities, as Benoy Sarkar repeatedly pointed out, are by no means to be taken as "long-period values." Sino-Russian understandings may not be less provisional or temporary and more permanent or solid than German-Japanese amities. "In *Realpolitik*, whether domestic or external, 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' So also is the *entente*, understanding or alliance but transitory or provisional." China after 1945 fast became a house divided against itself. With regard to post-war reconstruction and stabilisation of a people's order the Chinese Communists fell apart from the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek was no longer the undisputed leader of the Chinese. Rather his leadership came under a most powerful challenge from the Communists led by Mao Tse-tung, the father of *Neo Democracy* of the twentieth century. In the face of this growing challenge, Chiang resorted to his customary policy of repression and thereby merely prepared for communism a more powerful revival. In spite of the formal continuity of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1945 which pledged Russian support to the Nationalist Government as the Central Government of China, the Soviet Union began to drift away further and further from the Nationalist Government and came

to growingly support, although often unofficially, the Chinese Communists vis-a-vis the Nationalists. Chiang came up for severe criticism in the Soviet press. Press-war of mutual allegations continued since 1946 in Nationalist China and Bolshevik Russia.

The years 1947-49 witnessed a civil war in China between the Nationalists and the Communist forces on the one hand and rapid deterioration of Sino-Russian relations on the other. The treaty of 1945 became to all intents and purposes a dead-letter in the new world-setting. The Communists stood supported by Russia while the Nationalists by the Anglo-American Powers with the result that the Chinese Civil War virtually became before long a part and parcel of Anglo-American and Soviet foreign policies. The Kuomintang-Communist war changed, however, in quick succession in favour of the latter during 1948-49 when Chiang desperately fought a losing game. Towards the end of 1949, the Communists under Mao emerged victorious after completely defeating the Kuomintang led by Chiang who soon fled to Formosa for safety.

With the Communist victory in China, the liquidation of the Chinese Republic and the establishment of the People's Republic in China (Oct. 1, 1949), an altogether new phase of Soviet-Chinese collaboration was ushered into existence. World-capitalism saw its first death-bed in Russia (1917) and now the second in China (1949). In the midst of World War I, Russia went Red, and soon after World War II, China turned Communist. Deep ideological affinities together with the perpetual challenge of the capitalist world served as the permanent background of Sino-Soviet collaboration as culminating in their Treaty of 14th February, 1950.

The significance of the Chinese-Soviet Treaty (February 14, 1950) both for the present and for the future is far-reaching. It is based on a real solidarity of ideals and lines of action. It pledges to respect each other's interests, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and equality. Altogether, this Treaty ushers into existence a new era of Sino-Russian *active collaboration* in the international forum. The basis of this collaboration is not merely the pursuit of a common policy of defence against the onslaughts of decaying world-capitalism, but also the promotion of "proletarian" movements all over the world. The suspected moderatist climb-downs of Russia from her traditional world-revolutionary ideologies on account of her war-time alliance with the bourgeois world are seeking compensation with vengeance in the post-war era. The formal restoration of the Communist International which is reborn in the Cominform since 1947 has already given a long-due fillip to the growth of Communist movements in Europe and Asia. Finally, the New China of Mao has been won

for Russia as the most intimate ally. This alliance as registered by the new Treaty of 1950 is bound to remain the sheet-anchor of their orientations to world-politics. The dangers from the capitalist powers, even though they are thrown on the defensive since 1945, are not yet over. The problems that are being today fought out in Korea (since June 25, 1950) are the questions of world capitalism vis-a-vis world Communism. The pertinent big question whether Communism will stay on and conquer or capitalism

will hold its own remains to be decided once again in the plains of Korea. Be that as it may, the Korean crisis has brought further intensity and cohesion in the Sino-Soviet collaboration, containing as it does life and promise for the future. It is, however, a different, nay, an irrelevant question in the present context, to ask how far Communism as a creed is worth accepting as an alternative to democracy.*

* Thanks are due to Prof. Haridas Mukherjee from whom I have received substantial help in the preparation of this paper.

—:C:—

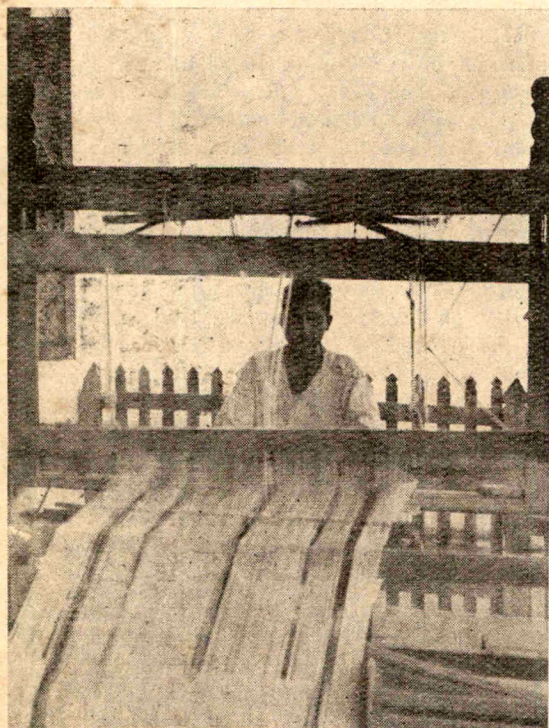
THE JANATA COLLEGE A Bold New Experiment in Education

BY PROF. R. N. KHARCHE, M.A.

NEAR the town of Amravati, in Madhya Pradesh, two abandoned military barracks, standing against the background of a desolate expanse of cultivable waste, suddenly

Humayun Kabir and several prominent experts and administrators connected with the American and United Nations technical assistance programmes. Here at last, the visitors seem to have found in the field of education several things being carried out into practice, which have been, and by and large still continue to be, preached in educational theory and, especially, in our annual sermons, the University Convocation addresses.

This Janata College—or People's College—is undoubtedly an institution, where the foundation of a "creative" and "nation-building" education of our erstwhile dreams is being securely laid. It is part and



At the handloom. A student learning the second most important village-industry, next in importance only to agriculture

Photo : N. S. Verma

began humming with a new type of educational activity since September 1951. It has attracted attention far and wide and the list of its distinguished visitors includes Shri R. K. Sidhwa, Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Professor



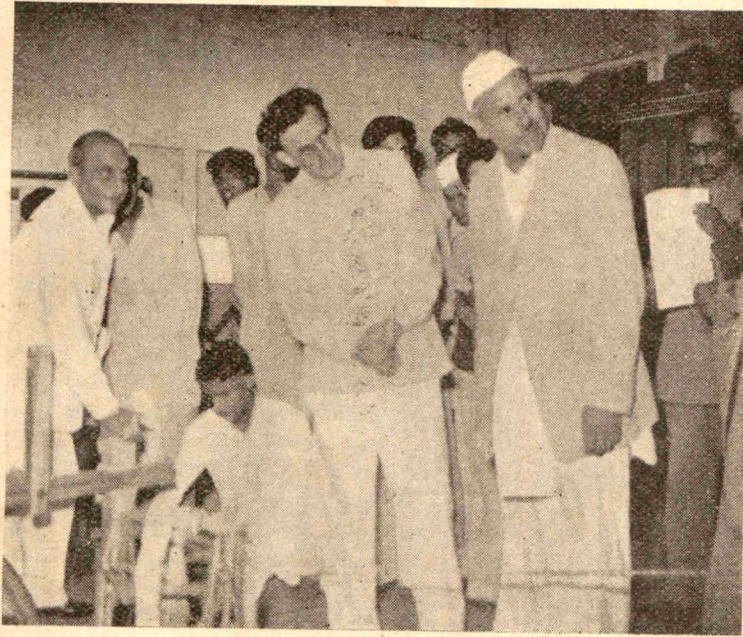
A hand-made paper is being laid on a cloth frame

Photo : N. S. Verma

parcel of a more comprehensive scheme of a Rural University sponsored by one of our veteran practical educationists, the indefatigable Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (now our Union Minister for Agriculture), President of the Shri Shivaji Education Society, which has a network of educational institutions all over Berar. The Rural

University was formally inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad in December 1950. It aims, in the words of the University Education Commission Report, at "creating

poultry-keeping. A study of two cottage industries or crafts is compulsory. These technical and practical studies are supplemented by a good grounding of the student in principles and problems of rural economics and development, with special reference to community development schemes, now in operation as an integral part of the First Five-Year Plan.



Roping in destiny. Sri C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister and Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh, Minister for Agriculture, intently watch rope-making at the Janata College

Photo : Thuganekar

types of educational opportunity appropriate to Indian Rural life . . . and gives vitality and quality to that life." This task is unquestionably urgent and brooks no delay, for "seldom has the greatness of a nation long survived the disintegration of its rural life."

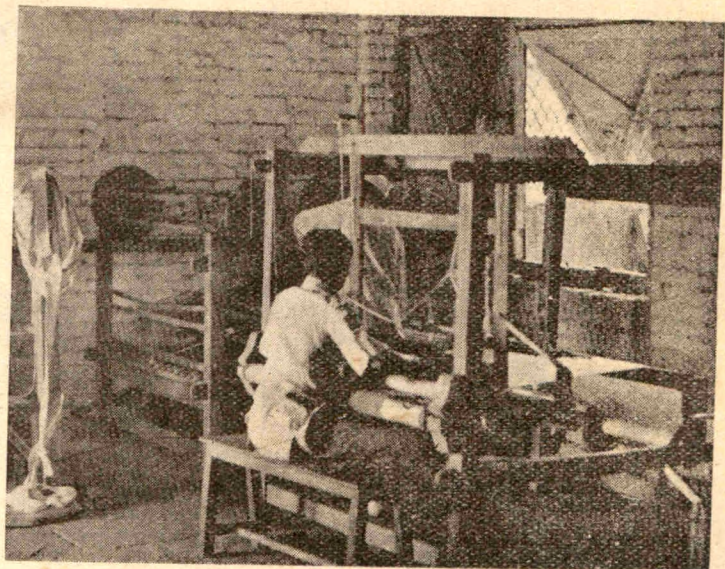
Aware of the fact that current secondary and higher education system is inadequate, not only because it leads to no useful career or avocation as such but also—and perhaps to a large extent because of that—fails in imparting even a sound liberal education, the credo of the Janata College, like the Danish People's College Movement, is that

"Education is not identical with formal intellectual training, that men can become 'educated' without being *intellectuals*, and that '*intellectuals*' are not necessarily *educated* men."

The pride of place in the education of the Janata College student belongs to a study of improved practices in agriculture, animal husbandry, dairy-farming and

A student learning the art of weaving

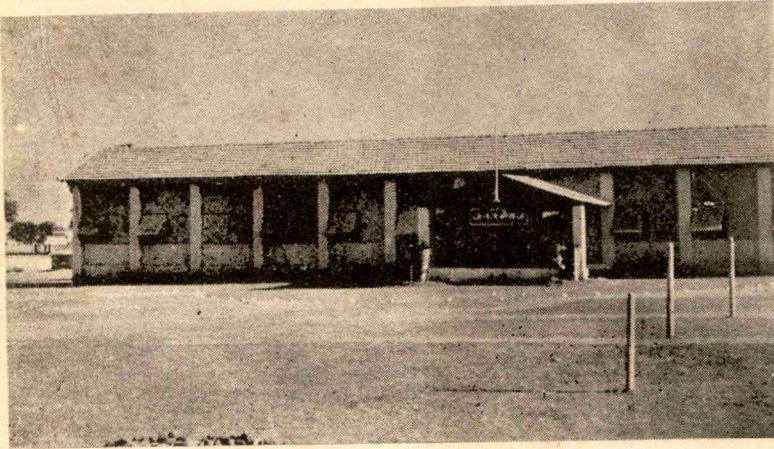
Photo : N. S. Verma



have attained and even surpassed quality standards, it has not always been possible to price them as low. Its saris and its oils, its towels and bedsheets, its furni-

ture and blotting papers actually compete with similar products from elsewhere with success. I am assured by the Principal, Shri S. R. Londhe, that with the proposed careful cost accounting, introduction of efficiency methods and small machines after the pattern of Japanese cottage

study of the essentials of religion and culture, including—getting 'aware' of the arts and thought-systems of our ancients—our 'cultural heritage.' The curriculum is rounded off by physical training and games, knowledge of preventive medicine, rural sanitation and elementary dietetics. The inclusion of these elements of several subjects is, obviously, not for specialization, but required in an education for the development of human personality. Though the basic idea in the Janata College experiment is to adapt education to rural life and problems of a national rural reconstruction, it does not aim at creating mere technical craftsmen.



The Janata College Building is two barracks with its walls mostly of bamboo materials, with only a modicum of brick-structure as a supporting frame-work

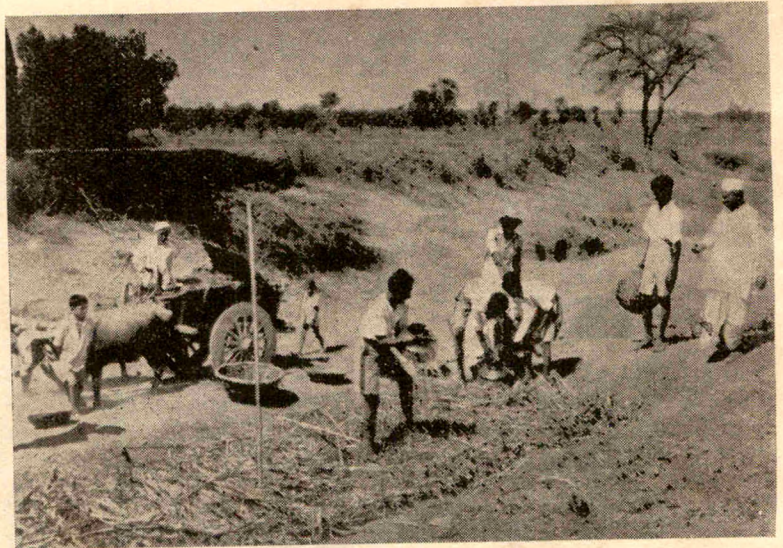
Photo : N. S. Verma

A full education "has to train the senses, develop the intellect and harmonize the emotions and equip the individual for efficient living so as to ensure an integrated growth of his personality."

The practice of crafts and work on a farm firmly instils in the student's mind the idea of dignity of labour, as no

industry, it would give a lie, once for all, to the pessimism about the success of Cottage industries, which are, admittedly, the only practicable way of solving the stupendous problem of existing rural under-employment, as well as of the addition to it, which is inevitable in the context of the rationalization of Agriculture, implicit in its long term development under the five-year plan.

The Janata College syllabus does not, however, exclude or in any way belittle the importance of the subjects included in a liberal education. Elements of these are included, such as Regional Language (Marathi) and literature and working knowledge of Hindi. An outline of significant developments in Indian and World History, including current affairs is thought essential. Important laws and social problems affecting a citizen's life are explained to the students. A few non-technical lectures on the role of Science as a fundamental factor shaping modern civilization are delivered, with a view to making the student appreciate the so-called 'cultural lag' in the wake of the grave growth of power through knowledge, which, if misused, may prove to be more a curse than a blessing. Cultural education consists of a



Compost-making for a farmer in the Rewasa village. These students have a faith in learning by doing

Photo : Thugaonkar

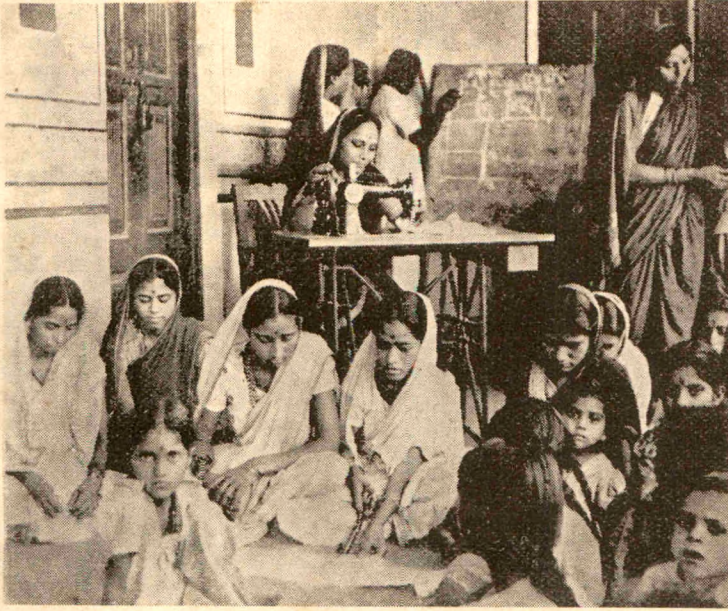
amounts of abstract discourse on it can. Moreover, students are taken out for 'field work' in a select village, included in the nearby community project area. Here, he may have, sometimes, an exercise in the method of rural survey or, more often, may join with village resident volunteers of the Land Army (another creation of the parent society) in demonstrating the process of,

and actually making, compost pits, soak-pits or repairs to an approach road. These students also arrange

and is not actually, the sole avenue of useful career or livelihood open to the student, who has taken a certi-

cate or a diploma in village organization of this institution, after studies covering varying periods of from one to four terms (two terms in one year). Since, care is taken, as a rule, to admit adults—mostly from rural areas of middle school to matriculation standard and within the age group of 18 years to 35 (uniform standard and age group being preferred as far as possible in any particular batch), who have land and till it personally or promise to do so, after they are trained, the result is that most students are anxious to try out on their own land methods they have learnt in theory and practice in their stay in the College. A student is also encouraged to supplement his income from agriculture through one cottage industry or another he has learnt in the college. If he has followed the course of technical training for a longer time, he can even make it his whole-time occupation.

A regular contact is kept with students who have passed out. They are encouraged and advised from time



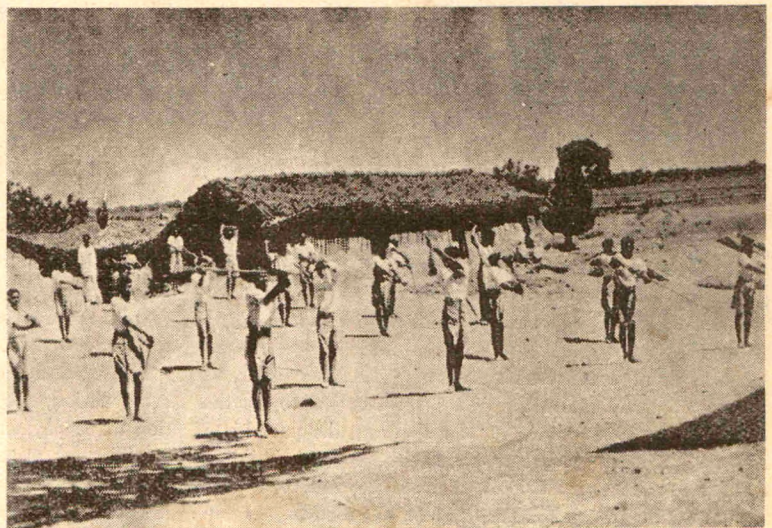
Sewing class for women, an essential adjunct to village work done by Janata College, was started by Srimati Vimalabai Deshmukh, wife of Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh

Photo : Thugaonkar

extension lectures on various subjects relating to improved agricultural practices, care of cattle, personal hygiene, rural sanitation and even family planning. Villages of the neighbouring rural area gladly respond and walk to this centre of 'rural extension' work. This select village is thus both a laboratory and a testing ground of the methods and faith appropriate for the work of reconstructing Rural India.

These students who thus learn all about community projects—as also the essentials of the five-year plan—in studying the group subject Rural Development and Economic (including co-operative organization, marketing, elements of store management, salesmanship and book-keeping) and join in the course of their field work, in the manual tasks of rural development, are thus well qualified to act as 'village level workers' in the community projects. It is expected that the State Government would avail itself of the ready-made products of this organizational marvel.

Jobs under a Government, however, ought not to be



For keeping fit, this summer youth camp of the students in the Rewasa village includes *lathi* exercise

Photo : Thugaonkar

to time. No opportunity is lost to inculcate in the student's mind the idea that whatever knowledge is conveyed to him in classes and outside classes is a sacred trust and that the passing it on to others in their own village, after

going back, is twice blessed, blessing him that gives and him that takes.

In their own humble way, the Janata College has pointed out the way in which, education can be in the Planning Commission's words, "adapted to the requirements of national planning," with its emphasis upon rural and agricultural development. Its students go back to the people and in the opinion of the University Education Commission that is precisely the thing wanted:

"For a continuing democracy it is essential that education shall not promote the escape from the common people of the culture which that education generates, but shall inspire the students to remain common people, in and of the people, acting as their servants and leaders, and raising the whole social lump

..The Chief issue is not where young people *come from* to get an education, but where they *go with* their education."

"Janata College is a model of the kind of educational institution needed all over India," said one American visitor who was impressed with this experiment, carried on within a mere scrap of a structure which was the military barracks it has refurbished for its physical habitat. Another American Official made bold to say that "the skills taught here will make the students able to cope with some of your trying economic problems, and cultural education here given will broaden the vision of those boys who are the (future) responsible citizens of India."

—:O:—

FARM AND RANCH PONDS

By LAWRENCE V. COMPTON

The multiple-purpose farm pond, carefully located, scientifically designed and properly built, is a commonplace element in today's rural scene in the United States. This, however, has not always been so. Not many years ago, farm ponds were scarce. They were used mainly for watering livestock and occurred primarily in areas where springs or wells or streams were inadequate for that purpose. Most of them were shallow, muddy and small. Because they had not been correctly located, designed or built, many washed out and others periodically went dry. Some had been stocked with fish but it was the rare one that produced the sizes and quantities that the landowner expected. Few met the specifications that we now consider important for successful fishponds.

Raising fish is one of the uses for farm ponds and thousands of them have been built for that use alone. Most, however, are built to provide a dependable supply of water for livestock, irrigation, fire protection, orchard spray or for a combination of these and other uses. It is necessary to review the development of the present-day farm pond in order to understand its development as a fishpond and its value to other wild-life.

Soil and water conservation and land-use programs which were initiated in the 1930's are responsible for the widespread interest shown in ponds during the past 15 to 20 years. Such programs emphasized pond building because in many places ponds make it possible to control erosion and to obtain much-needed adjustments in land use. For example, the retirement from cultivation of badly eroded fields and of other lands not suitable for cultivation is often best done by establishing permanent grass cover. This results in increased acreage of pasture which frequently cannot be utilized by livestock because of the absence of watering places. Farm ponds provide the necessary water and permit a farmer to make the change in land use.

As another example, inadequate and poorly distribut-

ed stock water has been one of the obstacles to obtaining proper utilization of forage in ranching country. Good range without stock-water cannot be used, whereas areas with water have often been over-used. The development of stock-water ponds makes it possible to balance the grazing pressure between such areas and obtain proper use of both.

The building of ponds has reached considerable magnitude. Two bureaus in the U.S. Department of Agriculture assist farmers and ranchers to construct them. The Soil Conservation Service, working through local soil conservation districts, provides technical assistance on site selection, design, construction, use and maintenance. The Agricultural Conservation Programs Branch of the Production and Marketing Administration makes conservation payments to farmers and ranchers for the construction of ponds which are to be used primarily for soil and water conservation. Under recent arrangement, the Soil Conservation Service also provides the necessary technical assistance on ponds for which conservation payments are made.

In the 14 years from 1937 to 1951, the Soil Conservation Service provided technical assistance to farmers and ranchers in the construction of 215,435 ponds. In the same period, the Production and Marketing Administration made payments for the construction of 823,797 ponds for livestock water. At the present time the Soil Conservation Service is assisting farmers to construct ponds at the rate of about 38,000 a year. An unknown number have been built without assistance from either SCS or PMA.

In January 1952 it was estimated that there were 1,666,000 farm and ranch ponds. The fact that widespread interest in farm ponds is a recent development in agriculture was well illustrated by H. S. Swingle, who in 1949 stated that in the previous 15 years there had been constructed in the United States at least 100 times as many ponds as had been constructed during the preceding 200 years.

The idea that the farm pond also could be used as a fishpond is not new in the United States. For at least 50 years prior to 1940, intermittent attempts were made to interest farmers in producing fish. The point was made repeatedly that a fishpond provides an interesting and nutritious addition to the farm diet, that it provides recreation in the form of fishing, swimming, bathing, and skating and that the pond itself is a thing of beauty which in many ways adds to the pleasure of farm life.

Four factors operated for years to prevent the farm fishpond idea from really catching on. First, there were no successful and easily applied methods for managing a fishpond. Second, practical ways of taking the idea to the farmer had not been used. Third, suitable ponds were the exception rather than the rule. Fourth, technical guidance in location, design and construction of ponds was not easily available to farmers.

The last two of these factors were eliminated by the appearance of conservation programs. Through these programs both technical guidance and financial aid were made available to farmers and ranchers for the construction of ponds. The result was that thousands of well-built ponds became available for use as fishponds.

The research done by H. S. Swingle and E. V. Smith at the Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station provided the simple and successful procedure of fishpond management which had been needed. With the publication of their work it became possible to make definite recommendations as to species, number and size of fish to be stocked, kind and rate of fertilization, mode of harvesting the crop and other aspects of managing a pond.

Biologists in the Soil Conservation Service saw in the procedure developed by Swingle and Smith an opportunity to help farmers and ranchers get additional benefits from the ponds which they were building. Technicians of the Service were instructed in the fundamentals of fishpond management. Working through local soil conservation districts, they carried this knowledge to farmers and ranchers.

A good fishpond calls for certain features not always found in farm ponds. The water level must be reasonably stable. A continuous flow of water through the pond is undesirable because it makes it difficult to maintain a high level of productivity. If the farm family is to get an appreciable amount of fish from it, the pond

should have an area of not less than one-fourth acre. In warm climates the depth of water at the deepest part should be at least six feet; in cold climates depths of 10 to 12 feet are needed. To discourage the growth of weeds, the shore should slope steeply to three feet below the water level. A permanent drain is desirable so that the pond can be emptied if it becomes necessary to clean or restock it.

None of these requirements prevent a pond which is being used to produce fish from also being used as

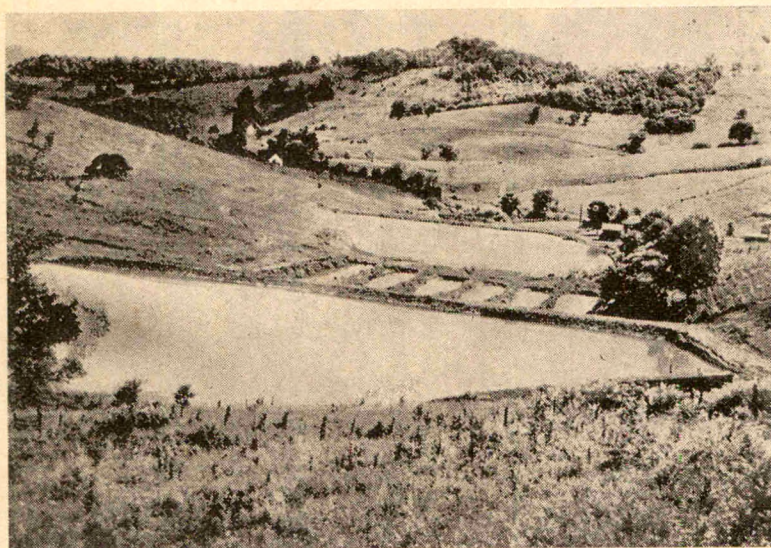


A typical pond on an American farm

a source of water for livestock and other farm purposes. Nevertheless, there are a few reservations about the use of fishponds. If livestock is allowed unrestricted access, trampling will flatten the shore and make the water muddy. A flat shore can cause a weed problem and muddy water lowers the productivity of the pond. Grazing also destroys wild-life food and cover. Such difficulties can be prevented by fencing the pond and piping stock water to a trough below the dam. Ponds which are used for storage of irrigation water are subject to considerable fluctuation in water level and often present problems when used as fishponds.

Even these have, however, been successfully managed.

Farm ponds may have some beneficial effects upon the control of floods and the recharge of ground waters, but these are probably of minor importance. Farm ponds are intended to be permanent sources of water and the cost of construction must be commensurate with the value received by the farmer. These restrictions limit their effectiveness in flood control and recharge of ground water. As a permanent source of water, a pond must have an impervious basin so that it will not leak. Special efforts are made, such as rolling and packing, to make it impervious. A pond which does not leak does not contribute much to the ground water.



The development of ponds such as these means work for several years on the part of the farmer, but the improvement to his farm is well worth the effort

The belief that farm ponds have an appreciable effect upon flood-control comes about through the misunderstanding of the operation of flood-control reservoirs. For a reservoir to operate successfully in flood-control, it must aid in reducing peaks in flood flow. This is done by first catching run-off water, then releasing it slowly to the stream channel system. Flood-control reservoirs, therefore, are built to have large temporary storage capacity but only a small permanent pool. Farm ponds are built upon different principles. They are intended to stand full or nearly full of water at all times and all excess run-off is immediately released through the spillway. A farm pond has its greatest flood-control value when it is empty, but when empty it is of little use to a farmer.

The value of farm and ranch ponds to birds and mammals is at present difficult to fully appraise. Water is essential to many forms of wild-life and they utilize that which is provided by farm ponds. In many arid and semi-arid regions, ponds provide permanent and accessible water where such water did not previously exist. In the humid parts of the United States, they bring better

distribution of water and reduce the seriousness of droughts.

That farm ponds are of value to wild-life is well illustrated by the use made of them by migratory waterfowl. A 1950 aerial survey showed that in an area of 39,000 square miles there were about 40,000 man-made impoundments which contained about 100,000 acres of water, and which harbored 141,000 ducks. The conclusion was: "Thus, through the construction of stock dams a new breeding population is building up on the ranges—a population which in 1950 contained 23 per cent of the ducks in South Dakota." In Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, blue-winged teals, mallards, pintails and ruddy

ducks have been found nestling near raising their young on ranch ponds. Eleven such ponds in Colorado supported a summer duck population of 107 birds, 73 of which were young. On five ponds, each with a water area of not more than one acre, a total of 50 young ducks were raised. The use of small ponds by ducks, geese and shorebirds during periods of migration has been recorded. Similarly, in many places, ponds have made new habitat for waterfowl.

Waterfowl are not the only kinds of wild-life which are benefited by farm ponds. A study of muskrat population in 40 farm ponds showed that: "Without question, the thousands of farm ponds throughout the midwest provide an additional habitat type of importance." Other studies have shown that California quail, bobwhite, mourning doves, prairie chickens and antelope are bene-

fited by the additional watering places provided by ponds. A study of the wild-life values of 91 ponds in Missouri revealed that every one of the pond areas was used by some species of game or fur bearer. A total of 90 species of birds and more than 10 species of mammals were recorded in pond areas. Cottontail rabbits were found at 85 per cent of the ponds, doves at 65 per cent, muskrats at 63 per cent, raccoon at 59 per cent, and bobwhite quail at 55 per cent. Twenty per cent of the farmers questioned believed that a new quail covey headquarters had been established by the building of ponds.

Without question the man-made pond has become a reasonably permanent part of the American landscape. The number of them now in use totals well over 1,500,000 and they serve many purposes, utilitarian, recreational and esthetic. Farm and ranch ponds have become a factor of great importance in the welfare of waterfowl, upland game, fur-bearers, and other forms of wild-life. Their development as fish ponds is only one of the opportunities that they offer in wildlife management.

—From *Soil Conservation*

WOMEN IN INDIA'S FREEDOM MOVEMENT

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

II

WORK OF NATIONAL WELFARE

After two years from its start the Non-co-operation movement was on the wane and attention was directed to national welfare. The Tarakeswar Satyagraha drew forth the indomitable spirit of the women in opposing the oppression of the then Mahanta. It was here that Santoshkumari Devi (then known as Santosh Kumari Gupta) showed immense courage in saving the honour of women. She spoke very fluently in three languages, viz., English, Bengali and Hindi. In the political meetings and conferences her fiery speeches were like live sparks in awakening the national consciousness. She was for some time a member of the All-India Congress Committee from Rangoon. But soon she made Calcutta and Bengal her field of work. In the first election campaign of the Swaraj Party to the Bengal Legislative Council in 1923, Santosh Kumari Gupta did very useful service on its behalf in the constituency of Dr. B. C. Roy, who defeated Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. Dr. Roy's victory was decided by the labour votes, thanks to the efforts of Santosh Kumari.

Santosh Kumari was the first woman to organise labour. In 1924, she started the weekly *Sramik* both in Bengali and Hindi, to infuse into labour *esprit de corps*.

It was at this time that the Indian Trade Union movement got a political colour and was drawn into the national struggle. Santosh Kumari played a very important part in the matter of reorientation of the labour movement of Bengal. Next to Santosh Kumari, the services of Dr. Miss Prabhavati Das Gupta should be mentioned, so far as the organisation and amelioration of labour of Bengal was concerned. Her activities during the early thirties have become landmarks in the history of Labour movement on this side of India.

Since the Non-co-operation movement, public meetings were being attended by a large number of women. They also presided over meetings and conferences. They were elected members on political bodies. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee had women members—Urmila Devi, Mohini Devi and Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli—in its executive body. The Calcutta Corporation had at least one woman as Associate Member to the Primary Education Committee in the person of Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli. She used to take part in political conferences in different parts of Bengal, and even beyond. The Nari Karma Mandir of the Non-co-operation days had already been dissolved. In its wake was established the Mahila Karmi Samsad by Hemaprabha Majumdar. This Samsad naturally took charge of the constructive work of the former organisation. A boarding house was opened for poor women. These were taught spinning, weaving, knitting

and sewing, and were also given general instruction. The Samsad ran a primary school, financed by the Corporation. The grown-up women of the Samsad did some political work, too. Satkaripati Roy, once Secretary to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, looked after the financial side of the Samsad. It depended more or less on public donations for its maintenance.



Mohini Devi
The Veteran Congress-worker

One word should be spoken here of Sarojini Naidu, a daughter of Bengal. After her return to India in 1921, she became a staunch follower of Gandhiji and a full-fledged non-co-operator. She was sent in 1924 by Mahatma Gandhi to Kenya and South Africa, where the relations between the Indians and the Europeans had become strained. Her mission there met with considerable success, and paved the way for a round-table conference between their representatives, to be held later on. Her services were recognised by her countrymen, and she was given the unique honour of the presidency of the Congress in its Cawnpore Session in December, 1925. The following year she toured the country as President of the Congress and inspired the people by her soul-stirring speeches to follow the Congress ideal. In her Bengal tour she was accompanied by Urmila Devi, sister of Deshabandhu,

THE PREPARATION

Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das died on June 16, 1925. His lieutenant and colleague Subhas Chandra Bose, was detained in the Mandalay Jail since October 1924, with some of his close associates. The British Government turned down India's demands of self-rule time and again and resorted to repression instead. The struggle for freedom however continued, and preparations were afoot for a harder and more intensive struggle. In this connection two women's organisations were started, one at Dacca and the other in Calcutta, with revolutionary outlook.



Hemaprabha Majumdar

Leela Nag (now Mrs. Leela Roy) was the originator of the Deepali Ladies' Association of Dacca, popularly known as Deepali Samgha. This association took up educational work, starting a high school, an adult education centre, exhibitions of handicrafts and extension lectures. The Samgha's main objects were to make women politically conscious and train women political workers. Later the association also opened branches and started schools in the mofussil as well as in Calcutta, the one in Calcutta being in charge of Santi and Priti Das. The Deepali Samgha also laid great stress on *lathi* and dagger play as well as physical culture of women.

Under the auspices of the Samgha the Deepali Chhatri Sangha was organised at Dacca and Calcutta and a band of young girl-students full of idealism and patriotism gathered round this Samgha and became wholetime political workers, such as, Renuka Sen and Preetilata Waddedar (of Chittagong Armoury Raid). The Deepali Association worked all along in close

co-operation with Sree Samgha, organised by Anil Chandra Roy. Sree Samgha had both men and women members in its body.

The political activities amongst women in Calcutta again grew tense with the observance of *hartal* on the day of landing of the all-white Simon Commission at Bombay in February, 1927. The success of the *hartal* at Calcutta was tremendous, and for the first time over 1,000 women were present in the Wellington Square Boycott meeting where a pledge for national service was taken. The presence of such a large number of women was mainly due to the untiring efforts of Lotika Ghose, daughter of Manmohon Ghose, poet and famous professor of the Presidency College, and niece of Sri Aurovindo, who was just back from a brilliant career at Oxford and was now devoting her time and energy for the political organisation of women.

Subhas Chandra Bose represented the progressive revolutionary outlook in politics, and, after his release on 16th May, 1927, from detention for over two and a half years in the Mandalay Jail, resolved to organise the youth of the country. Srimati Lotika Ghosh was entrusted with the political organisation of women. With the help of Subhas she founded the Mahila Rastriya Samgha, Subhash's mother Probhabati Bose, being its president, Bibhabati Bose, one of the vice-presidents, and herself the secretary. A special feature of this Samgha was that it was open to all, no membership fee being charged.

Visit of the Simon Commission to Calcutta was marked with *hartal* on a very extensive scale, in which women students also joined. This led to some commotion in the Bethune College and the Principal was forced to leave her job. In this too, Lotika Ghose took a prominent part under the orders of her leader.

With this background came the 1928 Congress. This year's Congress was a landmark in the history of our freedom struggle. It was here that the youth felt that the onus of the further struggle for freedom was to be borne more by them than by their elders who could not keep pace with the time. The former's method of approach towards the solution of the burning problem of the day, the liberation of India from the foreign yoke, reflected for the first time perhaps in the history of the Congress in the silent, disciplined and sustained work of volunteering, in which the youth both men and women from all parts of the province joined.

Under G.O.C. Subhash Chandra Bose, Srimati Lotika Ghose served as head of the Women Volunteer Corps and was designated 'Colonel.' Her previous services amongst the women of Calcutta stood her in good stead. She organised and guided her corps of two hundred strong in such a way that it extorted praise even from the conservative section of the people. She displayed enough tact, industry and efficiency in the work with which she was entrusted by her leader.

In connection with 1928 Congress, for the first time girls were trained as part of a disciplined force on military lines and much against conservative opinion, still strong, took part in military drill, parades and the gorgeous military procession in connection with the arrival of the President from Howrah to Park Circus. It may be noted here that the glamour of women as part of a military organisation had deep repercussion in the minds of the women students and it was only after the 1928 Congress that girls began to dream of taking their place as part of a national army in liberating India. It was also only after the 1928 Congress that it was decided by revolutionary organisations to recruit women for active revolutionary work.*

The dream of Subhash Chandra Bose in the formation of the volunteer corps of the 1928 Congress on military lines translated itself into reality in the formation of the I.N.A. and the Jhansi Rani Regiment later on.

The Congress of 1928 also decided that Bengal would go ahead of all other provinces in political activities. Subhash Chandra Bose reformed and recast the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, where necessarily the youth predominated. Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta, leader of the Bengal Congress since the death of Deshabandhu, had to relinquish his reigns of office in favour of Subhash. The younger section of women flocked round Subhash. Miss Lotika Ghose had already engaged herself in the political education of our *purdah* women. Now she also joined the youth movement, and besides working amongst her own sex, accompanied Subhash to various places in the Bengal Presidency and worked hard to rouse a revolutionary spirit in young men and women also. Youth and Women's Conferences were held along with men's conferences and there, too, the message of the revolutionary spirit was inculcated to women and youth. Thus the field was being prepared for a far wider, deeper and grimmer struggle.

THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

—NON-VIOLENT PHASE

Disparity between the profession and practice of the British Government landed the country into the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was popularly called the *Satyagraha Andolan* in this part of India. Mahatma Gandhi initiated the movement by his famous Dandi march on 12th March, 1930. Though the Congress politics in Bengal ran along two divergent paths, our countrymen stood then as one man and joined the movement without any reservation. When it was a question of giving fight to the British for our long-cherished independence, none of the parties or sections stood aloof. They rather vied with one another to

give proof of their sincerity, courage and heroism. The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and Sarojini Naidu at Dharsana, the sea-beach of Gujerat, gave unusual impetus to the movement.



Sarojini Naidu

Women here in Bengal joined the movement in thousands. There was already the Mahila Rastriya Samgha under the charge of Lotika Ghose. The Samgha had had its branches by 1929 not only in Calcutta but also in most of the districts and sub-divisional headquarters of the province. When the movement began, the response from these centres was spontaneous. Breaking the salt law was resorted to by the women of the sea-side districts, such as, Midnapore, 24-Parganas, Khulna, Bakhergunge, Noakhali and Chittagong. Even our sisters of upper districts, such as, Mymensingh and Sylhet, commenced breaking salt law in some other ways.

But more particular, sensational and hazardous things were reserved for the women of Calcutta and Dacca. They conducted meetings, processions, bonfires of foreign cloth and picketing of foreign cloth shops and liquor shops as also schools and colleges, and many similar things, in spite of the 144 order and other ordinances banning them. They faced the police and misled them when necessary but never failed to give proof of their courage and bravery, whenever needed.

* In the opening speech of the prosecution counsel Langford James at the Chittagong Armoury Raid trial, the names of Subhash Chandra Bose, Kiron Sankar Roy and Lotika Ghose were mentioned as inspiring the youth with revolutionary fervour leading to the Raid.

The Mahila Rastriya Samgha was working on every front. Srimati Lotika Ghose daily visited the gates of the educational institutions in Calcutta and Howrah along with the student leaders and encouraged the students. Each College gate had become a bloody arena where frequent *lathi* charges resulted in broken heads. The wounded batch of students were immediately replaced by a fresh batch. The same was the case with the banned meetings in the parks. The jails were full and instead of arrests *lathi* charges became the order of the day. In North, Central and South Calcutta women members of the Rastriya Samgha attended the banned meetings. Some of them with children in their arms stood undaunted while *lathi* charges went on.



Jyotirmoyi Ganguli

Again, under the leadership of Arubala Sen Gupta, the Samgha took the work of picketing foreign cloth shops in right earnest, besides other activities. Burrabazar and Bowbazar were their main targets. Many women teachers of the Corporation joined in the picketing. The police were at first shy of the women volunteers and hesitated to arrest them. But when picketing grew intense, and here was no sign of the movement abating, they resorted to arrest of women volunteers under the orders of the Government. The Samgha braved all these hazards and it was the only women's organisation which was able to send batch after batch of volunteers for nearly six months to do the picketing and court arrest.

A Chhatra Samgha had already been formed in 1929 by the girl students, the object of which was to safeguard the rights of students and to afford opportunities for rendering national service. Miss Lila Roy (now Mrs. Majumdar, a writer of Children's Literature) and Miss Katyayani Das (now Mrs. Bhattacharya)

were the President and Secretary respectively of the Samgha. Members of the Samgha now took to picketing schools and colleges mainly. Some of them, however, worked in other spheres in co-operation with their elders. It was mainly from the rank of these girls that the revolutionaries had their recruits. This work of theirs was almost contemporaneous with the non-violent movement.

Just a day after the commencement of the Dandi March by Mahatma Gandhi, some patriotic women of Calcutta assembled in a meeting on 13th March, 1930 and formed themselves into an independent committee called "Nari Satyagraha Samity." Urmila Devi, sister of Deshabandhu Das, was its president. Among the vice-presidents were such prominent Congress workers and self-sacrificing ladies as Mohini Devi, Jyotirmoyi Ganguli, Hemaprabha Das Gupta (Mrs. Satish Chandra Das Gupta) and Asokalata Das. Santi Das and Bimalprativa Devi were appointed secretaries. On the Committee were also many influential Bengali and non-Bengali ladies. They started work with a long procession throughout the streets of Calcutta followed up with meetings and conferences in contravention of Government orders. The police strove hard to break up women's meetings and intercept women's processions with mounted police, armed sergeants and Indian police with big *lathis*. They did not fail to use force sometimes. When the courage and ingenuity of the women succeeded in outwitting them, they began arresting them. The arrest of women both of the Nari Satyagraha Samity and the other organisations created further enthusiasm and the movement spread to the mofussil.

Like the Mahila Rastriya Samgha, the Nari Satyagraha Samity also conducted picketing in the cloth shops of the Burrabazar area. Burrabazar is known as the biggest market of foreign cloth. Big importers and dealers of this article had their shops and residences there. This area was the principal target of all women's organisations. The picketers included non-Bengali women of very orthodox Marwari and Bhatia families. Unable to disband the pickets, the police here, too, under Government orders, began to arrest women. The Calcutta jails filled up with women Satyagrahis. Due to strenuous picketing in this area import of foreign cloth into the Calcutta market by the Burrabazar merchants was virtually stopped.

Amongst the districts of Bengal, where the movement made great headway, were Midnapore and Dacca. In the Contai Subdivision of the Midnapore district, the bureaucracy let loose its iron rod of repression as it were. Magistrate Peddie did not spare children of even eight or nine. One such child was saved by Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli who went there on a propaganda tour with Mrs. Kshemankari Roy and Dr. Miss Maitreyi Bose. Peddie's cane left the child bleeding unconscious. The news of such heartless torture and

oppression spread like wild fire throughout the district, and the women there at once resolved to make the non-violent movement a cent per cent success. Most of these women came from peasant families and were mostly illiterate. They went to prison while carrying out the behests of the Congress. Satyabala Devi and Matangini Hazara of latter-day fame, this time served the country's cause by going to prison.

The women of Dacca under the leadership of Sarama Gupta and Asalata Sen, those of Bankura under the leadership of Surama and Sushama Palit as well as those of Comilla under the guidance of Hemaprabha Majumdar of Non-co-operation fame, took up the work of the Civil Disobedience Movement and emulated their Calcutta sisters in carrying out its different items to their logical end. They also courted imprisonment in hundreds. Some of the women went so far as to give up Government service. Labanyalata Chanda, disgusted with the police *zulum*, left her job in Government educational service and joined the movement. Mrs. Neli Sen Gupta, wife of Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan Sen Gupta, who was the helpmate of her husband in all our political movements, did not remain idle. She presided over the plenary session of the Indian National Congress, in April 1933, declared illegal by the Government and was sent to prison. Our Freedom movement was not now confined to the women of light and leading only. It had already percolated to the illiterate women of the villages. Even those whom we consider unfortunate and fallen, had also had their share of suffering and sacrifice for the cause. They all combined to help the movement.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PHASE

The revolutionary activities started afresh in Bengal almost simultaneously with the Civil Disobedience movement. The two main revolutionary parties—the Anushilan and the Jugantar—joined the non-violent movement led by Gandhiji. But there were some offshoots of these parties who never let the revolutionary mentality die out. They started activities in a covert way. The youth movement with a revolutionary outlook supplied sufficient sap to these groups. Women took particular part in this movement. And the bar against their joining the revolutionary parties was by this time removed. Since the 1928 Congress, the idea of an armed revolution replaced the cult of mere terrorist reprisals and revolutionary parties seriously set to work for this purpose. The volunteer corps of the 1928 Congress was the outward symbol of what the revolutionary army would be like and the idea was accepted that women should form a part of the revolutionary army as soldiers. Meanwhile both the Mahila Rastriya Samgha and the Deepali Samgha were inculcating patriotic fervour and revolutionary psychology. The Deepali Samgha further instilled in the minds of women self-help and self-reliance through the Bengali monthly *Jayasree*.

Small revolutionary groups grew up not only in Calcutta but also in mofussil, such as, Dacca, Comilla and Chittagong and recruited women to their fold. College girls mainly got initiated into these groups. They started secret clubs, met in Ladies' Parks and held discussions in their own way. They began to help their brethren in procuring arms and carrying them to the proper destinations. Bina Das (now, Mrs. Bhowmick) of Calcutta, Santi Ghose (now Mrs. Das) and Sunity Choudhuri of Comillah, Kalpana Dutta and Preetilata Waddedar of Chittagong, Santi Sudha Ghose, the first woman recipient of Eshan Scholarship, of Barisal, to name only a few, joined one or other group of these revolutionaries and made a mark by their actions. There were many other recruits, too, amongst our sisters who gave proof of their valour in more ways than one.



Preetilata Waddedar

Their activities found the first manifestation at Comillah when Santi and Sunity, the former in her sixteenth and the latter in her fourteenth year, students of the ninth class, shot dead Magistrate Stevens on 14th December, 1931. They were at once arrested and put into prison. This was the first of this kind of action by women revolutionaries followed in quick succession by others of the same kind. In the trial that followed, they were given transportation for life in consideration of their tender age. Within a fortnight after the murder of Stevens, Leela Nag and her associates in Calcutta and Dacca were arrested and made detainees. The next action was the attempt by Bina Das on the life of Governor Jackson at the time of the Convocation of the Calcutta University on

6th February, 1932. This led to searches and arrests of women on a large-scale. In a summary trial, Bina Das was given nine years' rigorous imprisonment. Many more girls were arrested from now on and either tried or made detainee on the charge of complicity with the revolutionary, or 'terrorist' activities. Amongst those arrested were Kamala Chatterji, Bimal Pratibha Devi, Shobharani Datta, Ujjala Devi, Parul Mukherji, Maya Devi, Jyotikana Datta, Banalata Das, Renuka Sen and Prafulla Brahma, to name only a few. Santisudha Ghose of Barisal was arrested while trying to cash a forged cheque of Rs. 27,000 in the Grindley Bank to carry on revolutionary activities. Jayasri was gagged for inculcating revolutionary ideas.



Leela Roy

Our sisters of the Chittagong Armoury Raid and subsequent movements have extorted praise from friend and foe alike. The Chittagong Armoury Raid came off on 18th April 1930 at the peak of the Civil Disobedience movement. Kalpana Datta came in touch with the revolutionary party at Chittagong in 1929. But she did not fall in line with them till June 1931, when she met the 'King of Chittagong,' Master Suryakumar Sen, popularly known as Master-da, the hero of the Chittagong Armoury Raid. Preetilata Waddedar came in contact with him just a year later, in May 1932. Since the day of their acquaintance with Master-da, they became active revolutionaries. Kalpana used to help the revolutionaries in many ways, and was herself arrested while going to the Pahartali of Chittagong in the guise of a man. She absconded and was re-arrested, and tried with Surya Sen and Tarakeswar Dastidar, one of his lieutenants. Both of them were

sentenced to death, but she was given transportation for life, only because she was a woman and of tender age. Her complicity in the revolutionary activities in Chittagong were of a very wide and intense character. Preetilata was given charge by their leader to direct the Pahartali Raid on 24th September, 1932. She fell a martyr to the cause of our Motherland. When she found that escape was impossible, she took potassium cyanide and died, to the chagrin of the British forces. She had long been imbued with the ideas of revolution. And while still a student in the College, she had forty interviews with Ramkrishna Biswas, who was also sentenced to death, in the Alipore Central Jail. Sabitri Devi of Dhalghat, Chittagong, and Suhashini Ganguli, who gave shelter to the Chittagong revolutionaries, at Chandernagore, were also harassed, arrested and thrown into prison. Indumati Sing, sister of Ananta Sing of the Chittagong Armoury Raid fame, also suffered indignities and imprisonment. There are many others amongst our sisters who took active part in revolutionary activities, whose names are scarcely known. But all honour to those known and unknown who strove hard and sacrificed their all for the liberation of our common Motherland.

NEW DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Our Freedom movement opened new vistas for Indian womanhood. Sarojini Naidu, the 'hero' of Dharsana, and member of the Congress Working Committee since her presidency in 1925, accompanied Mahatma Gandhi to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference in 1931, as the sole representative of the progressive section of Indian women. In the second Civil Disobedience movement in 1932, women of Bengal like their sisters in other provinces suffered imprisonment at the hands of the Government. In the year following (1933) two women candidates, Miss Jyotirmoyi Ganguli and Mrs. Kumudini Bose, were elected to the Calcutta Corporation from General constituencies in recognition of their services to the country. Hemaprabha Majumdar was also chosen an Alderman of the Corporation for a term.

The Government of India Act, 1935, gave women wider franchise. Special women constituencies were created. The Congress had already withdrawn the Civil Disobedience movement and decided to fight the general election. The first general election came off in early 1937, and women exercised their votes in large numbers. Hemaprabha Majumdar was elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly along with her sisters from the special women's constituencies. Congress had won elections in the majority of the provinces, and had become a power in the land. Though it was in a minority in Bengal, still its power was also felt here. Bengal's jails were filled with detainees and political convicts including women. Thanks to the untiring efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, the Local Government was at last obliged to release most of them. Women

prisoners and detenues were all released. For the release of women political convicts, the special efforts of Poet Rabindranath and Mr. C. F. Andrews should also be remembered.

Most of the women revolutionaries now joined the Congress. Some of the women leaders of the younger school took upon themselves the task of constituting the Congress Women's League, an autonomous body under the banner of the Indian National Congress. Its main object was to carry on constructive work amongst women. Since long women had been elected members to the Bengal Provincial as well as to the All-India Congress Committee. Hemaprabha Majumdar and Lotika Ghose sat on both these Committees with many of their sisters for a number of years. In the Congress majority provinces they were given such responsible posts, as Minister or Speaker. But in Bengal, the Congress being in the minority, there was no possibility of their having been appointed to these posts. But they were serving the country in other ways. In the National Planning Committee initiated by the Congress President, Subhas Chandra Bose, in 1938, one of our sisters found a place. Mrs. Leela Roy (Miss Nag, being by now married to Mr. Anil Chandra Roy) was taken on the Women's Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee. She was also the convener of the Bengal branch.

Differences in the Congress with regard to the Presidentship of Subhas Chandra Bose, the creation of the Forward Bloc by him and the beginning of the Second World War reacted on the women's movements also, so far as our national work was concerned. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, which supported Subhas, was suspended by the Congress High Command, and in its place an *ad hoc* Committee was created. The women adherents of Subhas Chandra remained members of the suspended committee, and those who could not see eye to eye with him joined the *ad hoc* committee. Mrs. Hemaprabha Majumdar, for long a member of the A-I. C. C. and the B. P. C. C., and a veteran Congress worker, supported Subhas and acted as the dictator of the suspended B.P.C.C. after his departure from India in January, 1941.

In Mrs. Leela Roy, Subhas Chandra Bose found a very active lieutenant, so far as the organisation of the Forward Bloc was concerned. She began to take a very prominent part in the political conferences along with Subhas Chandra. Since his arrest on 2nd July 1940 in connection with the removal of the Holwell Monument from the Clive Street, Mrs. Roy was entrusted with the editorial charge of the *Forward Bloc* weekly. She, too, took lead in the movement. She was detained with twenty others as a security prisoner in the Presidency Jail and released later on. After the departure of Subhas Chandra Bose from India and under his instruction Mrs. Roy organised the Forward

Bloc throughout India on a sound basis, though it had been banned by the Congress. When the followers of Subhas were labelled as Fascists by interested parties, she wrote for newspapers articles which proved to the hilt that they were no less patriotic than their critics. On the failure of the Cripps' Mission in April, 1942, she was arrested and imprisoned as a detenué.

As I have already referred to, the *ad hoc* Congress had also women workers and leaders. They spread out in different parts of the country. Some of them were members of the A-I. C. C. Miss Bina Das took up Congress work in right earnest after her release. She served the Congress as Secretary to the South Calcutta District Congress Committee and also as a member of the A-I. C. C. for a number of years. There were many other women adherents of the orthodox Congress who strictly followed the Congress programme.



Matangini Hazra
The Tamluk martyr of the August Revolution

THE AUGUST REVOLUTION, 1942

Failure of the Cripps' Mission in April, 1942, left no other alternative for the Congress but to launch a countrywide struggle for freedom. Congressmen assembled at the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay and passed on 7th and 8th August the famous "Quit India" resolution. The Government arrested Mahatma Gandhi, the sponsor of this resolution, with all the members of the Congress Working Committee, including Sarojini Naidu. They combed out the leaders in the country and put them into prison, the women leaders and workers not excepted. The spontaneous outburst on the part of the people against this measure of the Government, have won the very appropriate appellation of the August Revolution. Parallel Governments were started in various provinces. And in

Bengal, the district of Midnapore took the lead. The women of Midnapore gave proofs of courage and heroism unknown in recent history. The British army were stationed in different centres to quell this movement. One regiment was stationed at Tamluk, a sub-division of the Midnapore district. We have already heard of Matangini Hazra. This time she fell a victim to the bullets of the soldiers while leading a procession from outside the town on 29th September 1942. We have a graphic description of the event in the following lines:

"From the north, entered another procession under the leadership of the veteran Congress worker of the sub-division Sm. Matangini Hazra, aged 73. They encountered the soldiers under the command of Sj. Anil Kumar Bhattacharyya. They had to withdraw to some distance on being attacked by the soldiers at the narrow entrance by the side of the 'Ban Pukur.' Then our soldiers of freedom led by Sm. Matangini Hazra again encountered the Government troop, who opened fire and continued showering bullets for a long time. Sm. Matangini held the national Flag firmly and advanced. The Government troop first hit her on both hands. Her hands dropped, but not the National Flag, which she still held tight and advanced, requesting the Indian troop to cease firing and to give up the jobs and join the Freedom Movement. She received a reply,—a bullet which ran right through her forehead and she fell dead. As she lay there in the dust, sanctified by her blood, the National Flag was still in her grip, yet flying unsullied."—(*August Revolution: Two Years' National Government: Midnapore*, pp. 22-23).

Women workers in other districts were also engaged in the work of the revolution in the rural areas. The villagers round about Santiniketan in Birbhum responded marvellously. Rani Chanda of Santiniketan and Nandita Devi, grand-daughter of Poet Rabindranath Tagore, were clapped into prison for their revolutionary work in those areas. Bina Das and others of the orthodox Congress Group were also imprisoned. During this period Mrs. Labanya Prabha Dutta served as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, popularly known as *ad hoc* committee. Both the Forward Bloc and the Congress Socialist Party worked incessantly for the success of the Revolution. Many leaders of both these parties instead of courting arrest in the open, went underground and actively carried on the movement. Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali (Aruna Gangopadhyaya), a Bengali lady, went underground and from there edited *Inquilab* (Revolution) in co-operation with Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, also a Socialist leader. Aruna remained in hiding for three long years. She narrated her experiences of the famished humanity in this period to the utter surprise of both the people and the Government, just after her unconditional release in the early months of 1946. Dr. Miss Maitreyi Bose, noted for her nationalist leanings and her work among the labourers, collected funds for the movement secretly.

It should be said in passing that Dr. Miss Bose was later one of the prominent members of the All-India National Trade Union Congress.

Some other women, noble daughters of Bengal, who made other provinces their abodes either by choice or by marriage, excelled in their work for the national revolution. Malati Chaudhuri, wife of Nabalkrishna Chaudhuri, then a prominent Congress leader of Orissa, held aloft the torch of our freedom movement, when all others went to prison. She was for a time the President of the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee. Amongst those others, who worked for the national cause, were Sucheta Kripalani, wife of Acharyya J. B. Kripalani and Asha Adhikari (Mrs. Aryanayakam) who deserve particular mention in this connection.

THE AFTERMATH

The message of the August Revolution reached every nook and corner of the country. The Government left no stone unturned to counteract the movement. Even the natural calamities could not deter them from taking action. By this time the Japanese forces were at our eastern border. To prevent their advance inside India, the Government contracted the means of transport and removed essential food-stuffs from several districts. This interference with the natural flow and distribution of food-grains mainly led to the disastrous Bengal famine of 1943. In this hour of crisis some women, mainly with Communist-leanings formed themselves into a Committee, called Mahila Atmaraksha Samity (the organisation for the self-protection of women), opened branches in Calcutta as well as in the mofussil districts and tried hard to bring food to the hungry—men, women and children. Their main object, however, was to instil into the minds of our distressed and famished women a sense of self-respect and courage, so that they might tide over the grim distress that had faced them.

Meanwhile the Azad Hind Fouj for the liberation of India reached our land. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had formed a Provisional National Government of Free India in the Japanese-occupied territories of South-East Asia. His army included a battalion of women, called the Rani of Jhansi Brigade under Miss Lakshmi Swaminathan. This battalion included not a few Bengali women who were residing in those territories at the time. Women were given military training. They were privileged to take part in the actual warfare. The news of this privilege fired women of this side of India with an abiding sense of patriotism, unparalleled in its chequered history.

When the Second World War was over and our leaders and workers were released, this sense of patriotism grew more intense and virulent among them. The agitation over the trial of the Azad Hind Fouj at Red Fort, Delhi, the R.I.N. Revolt at Bombay and the like were all pointers to the fact that Indians would no longer tolerate foreign domination. The internal

condition of Great Britain together with the changed conditions in the international sphere after the defeat of Germany, Italy and Japan, forced the Britishers to revise their attitude towards the Indian people. The interested parties did not fail to sow afresh the seeds of dissension and discord and this time they were also tremendously successful in having a determined section of Indians to serve their purpose. Riots started in virulent form here, there and everywhere. But nothing could avail. Due to dissensions and communal feelings the Muslims could not be roped in with the Hindus. India was no longer to be a united free India. But the British had to leave India free, though divided into two independent States—Indian Union and Pakistan, on 15th August, 1947.

In all our national strifes and struggle women joined men heart and soul and strove hard to make

them a success. Even in our blunders they joined their brothers without any reservation. At first the social conditions were not favourable for women to attend to the political movements publicly. But when the conditions changed, they threw themselves into it. The all-absorbing fight for freedom never made any distinction between caste or sex. And everyone of the women, whether literate or illiterate, could do her bit as best as she could. 1906, 1921, 1930 and 1942, were landmarks in the history of our freedom struggle. The movement that had been confined at first to a literate few, gradually filtered down to the masses. And by 1942 its force became tremendous and irresistible. Our women-folk who formed half the population, had their due share and credit for the liberation of our common Motherland.

(Concluded)

—:O:—

IN MEMORIAM

(On the death of Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee)

By LOTIKA GHOSE

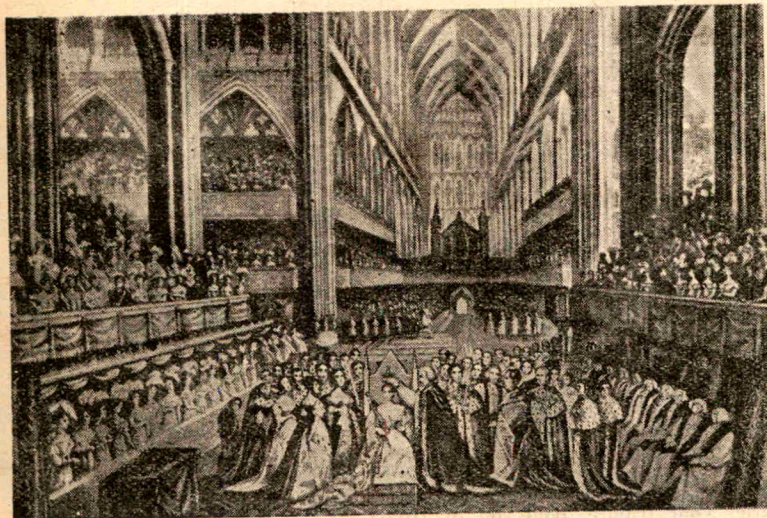
From loins heroic were you born and cast
In heroic mould you stood high champion
Of the faith your fathers bore; impetuous,
Proud, true Brahmin who with head held high
Could challenge kings;—strong-pinioned eagle-eyed.
A nation's grief your tribute, bold son of Hind!
Sagacious in Council, tongued with words of fire,
Mortal ears your voice no more shall hear!
The Mother weeps orphaned of her son.
Child of Bengal imprisoned in Tiger claws,
On strange soil you died 'midst men of alien faith,
Who, fearful of your fiery spirit's rage
Laid coward hands upon an unarmed foe.
Can bans debar or prison bars enclose
The soul's deep urge? An empire crashing fell
Before a nation's will upheld by right.
And shall your noble frenzy's fire not light
A blaze in hearts partitioned, pierce the veil
Of illusion's mist and cast the light
Of knowledge sage upon those mesmerised
By men who for lust of power could mangle and maim
Their motherland in a hollow freedom's name.
So sudden, your death's dark mystery who will gauge?
Pure Himalay the witness lone will keep
Its secret and it shall be a sacrifice
Complete and whole accepted by the gods.
Your mission from this day will be their own,
Compelling hands in unison will turn
The wheel of fate till India shall emerge
Glorious, unmaimed, united, whole and one.

THE CORONATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II

The Royal Family of Britain

A queen again reigns over Britannia's realms, after a gap of over half a century and she bears a name that has become legendary with its romantic associations in the annals of Britain.

The ancient ritual and pageantry that was celebrated in London on June 2, was witnessed by millions, either by direct visual means or through the medium of television. Millions more have seen and will see, all over the world, the cinema film taken on the occasion.



Coronation of Queen Victoria

Pomp and ceremony there was in plenty, and the occasion was attended by a brilliant array, representatives of the Commonwealth and foreign countries, Royalty, Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, members of fighting forces and distinguished civilians, all were there, either in glittering uniforms or in plain morning dress.

The ritual was meticulously followed to its conclusion, the most impressive and moving part being the presentation of the young queen for acceptance by those of her loyal subjects who had assembled by command in the Westminster Abbey.

The world outside the queen's domains has marvelled at the unalloyed demonstration of joy and loyal affection by the usually impassive Britisher. Perhaps, the clue to that can be traced in the following narrative by Oliver Warner, the author of *Crown Jewels*, which the British Information Service has supplied us.—Ed., M. R.

HER Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is by inheritance the holder of one of the most illustrious positions in the

modern world. Queen not only of Britain but of other great nations beyond the seas, she is, at the early age of 27, the head of the Commonwealth.

It is over half-a-century since a Queen last reigned in Britain. Since the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, far-reaching changes have come upon the earth, but while the general pattern of society has changed, the Throne has remained stable. Scattered communities, widely diverse policies, the essential speed of modern

life all require a "still, bright centre" from which, may radiate that unifying affection which makes the Sovereign a symbol and a bond. The Queen reigns, but her words and acts derive their significance rather through the example she sets than the laws which are promulgated in her name.

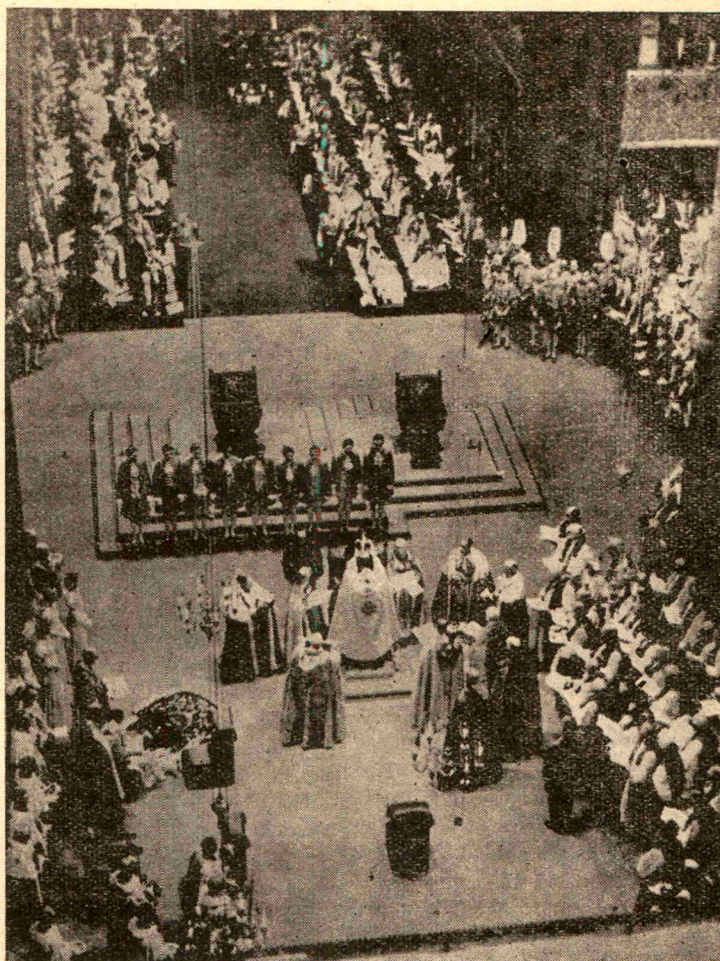
The vast majority of the Queen's peoples can easily remember the day when she was born—Princess Elizabeth Alexandra Mary—to the Duke and Duchess of York in their London home; and as the years went by they followed her progress with close and affectionate interest. They learnt of the joy she had brought to the declining years of King George V; they saw her, childishly dignified, in her first coronet at the Coronation of her father, King George VI; they read of her achievements as a Girl Guide, and were as proud as she must have been when she exchanged her Guide's uniform for the khaki of the war years.

So, too, did the people share her happiness at her marriage in 1947 to the Duke of Edinburgh—like her, a descendant of Queen Victoria—and at the birth of her two delightful children, Prince Charles and Princess Anne. And it is around this young family that the thoughts of the people are now centred: the Queen herself, wife and mother as well as the head of the Commonwealth; her tall and handsome husband, four years older than herself, who has shown himself in peace and war the pattern of a naval officer, practical, a superb mixer, with the sailor's proverbial gaiety and devotion to duty; and the little Prince and Princess who are being brought up with that particular blend of simplicity and awareness of public obligation which will fit them for the rank to which they were born, without depriving them of their rightful inheritance of fun.

On the accession of his mother to the throne,

Prince Charles became Duke of Cornwall, the title always borne by the heir apparent. It is probable that at a later date the Queen will confer upon him the

experience; and her younger sister, Princess Margaret, who has shared so many of her own joys and sorrows. Then there are the other close members of the Royal



Inside Westminster Abbey during the Coronation of
King George VI

title of Prince of Wales. The Prince was four years old on November 14 last.

The Queen has three predecessors of her own sex whose reigns were epochs of triumph—Elizabeth I, Anne and Victoria—but she has advantages which not all of them enjoyed: the presence beside her of her mother, a former Queen Consort, who is rich in wisdom and

Family—the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, the Duchess of Kent, and the Princess Royal—all of whom play a prominent part in the life of the country.

Of Her Majesty's characteristics none is more enchanting than the air of happiness which she radiates. This extends to all her public activities, and reflects the joy of her family life.



ROMAN INFLUENCE IN THE PROvence

By DR. MISS INDIRA SARKAR

THE Provence is situated in the South of France which is known as the "Midi". It is that part of the country, which is bordered on the north by the last ranges of the Massive Central Mountains, known as the Cevennes and the Garrigues, composed of stony and dry rock. It is protected, on the east, by the calcaireous chains of the Ventoux Mountains and Vaucluse Plateau. On the south, it is fringed by the deep, blue Mediterranean Sea. Marseilles, the port, constructed in the 6th century B.C., opened the Provence to Greek and Roman civilisation. The delta of the Rhone became the centre of Roman influence up to the Middle Ages. The Crusaders also left from this part of the country towards the south. It is in the regions, near and about the Rhone delta, that we find Roman art of the Provence at its highest and at its best. For over 5 centuries, the Provence had known an artistic development which made it the centre of Latin antiquities. No other province of the Roman Empire has left behind such rich Roman treasures. The larger cities in the Provence took Rome as its model and the monuments show remarkable examples of public and private buildings, dating back to the Roman times. And the delta of the Rhone was easily navigable by the ancient Roman sea-men. The Rhone receives large quantities of water from the Cevennes. Other rivers flowing into the delta are the Ardeche, the Gard and the Durance. The Rhone bifurcates into two forming the little Rhone and the great Rhone. The great Rhone divides the delta into two parts, *viz.*, the solitary and austere regions of the Camargue and the Crau, rich in pastures and rice-cultivation. This delta is alluvial and rich in salt and forms a curious part of France. The Romans and the monks of the Middle Ages had irrigated the dry lands of the Provence, by letting the waters of the Rhone flow into the canals, specially dug for this purpose.

The Provence has a great variety of landscapes. It has low ranges of mountains, stony hills, desert and irrigated plains and an exceptional luminousness of atmosphere, which rightly complies with the definition given by the famous French poet, Mistral as "l'empire du soleil" (empire of the sun). Poets, writers and travellers have appreciated the benevolent and clement temperature of the Provence. Alphonse Daudet, the famous French writer, was born in the Provence. Van Gogh, the Dutch painter of French landscapes, was struck by the luminousness of the atmosphere, the yellowness of the corn-fields and flowers and the blue of the sky and the Mediterranean Sea. Bizet and Gounoud, two French musicians of great repute, drew much inspiration for their compositions from the Provence. The climate is temperate having long periods of warm and sunny weather, with short spells of cold, during the winter. Heavy rains take place during spring and the rivers overflow with the abundant water from the mountain-snows. But the heat

of summer quickly dries up these rivers again. The vegetation of the Provence is very rich. Cyprus trees, fig-trees, olive-trees, lavenders, myrtles and rosemaries are characteristics of this region. Fruit-trees like the citron, the cherry, the apricot and the peach also thrive here. The slopes of the Garrigues are well suited for the cultivation of the vine.

Each city in the Provence has its own originality. Avignon is a gay city now, where people go for distraction. In olden times, the Popes used to have their seat here before transferring it to the Vatican. Aix-en-Provence is a serious city, known for its aristocratic milieu and its intellectual circles. It has a good faculty for arts and science. Marseilles is a great and big port with plenty of activity. Orange, Tarascon, Nimes and Arles are cities of art and culture and now very famous for touristic interests because they have preserved many Roman monuments and historic relics. Saintes Maries de la Mer and Baux are centers of pilgrimage for those people professing the Catholic religion. Farandole dances take place in the open air, during festivals, in the summer-time. Bull-fights is a regular feature in the life of the people of the Provence and is still a survival of Roman culture.

Most of these cities in the Provence had a military origin. Many still have a rampart surrounding the city. These walls were there to prevent aggression from outside. The city usually had two principal roads, cutting at right angles, and all the other roads run parallel to these two. In the center of a Roman town there was the Forum, which represented the market-place, situated at the cross-roads of the city and was a very busy area. The Romans had their bank, their courts, their tribunals and their other public buildings around the Forum. The Roman tombs were situated outside of the city walls. The Alyscamps at Arles bear testimony to this fact. The Romans were buried with plenty of clothes, food and money. The Romans believed that the dead people needed sufficient food-stuffs and eatables during their journey after death. These tombs were big or small according to the wealth of the individual. All these monuments were usually made with heavy stones and marble blocks. The Romans did not have any trucks or cranes to lift and transport these huge slabs of stone. They did not have any cement to join these stones together. Everyone is compelled to marvel at the technical skill of the Romans. It is a fact that they did bring all these stones from Italy and erected the most beautiful edifices, which have stood the ravages of time. Modern architecture and buildings are falling into decay much quicker than the old Roman constructions. The secret of their scientific skill remains buried in darkness.

In the Provence there are many ruins of old Roman temples. In Nimes the old temple has been converted into a museum. The temple is square in shape and sup-

ported on many pillars, which are differently carved and unevenly spaced from one another. The Romans used to worship mythological gods and heroes in these temples. In every Roman city can be found triumphal arches. The victorious conquerors used to pass under these arches in pomp and grandeur. Some of these arches have only one passage and others have two and three arches. Most of the Roman cities have thermal-baths. These public baths were divided into three compartments according to the instructions of doctors. In the first compartment were served lukewarm baths, in the second, very hot and steaming baths and in the third cold ones. This gradual change in temperatures was beneficial to health according to medical rules and regulations. The rubbing of the body with oil was also a common practice. These thermal-baths were also centers for physical exercises and sport. A fine library was also to be found there. The Romans too knew of a very fine method of heating the waters running into the various compartments. In each Roman city there is also a Roman theatre. The Romans were fond of theatrical performances and loved cultural and historic representations. In each Roman theatre can be found a row of huge pillars, forming the scenery for the representation. In the front of the stage was the seating-accommodation of the orchestra. The audience sat in the amphitheatre in the open air. The entrances to the theatres were arched with carved pillars. Last but not least must be mentioned the Roman arenas which have survived the ravages of time and still stand proudly amidst other Roman ruins, boasting of ancient Roman culture and civilisation. In Nîmes, Arles, Orange and other places in the Provence one can still find arenas. These huge

oval-shaped amphitheatres were constructed in three tiers, each storey containing rows of arcades. In the lowest row of arcades the wild beasts were kept in cages. The first row in the amphitheatre was reserved for the ambassadors, the senators and the counsellors. The second row was kept for priests and soldiers and the last row was meant for the slaves. Many steps led up to the galleries. Yet it is surprising to note, that all the exits and entrances to the galleries were arranged in such a manner that the different strata of society did not have to meet at all. Refreshment were also sold during the intervals. Sweet-smelling perfumes were sprayed before the commencement of the show. The spectacles were shown in three ways. Either, the fight was between beast and beast or between gladiator and beast or between gladiator and gladiator. The gladiators were usually German or French slaves. During the Roman times the Christians were persecuted and were often thrown to the wild beasts and torn to pieces by them, because they refused to renounce their own religions. These amphitheatres were crowded with spectators, who enjoyed to watch these fights. These brutal scenes were very popular. In the Provence the arenas are now used only for bull fights. The love of these spectacles between the bull and the matador is still coming down from the time of the Roman conquerors.

Thus, it is astonishing to see that if one goes to the "Midi," one comes in contact with Roman culture and civilisation. There is so much of Roman ruins all around, that one almost has the impression to be in Italy. The French are very proud of these Roman monuments and regard most of the cities in the Provence as places of historic art and tradition.

—:O:—

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN BRITAIN

By W. L. ANDREWS,

Editor, "The Yorkshire Post," Leeds and President of the Guild of British Newspaper Editors

It was recently laid down by the newspaper profession in Britain that when a young man or woman begins to train for journalism one of the very first lessons he or she must learn is what is meant by the freedom of the Press. For this freedom is one of the national glories of the country. It helps to make British newspapers lively, provocative and readable, but achieves far more than that. It enables newspapers to play an invaluable and indispensable part in the democratic running of a country. Like a free Parliament, the free Press keeps the people free. It helps them, guides them and defends them through the crises we all have to face.

These may seem large and slightly oratorical claims.

In what precisely does this Press freedom consist? Not in a constitutional right specially for newspapers. The expression means that there is no official restraint, no censorship, on the publication of books, newspapers and other printed matters. It does not mean that an author or editor may publish just what he likes without regard to the damage he may do to people. A great judge, Lord Mansfield, said in 1784: "The liberty of the Press consists in printing without any previous licence subject to the consequences of the law."

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

What do these consequences of the law mean? They mean that if a newspaper libels anyone it may have to

pay damages. If it prints anything obscene, blasphemous or seditious or commits contempt of court (that is, prints something which jeopardises a fair trial or injures the reputation of a court) it is liable to be punished. But a newspaper has the right to utter fair comment and speak out strongly as a sworn champion to advance the interests of a cause it believes in.

With this power the Press, in the name of the community, can censure Governments and Parliaments, insist on the downfall of inefficient politicians and secure the redress of injustice to the humblest of subjects.

At first it was thought natural for the Government to regulate and censor the Press. The first regular newspaper in London started when John Milton, the poet, was in his boyhood. Later he wrote an essay called the "*Areopagitica: A speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, to the Parliament of England.*" This pleaded with burning eloquence the case for a free Press.

Parliament, no doubt believing it was right to stifle free opinion (which perhaps it assumed to be nearly always wrong or irresponsible opinion), refused to abandon the censorship. In 1695, when the author of *Paradise Lost* had been in his grave for 21 years, Parliament let the act regulating the Press pass out of existence. It has never been revived. Britain, even in wartime, has had no compulsory censorship, for the patriotism of the Press was a trustworthy safeguard of momentous military secrets.

The decision of 1695 did not mean that British newspapers could then go ahead unhampered. For many years they had to pay special taxes which were commonly known as taxes on knowledge. One of them was on advertisements.

UNFOUNDED FEARS

Hostility in Parliament towards the Press often flared up. Parliament was afraid that newspapers, continually expanding their influence, might some day be a rival to itself. It even objected to its speeches being reported—an odd contrast with Members' very proper desire for publicity today. One Parliamentarian said in alarm:

"The stuff which our weekly newspapers are filled with is received with greater reverence than Acts of Parliament, and the sentiments of one of those scribblers have more weight with the multitude than the opinion of the best politician in the kingdom."

We must not suppose that all the virtues were on one side and all the vices on the other. Some papers were shockingly reckless and some were bribed. Yet many newspapers fought like heroes for the people's freedom. They helped to make the country politically mature. We journalists of to-day do not forget our predecessors who suffered the shame of the pillory and the squalors of prison in the struggle for the right to say what we think of the way we are governed.

The taxes on knowledge, first imposed in the reign of Queen Anne, lasted until well into the reign of Queen Victoria, and began to disappear just a hundred years ago. The first to be cancelled was the advertisement duty, which the House voted in favour of repealing on April 14,

1853. The compulsory newspaper stamp disappeared in 1855, and the duty on paper in 1861.

The Press became more and more powerful as education, printing and communications improved, until Abraham Lincoln declared in 1861:

"The London *Times* is one of the greatest powers in the world—in fact, I don't know anything which has much more power, except perhaps the Mississippi."

The history of repression and struggle has left strong marks on the character of Britain's Press today. The Englishman reading his newspaper at breakfast does not regard it merely as a sheet to tell him the latest news. It is much more than a radio bulletin, much more than the day's news processed and packaged. The reader looks on the newspaper as a living personality, a friend, an eager fighter for what he believes in. He welcomes its leading articles.

WIDE CHOICE OF VIEWS

Any study of the British Press would bring out as one of its dominating characteristics the tradition of guidance to the public, creation of opinion and waging of editorial campaigns.

Does this mean that the complaints of bygone Parliamentarians against the Press have died away and that every paper is now completely successful in reconciling its freedom and independence with restraint and a sense of responsibility in matters of national concern? I should not make that claim without reservation. If you grant freedom you grant the freedom to abuse freedom.

There will always be some men who press their campaigns to an extravagant excess, some men whose partisan fervour leads them to injustice against opponents. With no agreed standard of taste throughout the country some papers will be tempted to exploit crime, sex and vulgarity.

But the public can make its choice from a variety of newspapers. Different schools of thought fight out their differences in the arena of politics. The reader is given plenty of facts to consider; every important point of view finds expression. The supreme virtue of this free Press is that it enables the public to decide for itself what is right and what is the best thing to do.

In so doing it pays very great respect to the most thoughtful and public-spirited papers, so that restraint and a sense of responsibility do prevail in great national decisions.

Press freedom, though often resented by those whom it brings under critical scrutiny, is immensely better for the citizens than the stifling of independent opinion in the name of an all-powerful bureaucratic Government.*

* Organisations representing Britain's newspaper owners and their editorial staffs are now considering the draft constitution for the General Council of the Press, which comes into being on July 1. One of its most important functions will be to promote schemes providing for recruitment, education and training of journalists, but its principal object will be to preserve the established freedom of the Press in the United Kingdom—and maintain its character at the highest level.

THE BOAT

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

My boat returns once more
To some long-forgotten shore :
Cancelled, the tossing waters,
Sail and oar.

It has travelled league on league
Bearing much storm-intrigue—
Rest, boat of me ! You are now
Full of fatigue.

How cool the shadow thrown
By life's tree standing alone
On the edge of the shore where no wind
Makes idle moan.

Long rest at last—and yet
The keel of the boat is wet
With the waters of the world's tears
It can never forget.

—:O:—

MYSTERY

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Here is a rose, exquisite form !
Why did He make it
So lovely and scent it
If, when a human hand or a storm
Essays to break it
He cannot prevent it ?

Here is a bird, tremulous heart !
Why did He buoy it
Aloft in the air
If, when a hail or a hunter's dart
Essays to destroy it,
He seems not to care ?

Here is my heart, mystery-furled,
Vision-created—
Why did He shape it ?
When it is tortured and bruised by the world
And humiliated
Can He escape it ?

Can He escape
The sorrow of shape ?
Has He the power
To rescue a flower
Or a bird of His moulding ?
Has He no power of preventing, withholding
Torture and death to the things of His making
Or does He delight in destroying and breaking ?

—:O:—



Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose

Born : January 30, 1897

Died : June 3, 1953

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON SOCIETY: By *Engelbert D. Rumes*. Philosophical Library, New York. Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes. Price \$3.75.

This book, published in 1953, was written fifteen years ago, but could not find a publisher, says the author. There has been no addition, nor has anything been expunged from the text, as the author's note to the reader declares. So, it is neither an autopsy nor is it the jeremiad of a renegade Communist.

It is all the same in the nature of a dissection of the body politic of Communism, right from its genesis. It is ruthless in its exposition of the fallacies of Marxism—indeed the author's pen cuts like a knife into the very personality of Karl Marx himself. And the pen is drawn over the entire theme like the surgeon's scalpel, cold, unwavering and cutting deep.

The review of events prior to the Soviet-Nazi Pact at the beginning of World War II is searching in its pathological details, particularly that of the ruthless methods of Stalin. His critical appraisal of the Marxian doctrine and the Soviet application or distortion of the dogma would come as a shock, both to the "fellow traveller" and to the benign neutral. Practically every claim of the Soviets, from the Marxist spirit of brotherhood to the Worker's Paradise, has been assailed and exposed with meticulous logic.

If the exposition be wrong then the premises are faulty, and it is for the protagonists of Communism to attempt a refutation. As the book stands, it is the best and most concise criticism of Marxist doctrine and Soviet practice in book-form.

K. N. C.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE ACCORDING TO DHARMASASTRA: By *K. Rangaswami Aiyangar*. Baroda, 1952. Pp. x+184. Price Rs. 6.

This valuable work from the pen of the veteran South Indian scholar, who has enriched our knowledge of *Smṛiti* and *Nīti* literature by his numerous publications, deals with its subject-matter in a fashion and on a scale such as has seldom been attempted by previous authors in the field. The book consists of six lectures entitled "Preliminary explanations," "The background of the Hindu view of life," "Dharma," "Varna-Dharma," "Samskara and Asrama" and "The ethics of social and political life." The author's attitude is throughout objective and critical, though based on sympathetic understanding of his theme. It is not possible to notice here even a sufficient number of his valuable observations, but a few examples may be given. The author makes a just appraisal of the influence of tradition

upon Hindu ideals of life. For he says (p. 8) that the criticism of our age-long allegiance to tradition as savouring of an uncritical frame of mind ignores the critical and catholic attitudes of Hindu thought. "The characteristic of the Indian mind has been its loyalty to reason even when things are presented as of divine inspiration or revelation. Tolerance has been a feature not only of the attitude of Hinduism to other religions, but to all ideas and experiences different from its own." The author, again, appears to be on the right track when he says (p. 19) that in contrast with many other allegedly distinctive features of Hinduism, its real test lies in "the acceptance of *dharma* as the normative feature of life and the duty to act according to it." On p. 26, the author rightly points out that the metaphysical and cosmological material in a work like the *Manusmṛiti* is not irrelevant. "Since in Hindu belief, life is only a hyphen linking two 'eternities,' the need to stress the past and the future of man is as relevant as the emphasis on personal and social obligations" (p. 27). On p. 115, the author effectively disposes of the cheap criticism which ascribes the discriminatory rules in favour of Brahmanas in the *Dharmasūtras* to the Brahmana authorship of these works. "The so-called immunities are far more ancient than the works in which they are recorded; and judged by their effects they might be construed into hardships rather than privileges. Sterilization of worldly ambition, reduction normally to a condition of austere living or poverty, deprivation of means of self-assertion when oppressed except by inherent spirituality which can appeal only to those who have belief in it, the numerous restrictions on inter-marriage and so forth, are not the things that self-seeking authors of religions or ethical codes will claim for themselves in books that they forge." In another place (pp. 122-23), the author draws an important distinction between the concepts of *varna* and *jati* (caste). The former is, in Indian phraseology, *dharma-pradhana* and the latter is *artha-pradhana*. The distinctive features of the varna scheme are "the connection of duty (*dharma*) and status, the spiritual basis and objectives of duty, the organic interdependence of *varnas* as parts of a living social organism, the harmonising of mundane and cosmic purposes, the combination of elasticity and rigidity by the provision of a simple frame-work within which places can be found for every type of groups that accepts the common aim and stability arising from heredity." *Jati* is "a subordinate variant of *varna* but subject to fundamental beliefs inherent in *varna*." Elsewhere (p. 153), the author characterises as a unique feature of Hindu society the co-existence of the organisation of *varna* and *asrama* as well as the institution of *Samskaras*. Though "a person's *varna* is the

gift of his past," he has "the freedom so to attune his life to the Infinite by proper training that he might not merely regulate his status in the next birth but even prevent that birth itself. This training comes from the life in *asramas*." While *varna* is held to be divinely created, the *asrama* scheme of which no beginning is indicated must be traced to "the instinct of a race which constantly sought the key to the riddle of existence." On the subject of *rajadharma*, the author makes some important remarks. The Dharmasastra ideas of kingship, he thinks (p. 177), combine the features of the theories of Divine Right and of contractual relation between the ruler and his subjects involving "the pledge of protection on the one side and of obedience and payment of taxes on the other." This dictum requires a slight modification, as it applies to the advanced exposition of the theory, as notably in the sixty-seventh chapter of the twelfth book (Santiparvan) of the Mahabharata. On the other hand, the author rightly cautions us against a too literal acceptance of the Dharmasastra ideas of the king's divinity. "The exaltation of royal authority by figurative language in which the king is compared first to every god in the pantheon, in virtue of his authority possessing some attribute of each god, is intended for this end. Even when the simile gives place to a metaphor, and the god-like king is labelled as a 'great god' (*mahati devata*), whose will should not be transgressed, the purpose behind the idea is not disguised. In Indian belief even the great gods are only functionaries with duties, which they cannot fail to discharge" (p. 177). The author again rightly rejects the view based on a mis-interpretation of a rule of law common to Kautilya, Narada and Brihaspati, namely, that these works point to royal absolutism. In these works "Dharma is vested with the ultimate and absolute authority, and it is clearly stated that any rule opposed to Dharma has no validity or force." The true meaning of the text referred to above which relates to the law of procedure is that "a clear order of the king takes precedence in adjudication" (p. 178). The author's concluding remarks on the practical limitations of the king's autocratic rule according to the Dharmasastra ideas are just and proper. "The administrative machinery devised by the *sastras* provides a cabinet of ministers, eight or nine, (*read*, seven or eight) whom the king is bound to consult, but whose function is merely advisory. The consultation is to extend to every important matter. . . . The rates of taxes are specified by the *sastra*. . . . Tyranny dissolves the tie of obedience. Loyalty is to Dharma, and not to any human person. . . . The area of central jurisdiction in administration is limited by the wide autonomy of local bodies, of village and town governments, and of the autonomous economic, military and religious corporations. . . . The best of all guarantees of good government is bringing up a king and his ministers in the same ideals as the common people, and make both realize the supremacy of spiritual values in life. The blazing of the path to this goal is the function of *Dharmasastra*" (pp. 179-80).

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: By G. N. Joshi. Published by MacMillan and Co. Pp. 450, Price Rs. 6-8.

Plenty of books have come out on the new constitution of India, since its inauguration, written for different purposes and from different angles of vision. So every such treatise is put on the defensive to justify its publication by some special features or

some special services rendered to the reading public. Judged by such criterion the volume under review can very well justify its claim to a distinct place in the literature on the subject. It is a very able exposition of the new constitution of India, bringing out in a lucid style the legal and constitutional implications of the provisions of the constitution. It is not merely a running commentary on the constitution, article by article, like many other published books on this subject, but gives a survey of the constitution in a narrative form offering comparisons with similar features of other constitutions and comments and criticisms, where necessary. The Introductory chapters in Section I are particularly interesting and useful giving a brief historical background of the constitution and his interpretation of its peculiar nature and unique features. The author's purpose in writing the book as stated by himself, namely, "to supply the need of a comprehensive text-book for the students of Indian Universities" and also to satisfy "a demand on the part of citizens both in India and abroad for a handy volume dealing with all aspects of the constitution" has been amply served. President Wilson is credited with the following observation: "No more vital truth was even uttered than that freedom and free institutions cannot long be maintained by any people who do not understand the nature of their own government." In view of this fact the author has done a signal service in placing within the easy reach of the vast mass of Indian citizens, quite new to their duties and obligations, a comparatively cheap volume setting forth the provisions of their constitution in non-technical language quite intelligible to the common man who is to be the centre-piece of the new democracy in India. We commend the book not only to the students of Colleges and Universities, but to a wider public as well.

A. K. GHOSAL

1. BRAIN-WASHING IN RED CHINA: By Edward Hunter. Distributed in India for the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom by Thacker and Co. Ltd., Bombay 1. Price Rs. 3.

2. CHINA TODAY: By Sundarlal. Published by the Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society, 145 Muthi-gunj, Allahabad. Price Rs. 7-3.

The literature on China with which the market has been flooded in recent years, particularly after October, 1949, is an apt commentary on the well-known saying that truth is the first casualty during a war, war—hot or cold. Opinions on New China are sharply divided. One group of writers would have us believe that China today is a vast prison-house behind the 'bamboo curtain' where all human values have ceased to exist, where a "calculated destruction of men's minds" is being carried on and where "terrifying methods" "have put an entire nation under hypnotic control." There are not a few again who declare with all the emphasis at their command that China is a land flowing with milk and honey and that everything Chinese is good and desirable. Both groups are unfortunately oblivious of the fact that nothing under the sun can be wholly bad or wholly good. Little wonder that an honest student of Chinese affairs looks upon much of what they speak and write as propaganda or propagandist.

The truth seems to be that for the first time in the long centuries of her recorded history China has a stable Central Government, the writs of which run all over the country and that rational agrarian measures have created unprecedented enthusiasm among the

peasantry, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of China's teeming millions. Women have been emancipated, working conditions in factories improved, prices stabilised and inflation has been brought under control. Beggars and prostitutes are being converted into useful citizens. Education has been spreading. The birth of the Chinese People's Republic has therefore been hailed by many as the rise of a new star on the horizon—a star which symbolises the hopes and aspirations of down-trodden and disinherited humanity. China's New Democracy under Mao Tse-tung has made a good beginning, no doubt. But would it be wrong to say that the augural stable of centuries can not be cleared overnight?

The very caption of Mr. Hunter's book—*Brain-washing in Red China*—suggests that it is propaganda stuff which in reality it is. According to the author, China and everything Chinese is bad and undesirable, that life is not worth-living in China where all traditional human and cultural values have been scattered to the winds. A perusal of the volume gives only one impression, viz., the impression that it has been written with a motive, and the motive is transparent.

The second volume under review is from the pen of the leader of the Indian Goodwill Mission to China in 1951. The Mission included a number of our more or less well-known scholars, professors, writers and journalists. The reader naturally expects a really good book from the leader—or for the matter of that, from any member—of such a mission. The hopes have been belied.

China Today is an account of the Indian Goodwill Mission's day-to-day experiences in People's China for five weeks during September-November, 1951, and a collection of articles by the members of the Mission. The Appendices include the Constitution of New China, the new Agrarian Reform Law, the Trade Union Law, and the New Marriage Law of China, among others.

The work is marked by a lack of critical and penetrating insight all through, innumerable printing mistakes and errors of other kinds. One of the members of the Mission, for example, is reported to have told a Chinese audience that the Opium War broke out in 1900 (p. 37)! The Mission included at least one, maybe, more, specialist in modern Chinese history. We feel that speech-making on the subject should have been better left to him.

The main body of the book gives a fair number of speeches and statements and extracts therefrom by various Chinese Government spokesmen on the achievements of New China. These should have been used more critically.

The individual impressions—thirteen in all—are much more readable than the book itself. Dr. J. C. Kumarappa's "People's China—What I Saw and Learnt There" (pp. 463–504) is a brilliant analysis in which the writer has successfully tried to find out some of the causes of New China's success and Free India's failure. Rightly does he point out that in New China, "The people took popular feeling at flood-tide which carried them over many difficulties. In our land the high tides created by Gandhiji were allowed to ebb away and it has left us in the mire high and dry." (p. 476). Again, he is honest enough to admit that "China has pulled itself up not merely through the measures taken by the Government but largely because of the character of the people" and that "If our country is down and out it is mainly due to lack of character" (pp. 492–493). The admission has come not a moment too soon. If the Doctor admires New China, he does so with an open mind and is not afraid of

drawing the reader's attention to a few of the possible pitfalls lying ahead (*Vide pp. 467, 488, 494*). We wish the remarks on Kumarappa's article were true of *China Today* as a whole!

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

BHARATI JAYANTI SOUVENIR (December, 1942): Published by the Bharati Tamil Sangha, Calcutta 29.

The celebration of Bharati's birthday and of his death anniversaries have become occasions towards which Tamils and Bengalis in Calcutta generally have come forward with expectation of joy, of enjoying music and orchestra superbly done by Tamil residents of Calcutta.

The Souvenir Number of 1952 is the latest of the series. Mr. Justice Ramaprasad Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court presided over the function, and Dr. Lakshminpathi Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, delivered the opening address. In doing so, Dr. Mudaliar referred to a kinship between Tamilians and Bengalis in their sensitiveness to beauty in Nature and in human relations. Tamil literature and culture can trace a history as old as 2,000 years; Sri B. N. Das' article says that Gautama the Buddha learnt the Bengali alphabet. Other Tamil writers have spoken of Bharati's greatness as a poet and a man; as the "Father of the Golden Age" of modern Tamil literature. A Bengali journalist read a paper on Bharati whom he had known as a fellow-worker in 1906-7. This has since been published in the *Vigil* of Delhi.

Prof. T. P. Minakshmi Sundaram has translated a part of one of Bharati's poems, *The Vision*, which reminds the Bengali reader of Aswini Kumar Datta's poem inspired by the Vedic hymn—*Madhu Bata Rhatayate*. The age in which Bharati lived and dreamt and worked was marked by an exaltation of the human spirit in India transcending barriers of script and language. And all language areas had their poets and seers and builders of the new age. The Souvenir Number brings out this matter so far as Bharati was concerned.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

RUPAVALI (in three parts): A collection of Drawings after Old Masters by Dr. Nandalal Bose. Published by Visva-Bharati, 2 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1 each.

This series of Drawing lessons, provided by the foremost living Indian artist, are unsurpassable in their quality, progressively arranged for beginners in the Art of Drawing and are used and should be continued to be used in all our schools, as they will be difficult to be replaced as a well-planned text-book of drawing by any other substitute. In the third part, the author has added a useful introduction and guide, which should be carefully studied by all drawing-teachers. We suggest that a fourth part should be issued to present a series of models derived from Moghul and Persian paintings. These Drawing books should be made available to all students all over India, and we suggest that the author's Introduction should be given in Hindi version to secure an all-India appeal.

O. C. G.

SUFISM (An account of the mystics of Islam): By Prof. A. J. Arberry. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C. 1, Pp. 141, Price 8s 6d.

This is the third volume in the Ethical and Religious classics of the East and the West edited by

Messrs. A. J. Arberry, S. Radhakrishnan, H. N. Spalding and F. W. Thomas. This series has originated among a group of Oxford scholars and their friends and its object is to place the chief ethical and religious masterpieces of the world within easy reach of the reading public. As a result of the last two devastating world-wars thoughtful men and women everywhere feel the urgent need of deeper understanding and appreciation of other nations and their civilisations especially their moral and spiritual achievements. It is the aim of this series to fulfil this great need of our times by broadcasting the best cultures of other peoples.

Prof. Arberry is a genuine lover of eastern wisdom and an acknowledged authority on Sufism. In the general introduction to the book under review he rightly remarks that in God-loving India the poets, musicians, sculptors and painters were inspired by the spiritual worship of Krishna and Rama, as well as the philosophic mystics from the Upanishads onward. He has a number of readable books, such as, *Immortal Rose, Fifty Poems of Hafiz, British Contribution to Persian Studies, Introduction to the History of Sufism*, etc. The present book gives a short history of Islamic mysticism of about a thousand years, illustrating the development of its doctrines with copious quotations from its literature. The book divided into twelve small chapters deals with mystics and orders, theory and practice, theosophy and poetry of Sufism. Short accounts of Attar, Nizami, Rumi, Hafiz, and other Persian poets found in this book are interesting and informative. From the English renderings of Edward Fitzgerald, Nicholson and others we have some idea of the sublime thoughts of Sufi poets. Sufi poet Sanai's remarkable romance translated into English by R. A. Nicholson has been compared with Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

But Sufism has a wonderful development in Sind, the Punjab, Delhi and other provinces of India. How is it that the learned author is quite silent about it? Bulla Shah of the Punjab, Chisty of Ajmere, Shah Latif of Sind and Inayat Khan of Delhi are only a few among the brilliant galaxy of immortal Sufis of India. Without mentioning their names even passing no history of Sufism can be complete. The author does not seem to be ignorant of the Indian aspect of Sufism; for he refers on page 118 to Prince Dara Shikoh's books on Sufism and on page 105 to Sir Mahammad Iqbal's studies in the subject. It is regretted that the name of India is only once mentioned in this book on page 85 in connection with the Qadiri Orders. We hope this grave omission will be corrected in the next edition.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ECONOMIC STABILISATION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE: By Prof. T. N. Ramaswamy. Published by Messrs. Nand Kishore and Bros., Banaras. Pages 176. Price Rs. 7-8.

India's problem is her problem of food production and poverty. With a preponderance of rural population dependant on agriculture, cottage industries thrown into comparative insignificance by world competition, her plight was miserable and students of Indian Economics and so-called authorities on the subject blamed the poor Indian tiller of the soil for all that was wrong. The author in his lucid analysis exposes some of the fallacies of the authorities and defends the mute peasant who is mere a victim of circumstances than a free agent to build his own destiny. In five chapters, the author discusses the economic background of rural India, the economic changes, competitive adjustment and rural economy, structure of rural

economy and finally, supports the possibilities of economic stabilisation of Indian agriculture. The author has tried to throw new light on the problem of agriculture and rural economy of this vast subcontinent and on several instances his reading of the phenomena is quite different from the views of the Royal Agricultural Commission and the Indian Industrial Committee and the reasons stated by him are weighty and deserve serious attention from authorities concerned. As the book was published in 1946, the post-partition condition of the country's economy could not be foreseen by the writer and as such the book requires revision for a fresh approach to the subject. Students of Agricultural Economics will find this book interesting.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

ADHIK UTPADANEY PASCHIM BANGA: Published by the Publicity Department of West Bengal Government. December, 1951. Pages 50.

This 'Grow More Food' brochure gives in a nutshell the efforts of the State for the improvement for agricultural products, such as, paddy, potato, etc. In the matter of supply of scientific manure, better seeds, diffusion of modern knowledge through model farms in rural areas, the provision is going ahead though much more requires to be done to raise public enthusiasm. The brochure is well-illustrated and its wide circulation is desirable in rural areas, particularly, among peasantry and those educated men who are directly interested in agriculture.

A. B. DUTTA

KAYEKTI BIDESHI GALPA: By Gopal Bhavmik. Saraswati Library, C18-19, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-12.

Sixteen short stories of foreign authors, neatly translated into Bengali. Among the authors, selected, are Kuprin, Tchekov, Chirikov and Steinbeck. Good translations of important literary works, besides offering temporary enjoyment to the reading public, serve to acquaint them with the master-minds of the world and to broaden their outlook. Attempts like the present one, are, therefore, expected to be well-received.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AHYAN: Chandragupta Prakashan, Ltd., Patna 3. Pp. 184. Price Re. 1-8.

An anthology of 175 songs, the principal motif of which is patriotism, which, during our fight for freedom served as a stirring clarion-call to self-sacrifice. The publishers would have enhanced the usefulness of the publication, had they also included songs which do not stress the implication that to love and live for India is to love and live for the Hindus only.

HINDI BALPATHAVALI: Pp. 64. Price 6 annas.
HINDI BALKAHANIYAN: Pp. 39. Price 4 annas.
Available from Navajivana Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad.

Both are useful and persuasively pleasing publications for all those children as well as adults who are interested in the study of Hindustani, chiefly through story and song, as is clearly evident from their having gone into more than one edition.

G. M.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

OR

AWAKENED INDIA

(Started by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)
Now in its 58th Year

The premier English monthly, conducted by the Monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, devoted to universal religion and philosophy, culture, education, and art and other topics of national and international interest. It keeps its readers in intimate touch with the cultural side of Indian national life, both ancient and modern.

The journal is popular and is widely circulated all over the world and is esteemed highly as the following opinions will show:

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: "Admire its writings as contributions to pure Indian culture."

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN: I have been a regular reader of *Prabuddha Bharata* and can say that its sanity in dealing with religious doctrine and discipline has been its most impressive characteristic."

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING: I think *Prabuddha Bharata* is one of the most interesting and important magazines that one can find today in any country."

SUBSCRIBERS ARE ENROLLED FROM JANUARY OR JULY

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

Widely appreciated in home & abroad..

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,
 Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you,

Yours very truly,

Mrs. A. W. Hunter
 3801 Wallingford Ave.
 Seattle 3, Washington.
 U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM, and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.

Neem
TOOTH PASTE



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.
 CALCUTTA-29

GUJARATI

SANGAM : By Kismat Kureishi and Salik Popatia. Printed at the Saraswati Press, Bhavnagar. 1949. Cloth-bound. Pp. 50. Price twelve annas.

"Rubais" are a peculiar form of poems written in Persian. They have been imitated in Urdu and latterly in Gujarati. This joint work of two very young and rising versifiers (51 by Kureishi and 50 by Salik), touches life and its incidents, love and its effects, etc., at various points. Looking to the fact that they are beginners, their work is commendable.

UTSAVIKA : By Durgesha Shukla. Printed at the Rajni Printing, Bombay-2 and published by Dr. Vasant Avasare, Ghod Bander Road, Santacruz. 1949. Paper cover. Coloured jacket. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 4.

Shri Durgesha Shukla's pen has attained a striking facility for producing one-act plays, suitable for being staged by school-boys. The Hansraj Morarji Public School at Ancheri, a Bombay suburb, celebrates every year, a Guardian's Day, where parents and guardians of the students studying there are invited to be made acquainted with the work their wards are doing. One of the entertainments has always been a play acted and staged by the students themselves. Between 1945 and 1949 many such plays have been staged and they have given intense entertainment to the spectators and delight to the juvenile actors. The credit of composing such plays goes to the producer, whose handiwork consisting of thirteen plays, is published in a collective form in this book. There are several good photographs of the actors printed also.

SEVAMURTI HARIBHAI : By Prof. D. P. Parekh, M.A. Printed at the Sharda Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 39. Price eight annas.

The late Harilal Maneklal Desai, a model and keen follower of Gandhiji, sacrificed his all to follow his principles and devote himself to social uplift. As to how he accomplished it and how well he succeeded is set out here, in simple language by Prof. Parekh.

JNAN GITA : By Amarchand Mavji Shah. Printed at the Anand Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 80. Price unstated.

One hundred shlokas detailing Sadhana, Sadhya and Siddhi and the attainment thereof, together with poems on "Sowbhagya Sourabh" based on materials derived from the Jain religion and Jain principles, are to be found in this book. As the work of an amateur in this direction, it deserves praise.

GANDHIJINUN VAMAN PURAN : By Kavi Kamal Laheri of Gadhada Swarnna (Saurashtra). Printed at the Shri Mahodaya Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 32. Price unstated.

Written in the style of the Vaman Purana, Mr. Kamal Laheri has immortalised Gandhiji and his mission in this book of poems.

(1) **PRACHIN GUJARATI CHHANDO** : By Ramnarayan V. Pathak. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 400. Price Rs. 4.

(2) **UCHCHAR SHASTRA PRAVASHIKA** : By Ambalal Jethalal Panchal. Paper cover. Pp. 76. Price Rs. 2.

(3) **SHAMALNUN VARTA SAHITYA** : By the late N. J. Trivedi, M.A. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.

(4) **KATHIAWADNA MUMNA** : By Bhagvanlal L. Mankad, M.A., B.T. Paper cover, Pp. 44. Price Re. 1.

(5) **JYASHTIMALL JNATI AND MALL-**

PURANA : By Prof. Bhogilal J. Samdesara, M.A. Paper cover. Pp. 47. Price fourteen annas.

All published by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad. 1948.

The first book presents a historical review of old Gujarati metres. These metres are of various kinds and names. Deshis, Garbis, Akshormel and Maitramel Chhandas. One cannot study this extremely technical subject without an intimate knowledge of Prosody. It, moreover, calls for strenuous and continuous labour in the study and systemisation of old sources, which have to be approved and tapped with considerable thought and consideration and patience. In spite of all these difficulties Prof. Pathak has succeeded in producing an outstanding work. The second book is a primer of the science of pronunciation and deals with the mechanism of speech. The writer is a Science graduate, and a teacher in a Deaf Mute School in Ahmedabad. He has had, thus, full opportunities of watching the correct and incorrect, effective and ineffective pronunciation of vowels, consonants, diphthongs, etc. In our ancient books the subject has been treated well, but later, very little attention was paid to it. In Gujarat itself only one book was written in respect of it in 1932, called *Varna Vyavastha in the Gujarati Language*. The book under notice is a great advance on its predecessor, and throws more light on the subject. The third book contains a series of lectures on the stories written by the old Gujarati poet Shamal, whose *metier* was the writing of romantic stories. The subject is treated from the view-point of a sympathetic judge. Kathiawadna Mumna, or Monuns (as known in Gujarat) are a community of Muslims, who are supposed to have given over themselves and their belongings to the Prophet, Mahomed. They were originally, before their conversion Hindu Kunbis, and still observe many Hindu customs and rites. This is an anthropological and ethnobiological study made from material collected first-hand from the heads and members of the community itself. It is an enlightening work. A Brahmin caste, well-versed in the arts of wrestling and archery, called Jeshtimal (Jethimal), existed in Gujarat, and thence spread over the South, Karnatak, Andhra, and other Dravidian districts. *Mall Purana*, a treatise bearing on the subject, had been written about 300 years ago. The information given by Mr. Mankad about the profession, the activities, the aid given by Indian States, like Baroda and Mysore to these wrestlers is very valuable.

K. M. J.

AHIMSAVIVECHAN : By Kishorelal D. Mashruwala. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. July, 1952. Price Rs. 2-8.

The thoughts of Kishorelal D. Mashruwala, one of the few intimate companions of Gandhiji's mind, have been here collected together from 1923 to 1947 grouped according to time as follows : (a) Before the Great War, i.e., 1923-35 ; (b) During the Great War, i.e., 1939 to August, 1942 ; (c) The Test, i.e., from August 1942 to 1945 ; and (d) Current Times (1945-46 to 1947).

Though the author modestly remembers that Gandhiji had said of him : Even Kishorelal does not fully understand non-violence, his formulation of the problems will help his readers a good deal to grapple with them, so that they may assume a definite shape capable of being realized in life. It is a notable contribution to the literature of political philosophy of the Gandhian school—politics spiritualized—and a contribution of pragmatic significance. The very first piece discussing 'the attitude of non-violence' is an instance in point.

P. R. SEN

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Ideal of The Open Society

M. A. Venkata Rao considers in an article in *The Aryan Path* the ideal of society which shall best serve the interests of all, invoking support for his ideas not only from ancient Indian philosophy but also from Plato :

Bergson, in his work, *The two Sources of Morality and Religion*, sketches the contrast between the closed and the open types of society in the field of morality and religion. Morality, according to him, appears in the early stages of evolution in the form of pressure and law forcing a certain uniformity in conduct and loyalty, this unanimity being essential for survival in the struggle with nature and other social units. Just as the being is endowed by nature with protective and offensive limbs or organs, so society evolves myths postulating the existence of spirits and gods. Belief in such myths binds the members of society into an effective defensive whole. Such myths are religious. The obligation of the moral law becomes clothed with the myth of common blood or a common allegiance to the same ancestral spirits or gods. While, from the society's own point of view, myth and customary law are inclusive and bind the members into a fraternity, from the external point of view, they are exclusive. The "we group" is distinguished from the "they group" and the sense of obligation is confined to the welfare of the former.

The contrast drawn by Bergson between the closed and the open types of religion and morality is applicable to every sphere of life. Much of the conflict between Capitalism and Socialism (or Communism) turns on this distinction; but the controversy has become confused because of the mixing in societies of elements of both types. Feudal economy and polity were largely of the "closed" type. They provided for stability but failed to make room for the betterment of both aristocrats and serfs. Industrialism and the free contract opened the way to a larger life but again only for the few, viz., the class of owners. Society soon came to anchor itself in wealth and inheritance.

The ideal of the open society in industrial organization is not committed either to Capitalism or to Socialism.

It does not commit the mistake of 19th-century Liberalism, of identifying itself with *laissez faire* and untrammelled free enterprise: This allowed an open horizon only to the owners of capital but sacrificed the interests of the workers, whose only capital is labour. The new ideal takes into account both the universal principle and the specific situation before pronouncing judgment on any particular type of economic or political organization. The same major principle or universal truth may have to be applied in different ways in different circumstances to insure the same ultimate conclusion, viz., the realization of well-being. The value of Capitalism at its best has been that it has made possible the development of initiative and of managerial capacity on the part of classes that, under previous regimes, had had fewer

opportunities for the liberation of latent faculties. In comparison with the reigns of the Stuarts in England and the Bourbons in France, the new regime of free enterprise functioned for the commercial and industrial interests as an open society. But it did not liberate the peasants and the factory workers.

From this point of view the present Russian regime has had the effect, on large masses of the Russian population, of a great liberating movement. Universal literacy has enlarged the mental horizon of large numbers of the people. But against this beneficent effect must be set the blighting effect of the reigning autocracy, which, in all spheres of life and thought, holds the minds of the people in an iron grip. Art, science and philosophy, music and amusement, family and group life, are all controlled from above. The closed society predominates in Russia over the open one.

In countries favouring free enterprise a similar mixture of the closed and the open society is to be found. The old principle of "career open to talent" indicated in the popular sayings: "Every soldier carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack," and "Every body born in a log cabin can go to the White House," is no longer applicable to the same degree as before. The majority of working-class people are bound to remain in the economic class in which they are born, and this restriction of economic opportunity entails the closure of many doors to a better life for the vast majority.

In the political sphere too the same history of initial progress and present stagnation is discoverable, even in outwardly democratic countries. The overhead cost of democracy in feeding a large class of ambitious politicians and their supporters, in addition to the necessary cost of the administrative class, with the demands of party patronage complicating the issue, is immense. The sphere of the open door is becoming negligible for most ordinary citizens. This accounts in part for the phenomenal ease with which the Nazi and Fascist dictators seized and maintained power.

The differentia of the open society is that in it the door to change through reason and persuasion will always be kept open, through a dominant ethos of toleration, faith in reason and good-will. Totalitarianism is the exact opposite of this and is the result of the gangster ethos obtaining supreme power. It is a striking example of what Indian thinkers speak of as *varna sankara* or confusion of vocations.

Totalitarianism betokens a simultaneous corruption of the values of money, pleasure, force and law in the ruling group. It closes the door forcibly to reasonable change.

The criterion of the open society is akin to the Indian emphasis on the spiritual quality. Indian civilization judges every value of life and culture in the light of the theory of the three *gunas*: *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* (spiritual quality, ambitious activity and action darkened by sense-pleasure, respectively). The *sattvic* ideal demands the sublimation of physical desire and social ambition in the householder stage. In politics and administration it envisages the subordination of power to law and righteousness. In economics it stands for

the redemption of wealth through its subordination to morals, from production to consumption.

Every class uses a specific energy with different proportions of spirit, power and appetite but the values of *artha* (wealth) and *kama* (desire) associated with them are subordinated to the ideal of *dharmā* to facilitate the emergence of spiritual value. Even in art, the final test is not pleasure but the joy that leaves the contemplator better than before. True beauty and the contemplating enjoyment of it are analogues of the cosmic activity, lifting us to the point of view of the universe.

Advertisement, free enterprise, democracy, art, science, religion, etc., are all to be conducted in such a way as to liberate and fulfil the higher self of man; the egoistic being subordinated to the social and the social to the universal. Such a balance between democracy and aristocracy, between economic freedom and regulation, between censorship and freedom in art, etc., as will promote in practice this supreme end is demanded by the ideal of the open society.

From this point of view, it is clear that Plato is, on the whole, on the side of the open society. Enthusiasts for the open society have sometimes classed Plato as its enemy. Of course they have in view his scheme which places the guardians in supreme authority in his ideal republic. While supreme power is in his plan vested in the guardians chosen through a rigorous course of education and responsibility, it must be noted that Plato does not exclude any class of citizens from the educational sieve. All have the same opportunity but the best are chosen. Souls of iron and brass, silver and gold, are found among all classes of citizens. Plato's is therefore more an open than a closed society.

Turkey and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

Aditya Prasad Sen Gupta observes in *The Indian Review* :


Mr. Adnan Menderes, the Turkish Prime Minister, is reported to have stated during his visit to *Shape*, in Paris that about ninety-five per cent of the Turkish armed forces are placed at the disposal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Now every Turk seems to realize that the future war will be a life or death struggle for the Turkish nation. Hence in accordance with this realization it has been decided by the Turkish Government to throw the entire Turkish war potential into the war, with the exception of a very small percentage kept for home defence. It appears from history that in the past the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires acted as a link between the East and the West and checked the Russian advance towards the South. Now the Turkish Republic also appears to perform again this dual historic mission.

Turkey, along with Greece, was admitted to full membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization about a year ago. According to the Ankara correspondent of the *Times*, the opportuneness of Turkish integration into the NATO is amply justified by the part Turkey has already played within the framework of that organization. There is no doubt about the fact that the Truman Doctrine has enabled Turkey to fulfil her obligations efficiently as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is reported that Turkey has of late shown great political activity in the Balkans and the Middle East besides the part she is playing as a NATO Member. Here one is naturally tempted to ask whether the affairs in the Balkans and the Middle East have any connection with that Organization. It seems to us that matters in these two regions are closely associated with the object of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, though it is true that there is no official connection between NATO and affairs in the Balkans and the Middle East.

A few weeks back the Tripartite Treaty of friendship between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia was signed in Ankara. According to a political commentator this Treaty "is a most encouraging victory of common sense over prejudice." It is clear beyond any shadow of doubt that Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia have not forgotten the hard lessons of the second world war. Hence in order to build up a common defence

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS
OF THE
SYSTEM



**UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA**

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

At all leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
HIMALAYA DRUG Co.
251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY. M.R.

against a prospective aggressor they have agreed, finally to pool their available resources. It is expected that soon the conversations of the General Staffs of the three signatory countries will take place. After completion of the General Staffs' conversations it will be possible for Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia to put in the field some thirty to forty divisions for the purpose of building up a common defence. Here it may be recalled that about twelve years ago Mr. Eden pleaded for the formation of a common front against the German attack which seemed impending in the spring of 1941, when he paid visits to Ankara, Belgrade and Athens. But his suggestion could not be carried out at that time. Hence it seems to us that the recently concluded Tripartite Treaty of Friendship between Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia will cause undoubtedly great personal satisfaction to Mr. Eden and bring into life the plan sponsored by him about twelve years ago.

The Military correspondents state that it is not easy to build up the organization of the defence of the Middle East.

Yet the Turkish diplomats expect that the difficulties obstructing the way to this organization may finally be removed with tact and perseverance. A Turkish political commentator observes, "If common sense led a former Member of the Cominform, like Yugoslavia, to co-operate with two members of NATO, like Turkey and Greece, there is no reason why it should not convince the Arab countries of the necessity of uniting themselves with Turkey and their Western friends for the common defence of the Middle East against the deadly peril that menaces it."

A report received from Washington states that the total value of American assistance which will be rendered to Turkey up to the end of June, 1953 amounts to about £350 million, of which sixty per cent consists of direct military aid and war equipment and the rest appears to come under Marshall aid and Mutual Security Agency. It seems to us that the major portion of the aid rendered under the last two heads is also closely connected with military objects like road construction or the financial assistance given with a view to enabling Turkey to bear the burden of keeping her army on a war footing. In the years 1945 and 1946 South-Eastern Europe including Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania went under Soviet domination. Besides attempts were made to foment civil war in Greece and to subject Turkey to an intensive war of nerves in order to extend Soviet domination over these two countries. Though in the winter of 1944 Britain tried successfully to rescue Greece from Communist domination, yet she failed to fulfil her obligations in the Balkans up to the end of the year 1946 in view of her heavy commitments in other parts of the world. When this fact was brought to the notice of the American Government, immediate action was taken to enable the Balkan States to check the Soviet advance. On the 12th March 1947 President Truman made his historic communication to the American Congress which came to be known as the Truman Doctrine.

As a result of this doctrine Greece has been saved from communist domination and Turkey has been able to devote her energies to the reorganization of her armed forces with a view to resisting Soviet pressure. It is expected that the Turkish Army, after completion of its reorganization, will comprise twenty-two infantry divisions supported by six armoured brigades and three cavalry divisions. It is learnt that in comparison with the size of the Turkish Army the Turkish Air Force is very small, though some jet fighters have been given to Turkey and

Turkish pilots are being trained to their use in support of land forces. As regards the Turkish Navy it has been pointed out that this navy is very small in proportion to the extent of the Turkish Coasts. But with the exception of a very small percentage kept for the defence of the Turkish Coasts, practically the entire Turkish navy has been placed under Mediterranean Command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Darwinian Revolution

Brij Gopal Gupta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

In the history of human thought November 24, 1859 marked the beginning of a new era. That was the day on which Charles Robert Darwin's epoch-making book *On The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, was published and on that day humanity from its high pedestal of the *Chosen of God* became for better or for worse, a part of the great family of life which included the amoeba, the rabbit and the peas.

Only twenty two and fresh from Cambridge, Charles Darwin—a retiring, sensitive, soft-spoken fellow who was constantly bedeviled by sea-sickness and for whom the school as a means of education was simply a blank—set sail on December 27, 1831 on the British Warship *Beagle* for a surveying expedition round the world. None, including Charles Darwin himself, had the faintest inkling that it would one day knock the bottom out of the world of thought.

The inquisitive Darwin, when he stepped ashore on the uninhabited Galapagos Islands, hundreds of miles off the coast of South America, in the loneliest doldrum of the Pacific, found a living museum of past-geologic time, where giant lizards which ought to have been extinct long ago mingled with huge tortoises, and enormous gaudy crabs crawled among the bellowing sea-lions. So unaccustomed to man were the animals of this Eden that a hawk allowed itself to be knocked off a tree with a less stick and ground doves settled trustingly on the explorer's shoulders.

He was fascinated by the fact that this isolated archipelago's each island, seemingly identical in climate and soil to that of others, had its own peculiar flora and fauna.

This observation was not only true of the finches, but was also true of the ground doves, the lizards, the tortoises, the insects and snails. But then, why should nature arbitrarily create separate species of closely related forms for nearby islands? It wasn't logical. Yet to

আয়ুর্বেদ বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈদ্য করিবার আশাচার্য

ডাক্তার শ্রীপ্রভাকর চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম, এ, ডি, এস-সি আফিস

যক্ষ্মারি

যক্ষ্মারোগের বীজাণু-
গুলি ধ্বংস করিয়া
অবিচ্ছিন্ন জ্বর,
কাশ, রক্তবমন,
শ্বস্বজ, নৈশশ্বস্ব,

অরুচি, পেটভাঙ্গা, মুসকুসের ক্ষত ও ক্ষর নিবারণ করিবার এমন ঔষধ
আর দ্বিতীয় নাই। বিদেশ হইতে আমদানী যে কোনও ঔষধ অপেক্ষা
অধিকতর ফলপ্রসূ। বহু রোগী আরোগ্যলাভ করিয়াছেন। পত্র লিখিলে
বিকৃত ব্যবহাপত্র সম্বলিত বিবরণ-পুস্তিকা পাঠান হয়।

১৭২-এ, বহুবাজার স্ট্রিট, কলিকাতা-১২। ফোন : ৪০৩৯ এভিনিউ।

doubt, in those days, that the million or so species of living plants and animals had been in the world from the first day of creation was to defy the authority of Genesis as of the leading scientists.

The first dawning of the great challenge, as recorded by Darwin in his diary runs as: "One might fancy that one species had been modified for different ends. On these small barren, rocky islands we seem to be brought nearer to the mystery of mysteries, the first appearance of new beings on earth."

The *Beagle* returned to England in the spring of 1836 and by that time Darwin was a moderately famous young man—by reason of his fascinating letters and splendid collections. Darwin, who had a true scientist's horror of half-formed and unproven theories, kept this conception of life's unrolling to himself for many years. Eventually he incorporated the idea in an essay of thirty odd pages, which two years later (1844) became two hundred and thirty pages. Fourteen years after this Wallace, then in Malaya, sent to Darwin for criticism an essay he had written *On The Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type*.

The genesis of this essay is most interesting. For three years Wallace had puzzled over "the question of how changes of species could have been brought about." While down with fever in the Moluccas he was brooding on the ideas in Malthus' *Essay on Population* when all of a sudden there "flashed upon me the idea of the survival of the fittest." Ill as he was he thought out this new theory, wrote it down, revised his manuscript, and sent it off to Darwin—all within three days.

"Struggle for existence," "adaptation to conditions," "tendency to progression by minute steps"—these were Darwin's very words and Darwin saw at once in Wallace's paper his own views only slightly differently expressed, and his generous nature was all in favour of according full honours for the realization of the truths contained therein to Wallace. Darwin wrote to Sir Joseph Hooker and Lyell that he would "rather burn my whole book, than that he (Wallace) or any other man should think I had behaved in a paltry spirit." It was miserable of him "to care at all about priority." But Lyell and Hooker had arranged that Wallace's manuscript and an abstract of Darwin's theory be presented at a special meeting of the Linnean Society held on July 1, 1858.

The argument presented on that historic night in 1858 presented the following facts:-

(1) Living creatures reproduce in geometric ratio (by multiplication).

(2) Yet the numbers of individuals in any species tend to remain in the long run, more or less constant.

These two facts proved that competition between individuals and between species keeps their numbers down. This is the struggle for existence.

(3) All creatures tend to vary appreciably. No two individuals are exactly alike and some distinctly unlike within the same species. Though not all such variations are inheritable, experimental breeding shows that some are.

Therefore it would easily be concluded from these facts that since there is a struggle for existence and all individuals are alike, some of the variations will survive because those differences give them a slight edge of superiority. Inferior variants will be eliminated. This is natural selection.

The ultimate result, therefore, is that which continuing from generation to generation, natural selection tends to pile up enough small differences to amount to a major difference. And that is evolution.

It was not discussed at all that night. Hooker wryly remarked that "the interest excited was intense, but

the subject was too novel and too ominous for the old school to enter the lists, before armouring.

The publishing house of John Murray cautiously printed a first edition of 1,260 copies in 1859. Darwin felt that this was an excessive number, but it sold out the first day and the fifty years that followed its publication might well be called the Darwinian era in biology, psychology and social sciences.

Its publication gave rise to a controversy waged with a bitterness hardly credible today. To churchmen, Darwin's case for evolution seemed a negation of the Christian faith. To the layman there was something degrading in "this monkey damnification," as Thomas Carlyle called it.

It was concerning the origin of man that the battle—to be renewed again with fresh vigour on the publication in 1871 of Darwin's *Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*—was waged more fiercely. The scientist, the layman and even the divine found, on the whole, little objection to the notion that hornless breed of sheep might in time develop horns, or even that a semi-starfish, provided enough time were allowed, might eventually give rise to such complex and very different looking creatures as an ostrich and an elephant. Such theories were indeed already accepted.

But when it was suggested that man was of the same stock as the lower animals, was bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and produced by the same gradual processes, the first shock of surprise gave way to indignation, and indignation to something approaching hysteria.

It was felt by all, save the more pronounced, godless scientists, that even if the other creatures were not the result of miraculous and catalysmic creation, man certainly was. Did not the Bible specifically declare in the first chapter of Genesis that "God created man in his own image?"

The church took its stand on the Bible; Darwin along with an ever-increasing number of scientists (and, be it added, some theologians) took his stand upon the mass of evidence that he and others had collected to support his theory of evolution. Thus was originated the great and unhappy, but entirely artificial conflict between religion and science.

Thomas Henry Huxley, "Darwin's bulldog" as he called himself, was one of the foremost to rush into the fray. The meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1860 found the rival armies drawn up in formidable array and a battle royal was waged in the halls of that ancient seat of learning. Huxley the brilliant scientist who tenaciously championed his colleague Charles Darwin, stood at Oxford just as Galileo had stood at home.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2½% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3½% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4½% Per Annum

Branches :

College Sq., Cal.
Bankura.

Chairman :

JAGANNATH KOLAY
M.P.

The great hall was jammed. Ladies waved their handkerchiefs at that sweet, handsome, smooth-spoken the Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Samuel Wilberforce). The clergy were packed in a broadcloth phalanx, stout in the defence of public morals. Scientists had gathered to see "Soapy Sam," as they had chosen to nickname the Bishop, knocked out of the ring.

Wilberforce instead of relying on science dealt with dulcet tones and persuasive voice in ridicule. "That Mr. Darwin should have descended from this broad hierarchy of nature work into the jungle of fanciful assumptions is no small evil," Wilberforce commented. Darwin was held up to scorn as "a flighty person who endeavours to prop up his utterly rotten fabric of guess and speculation." His "mode of dealing with nature was utterly dishonourable to Natural Science." The climax of the Bishop's oratory came with dramatic suddenness in a personal attack on Huxley. Singling out the champion of Darwinism, Wilberforce let fly his verbal thunderbolt: "Are you, Sir, related by your grandfather's or grand-mother's side to an ape."

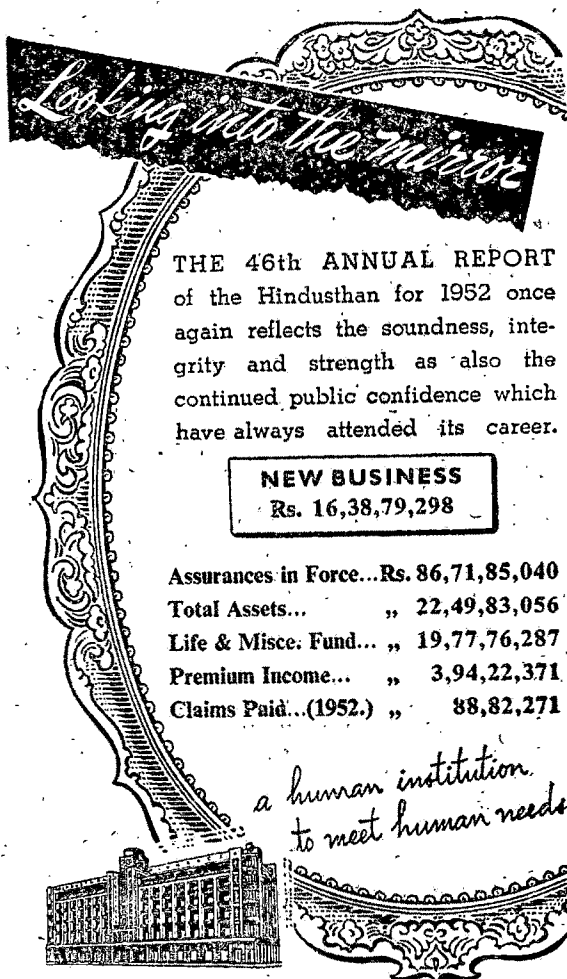
Although Huxley was unprepared for a "scientific discussion" at the level of ancestral name-calling, he kept his temper. Demolishing the Bishop's scientific vacuities with magnificent eloquence, he answered the question of his ancestry: "I asserted, and I repeat that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I would feel shame in recalling it would be a man of restless and versatile intellect, who not content with an equivocal success in his own sphere of activity, plunges into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his hearers from the real point at issue by eloquent digressions and skilled appeals to personal prejudice."

A roar of rage went up from the clergy and yells of delight from the so-called irreverent Oxford students. The day was Huxley's—and Darwin's.

Although Darwin was only one of many mid-century evolutionists and always remained a laboratory worker, leaving the polemical work to be done by Huxley, Spencer and Haeckel, his work was so thorough and so far reaching in its implications that it became the central agency in a revolution of thought in all the humanistic studies. The Darwinian concepts were transferred from the biological to the ethical, political, economic, and social fields. Darwinianism as an expression of a fundamental law of nature became a new orthodoxy to which appeal was made to justify diverse opinions in many spheres. It was invoked to explain social evolution in general and to support individualism and socialism, competition and co-operation, aristocracy, brute force and kindness, militarism and pacifism, ethical pessimism, creative, emergent evolutionism and evolutionary materialism. Moreover, Darwin's discoveries were directly responsible for intensive study of human heredity—the relative influence of heredity and environment in individual differences and the rise of eugenics, as typified by Galton and Pearson.

On April 19, 1882 ended the tranquility of the intellectual adventurer who had blazed the world. His coffin was laid to rest beside the body of Sir Issac Newton in the Westminster Abbey by Huxley, Wallace and James Russell Lowell.

"So rests in honoured peace one of the finest type of 'Homo Sapiens' ever developed."



Looking into the mirror

THE 46th ANNUAL REPORT of the Hindusthan for 1952 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and strength as also the continued public confidence which have always attended its career.

NEW BUSINESS
Rs. 16,38,79,298

Assurances in Force...	Rs. 86,71,85,040
Total Assets...	„ 22,49,83,056
Life & Misc. Fund...	„ 19,77,76,287
Premium Income...	„ 3,94,22,371
Claims Paid...(1952) „	88,82,271

a human institution to meet human needs

HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.

Hindusthan Buildings, 4, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta -13



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Africa at the Cross Roads

The report of the North American Assembly on African Affairs makes very interesting reading. We give here an extract from an address given by Theodore Mondod, Director, Institut Fraricais d'Afrique Norie, Dahar, Professor, Museum of Natural History, Paris, Leader of the French Delegation to the Assembly:

"One would wish," he says, "that all those, blacks and whites, on whom depends today the future of Africa, should be themselves convinced of and should never forget, even in the details of daily living, the true interest of a man who, although he is indeed a consumer and a producer, and a labourer, and a taxpayer, and whatever one will, is *also* a free son of God.

This rending of a people, more or less spontaneously snatched out of the traditional framework and rhythm of a life hardly changed since prehistoric times and precipitated into a feverish and mechanical world, is sadly resented by those of the sons of Africa who still know how to reflect and to meditate.

One of them wrote to me some months ago: "The word 'sacrificed' is certainly that which is best applied to our generation. The technology which gained our admiration is now proved negative in our new eyes, because of its power to debase human values. . . . Ought we to go forward? Ought we to go back? There is the dilemma, and our anguish is heart-rending. —What a sad situation is ours. We had faith in the West and now the West commits suicide. However, we are obstinate and believe that man can become better again. He only needs less pride and self-sufficiency. . . ."

At the cross roads, the African soul asks itself: to submit or to choose? The whole question is there. Africa and Europe stand in each other's presence and hence in conflict, but why must the victory of each one be accompanied by the death of the other?

Far from resigning himself to become a servile copy of an alien model, the African ought to separate the traits of an original culture, and be ready to unite in a new way of life and thought what he himself possesses of the best with carefully selected gifts from the West.

Thus, one may already see the more reflective among Africans accept those Western things which are healthy for them while they refuse to deny their past, their language, their art, their way of thinking, and a humanity to which they in all ways, somatically and psychologically, continue to belong.

The old barriers, which effectively compartmentalised peoples, are going down. From one end of the earth to the other stores sell the same ready-made goods; the same movies regale with the same absurdities brains daily more identical and more docile; the same soldiers are trained to the same murderous games. Fashions, slogans, dogmas, likenesses spread and penetrate. And human life is on the way toward acquiring, on a planetary scale, a

certain kind of behaviour, a sort of simultaneity which is preparing to make of nations—only yesterday isolated cells—what biologists call a "synctium" (an aggregate of imperfectly separated cells).

Men, as nature, history and their milieu have made them, are extremely dissimilar. Their common denominator, which exists, is enriched with innumerable and potent idiosyncrasies. Nothing will be gained by hiding this. Better to accept the reality with the purely documentary and judgment-free proofs of the ethnologist. These profound differences, which concern something quite other than the colour of our skins and which distinguish me from this Asian or that African, or not to be prudishly disguised as if they were some kind of disgrace, but ought to be treasured as blessed signs of the marvelous diversity of man.

To be completely what one ought to be, to bear one's own flowers and one's own fruits, is not to deny the community but on the contrary to render it vital and something other than a dull sum of numbers. To be able to join with others, one must know oneself and will oneself to be distinctive. "We shall find ourselves again when we shall have arrived," said Tolstoy.

The French Union will remain a vain phrase if it is not a true "symbiosis." I deliberately employ the technical term which designates "the intimate and constant association of two organisms under conditions which can be considered as assuring them reciprocal benefits," in opposition to "commensalism" or to "parasitism" in which the profit is essentially unilateral.

Symbiotic equilibrium respects the personality of the associates. For to unite is not to efface one's own potentialities, or deny one's best qualities and one's irreplaceable gifts in order to drown in the monstrous anonymity of a shapeless mix up. *Real* union differentiates, and "to flow together" is not "to become lost in." What is wanted is a fruitful union, not *in spite* of differences, but *because* of these very differences, which are obvious, enormous, and which it would be as criminal to hide as it would be puerile to deplore.

It is necessary, then, that each of the collaborators in the common work be strongly and fully himself, conscious of what makes him indispensable, proud of the tint which he alone is capable of placing on a palette which would be incomplete without his contribution.

Leon Leteellier said in 1908: "When I find myself before a black man or a yellow man, I feel myself to be a violinist confronted by a pianist or a flutist; what if we do not all make the same sound; there is music in all of us. . . ."

But the selection of colours, with the necessary tricks, discards, shufflings, like their arrangement, will not be made by the wave of a magician's wand. It must be recognised and accepted that the process will be a laborious one, with tentative gropings, irregular spasmodic growth, crises and halts, determined efforts in all possible directions, long periods of forbearance, sudden shifts onto the weak points of the wall, and with a tenacious will to keep the highest end in view.

Will it be enough for the builders of French Tropical Africa to keep alive to themselves, as a great friend of human diversity has urged them, "that flame of generosity and imagination which moves a man to love in any man his most personal quality, what makes himself and not another, the creative force which stirs him to action?"

Enlightened minds are alarmed to see Western civilisation, while sometimes foundering amid the exclusively useful and rational, only hold as real what it can measure; they are alarmed to see it dismember a humanity which preserves elsewhere its mystical aspirations and its thirst for the divine.

Who knows whether aging Europe may not one day discover, in a confidential chat with other countries belonging to different spiritual families, in a quiet dialogue leaving aside the accessories of form to attain, in its profundity, the *unum necessarium*, the sense of totality, the fascination with a Cosmos in which things and beings lose themselves only to find themselves, the fullness of a Unity in which man, with the rest of the world, realises and fulfills himself in something—or in Someone—who is beyond him.—*Indian Opinion*, Natal.

Are We Losing Our Morals?

Max D. Gaehler writes in *Unity*, January-February, 1953:

A communist propagandist whose chief object was to discredit the United States, to make us appear in as bad a light as possible, would find his task an easy one these days. His only difficulty, indeed, would be not the discovery of material to use against us, but that of selection from among the mass of evidence supplied him ready-made in our own account of ourselves. For never have our newspapers and magazines, our sermons and commentaries been more filled with angry and sorrowful words over the plight of our country. Never, if one is to believe the written and spoken word, has our public and private conduct given more evidence of moral decay and corruption.

The stories of men who barter political influence for material advantage have so multiplied that we are almost numb to their devastating and sickening effect. It has become commonplace, or so it would seem, for men in positions of responsibility in government and business to betray their trust and place their own immediate gain ahead of their moral obligations. Outright graft, the perpetration of fraud and theft, has become almost an everyday occurrence.

On another front the evidence mounts of the corrosion of ethical standards among our colleges and universities. We have come to take it almost for granted that many colleges will field professional football and basketball teams under the guise of students, with incalculable damage to the proper goals of higher education.

We hear sensational reports of organized criminals making billions on slot machines and narcotics, and we are struck with the powerlessness of a committee of the United States Senate to do anything about the conditions its investigations disclose.

The practice of at least one United States Senator who deliberately uses his congressional immunity as a cloak for slander has resulted in the addition of a new, and by no means honorable, word to our vocabulary. And there seems to be no effective redress for the countless people who have suffered from his venom.

All of this, combined with the usual run of crimes and delinquency, makes a pretty, sorry picture. There would seem to be good excuse for anyone who turns his back on it all in disgust and tries to make the most of his own private world. At the very least, it makes the question before us most pertinent. Are we indeed losing our morals?

A great chorus has arisen including the voices of at least a few significant leaders who deserve to be taken seriously, lamenting the purported corrosion of our public and private morality and urging upon us a return to the "old-fashioned virtues." The implication, of course, is that we have slipped, that we have fallen from grace and need to be bucked up.

Now the term "old-fashioned virtues," as it is used by these sincere spokesmen for decency and uprightness, always leaves me feeling a bit uneasy. If, as I suggest in the case, the virtues referred to are such things as simple honesty and telling the truth and living up to your promises, then I should most heartily agree that there can be no substitute for these things. Any weakening of these basic ethical principles must be looked upon as very serious indeed. But I most certainly hope that there is nothing at all old-fashioned about this kind of virtues. They must always receive primary emphasis—now just as much as at any time in the past. And I am fully confident that parents today are every bit as alert to their importance as were preceding generation.

No, our real trouble is not that we have grown morally callous. Far from it! The widespread reaction to our present moral crisis is itself the most convincing evidence that our consciences are more deeply sensitive than ever before. There has been, of course, the kind of moral weakening which always comes in an immediate post-war period. There are the evidences of a letdown which we should all have expected. The surprising thing is not that there should have been such a letdown, but rather that it has not been far worse than is actually the case and that public reaction has been so prompt and decisive.

Our present difficulties do not stem from a moral decay, which simply has not happened. They arise rather from the rapidly increasing demands which are made upon us all by the very nature of the world we live in. The plain fact is that the morality which did very well for yesterday is no longer adequate today. Living at a time in which our concern must extend to



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



all mankind, when no false pride of nation, creed, or race can be allowed to block the peaceful development of our "one world," when the alternative to undreamed of progress is inconceivable disaster—living at such a time as this, we are still too easily content just to limp along with the moral concepts of an earlier generation. Our morality must always be expanding, seeking ever more inclusive principles.

After all, the moral conscience of America has in times past tolerated slavery, sweatshops, child labor, and fraudulent misrepresentation on drug labels. For each of these abuses in its time a case was made out on moral grounds, only to be swept away by the more inclusive standards of a growing and expanding morality. Now in our own time we must confront the grossest immorality of all, that of war—grossest because it represents the ultimate disregard for human personality.

The present moral crisis—and our situation is critical indeed—demands two things of us all, two things which must rest heavily upon every person who is genuinely concerned for ethical values. The first requirement is that we must take honest stock of ourselves. We must discover how far we as individuals are guilty of abetting the widespread social approval of anything you can get away with. To what extent do we allow ourselves to drift along with the tide, and how far do we assert the basic principles for which we profess to be concerned? How effectively are we helping to create the kind of environment in which these principles will be inculcated by example as well as by precept?

This self-evaluation is our first duty, and it must be undertaken repeatedly. And we must always be thoroughly honest with ourselves, making certain that the principles for which we are concerned are far more inclusive than just the so-called "old-fashioned virtues" of which we have already spoken. They must include, as well, things like respect for individual differences, and social responsibility. These basic elements of our democratic faith are indispensable ingredients of a vital, growing morality.

Beyond this, we must be always concerned that our moral concepts never settle down into a fixed mould, incapable of further expansion. Our morality must rather be open-ended, growing—that it may always be sufficiently inclusive to meet the continually increasing demands of our time. We as a nation cannot claim moral leadership of the world unless we deserve it, and this will require far more imagination, far more genuine and realistic concern for other people—all other people—than we have yet evidenced.

Not by a return to the past, not by falling back on ancient standards will we save our world and incidentally ourselves; we must strike out on new paths and improve the heritage we have received. We would do well to take as our motto those stirring words of James Russell Lowell, written in an earlier time of moral crisis when our nation's conscience was struggling with the existence of human slavery:

New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth.

Human Relations is New Force in U.S. Industry

"If it were desired to reduce a man to nothing," wrote Fyodor Dostoevsky in *The House of the Dead*, "... it would be necessary only to give his work a character of uselessness." In the early twentieth century, such a

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders): Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with **NOVUM** to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally between 5-30 to 9 P.M. on any week-day or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank.
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

character of uselessness was, in fact, imposed on much of the work done in American factories and offices. It was not a sudden occurrence; it was the result of a long historical process.

The Industrial Revolution, which replaced the tools of the independent workmen with machines owned by lenders of capital, had transformed handicraftsmen who were their own bosses into hired hands subject to the orders of managers. Gradually, men felt themselves swallowed by a vast, impersonal machine, which rubbed away their self-respect and, in a way, their identities.

Now a second Industrial Revolution, quieter but more profound, is sweeping through U.S. industry. Its name: Human Relations in Industry. Its purpose: to give the American worker a sense of usefulness and importance (and thus improve his work). Its goal (stated in one sentence): to make life more fun by making work more meaningful.

THE MYTHS

In the accepted myths of hard-headed, hard-fisted management, tenderness was weakness; workers could not be "coddled" lest they loaf; the only drives to which they responded were greed (more money) or fear (of dismissal). To praise them was simply to invite increasing demands.

For Mayo's new science to make headway in this charged atmosphere, there had to be a great change in basic attitudes. The change began with the U.S. Supreme Court's 1937 decision upholding the Wagner Act; it made management realize it had to learn to live with unions.

Management began to learn that the once-feared unions themselves held potentials of higher production. In Pittsburgh, the United Steel Workers challenged one management to name its most productive department. Then, the union boosted production there by 210 percent in a month.

In dozens of plants, surveys of employees exploded the prime cliché of management's folklore—that workers wanted only more money. Actually, higher pay rated far down the list of workers' desires. For example, 100 shop workers who were polled by Psychologist S. N. F. Chant on twelve alternatives rated "high pay" as sixth.

The Twentieth Century Fund found that wage disputes, the ostensible cause of 80 per cent of all industrial conflicts, are only secondary causes: "Some of the industries most plagued by strikes.... are among those where the highest wages are being paid." After ten years of polling workers, Elmo Roper concluded that their four chief desires are (1) security ("the right to work continuously at reasonably good wages"), (2) a chance to advance, (3) treatment as human beings, (4) dignity.

Business had grown to such a size that average workers lost all sense of personal contact with his employers. The constant increase in mechanization took away his sense of personal contact with his identification with the final product; frequently he did not even know the use of the part he made.

These discoveries came to a head at a time when U.S. management was best equipped to do something about them: management itself had undergone a revolution. Death and taxes had all but eclipsed the great owner-management dynasties epitomized by Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller. In their place had come the professional managers, the engineer-trained technicians. They took over industrial societies grown so huge that the average owner (i.e. stockholder) seldom exercised more than theoretical control.

Profits were still the test of efficiency, and a fair return to the stockholder a prime duty of management.

But the tremendous, diffusion of ownership enabled the professional manager to give first concern to the economic health of the whole corporate body, in which the welfare of workers was as vital as that of stockholders. Since increased welfare promised greater efficiency, the new managers welcomed experiments.

In Marion (Virginia), the Harwood Manufacturing Co., which had 600 employees, mostly women, making pajamas, discovered that whenever it changed the work, only one-third of the workers ever got back to their old output rate. Many others quit, and most union grievances followed such changes.

The company tried an experiment: one group was simply told of the change, another was told of the necessity for it and permitted to work out for itself the necessary revisions in quotas and rates. Result: its production quickly passed the old average of 60 hourly units per worker and reached more than 80.

Other companies are tackling the problem of size and resulting loss of individual identity. Robert Wood Johnson, whose family's famed Johnson & Johnson had grown up as a huge plant at New Brunswick, New Jersey, decentralized much of it into small, new ultra-modern factories, each making a single product line and small enough so that the president can usually call every worker by name. Not only has Johnson & Johnson been free of strikes, but the CIO Textile Workers Union is the first to praise its enlightened methods.

Many plants are encouraging their workers at self-government through broadening their corporate responsibilities. Parker Pen replaced the hated time-clock with an honour system, found that tardiness virtually vanished. The Commerce Trust Co. of Kansas City met the time loss from the morning "coffee rush" by providing free coffee.

A new concept of the role of employers and employees in the corporation is being formed. Some examples: Pittsburgh's Wiegand Co. lends money, interest free, to employees who need it to buy homes, etc.; Allegheny Ludlum Steel holds "open houses" to let families see what their breadwinner does, and production goes up on visiting days; Weirton Steel now tags almost everything moving through the plant to let workers know what it will make.

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY

Actually, far from being an occult science, human relations are nothing more than goodwill—and applied common sense. Much of it depends on simple things, such as making a plant more comfortable and a friendlier place to work.—*American Reporter*, April 1953.

PILES
CAN BE TREATED WITH
PILEX PILES AND CEMENT
SOLD BY LEADING CHEMISTS
FREE LITERATURE FROM
HIMCO LABORATORIES M.L.
221, NORMEY ROAD, PORT, BOMBAY.

19 Million U.S. Women Have Jobs

In America there is a saying—"Women are people"—which sounds amusing and fairly obvious, but which really has a deeper meaning than is conveyed by the words themselves.

The saying is one of the last vestiges of the struggle waged by American women for equal rights and privileges with their menfolk, a struggle which was climaxed with success in the 1920's when American women were given the right to vote.

Since that time American women have advanced to a position of equal opportunity, and in many cases equal achievement in almost every field of human activity—the arts, the sciences, government, finance, industry, and community affairs of every sort.

The saying "Women are people" was the suffragette's way of pointing out that women are human beings first and women second. As human beings, they asked for a

more active part in human affairs. In essence, they demanded that their sex not be held against them when it came to female participation in human society.

The principle that "Women are people"—not just females—is so accepted in America today that the saying is used almost entirely in jest. There is virtually no militant feminism on the part of American women—because it no longer is needed.

Actually, the progress of women in America was achieved with a minimum of militant feminism. There was a minimum of parading and demonstrating, and no real antagonism between the sexes.

This was due to the part played by the woman in the pioneering days. The woman was her husband's partner in all walks of life. She helped him build a home in the wilderness. She took turns driving the lumbering wagon, sitting on the swaying front seat, often with a baby on her lap, while her husband urged the herds forward or scouted ahead for wood and water.

The husbands respected them because they worked with them and the sons respected their advice because they were taught by them.

WYOMING LED

It was significant that the first state to give women voting rights was one with an overwhelming made population, the mountainous pioneer State of Wyoming. Wyoming was admitted to the Union with equal suffrage provision in its Constitution in 1890. Thirty years later, in 1920, the whole nation followed Wyoming's example.

Women saw their first jury service also in Wyoming. The action of the judge in appointing women to the jury attracted international interest. The first women's jury who heard all the cases on the court docket, ranging from manslaughter through misdemeanour and cattle stealing, and murder, faced up to them stoutly. Not one in 40 states, Alaska, the District of Columbia, and the Virgin Islands.

American women owe much of their advancement to the intercession of men. A man presided at the first conference on Women's Rights held in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. The little band of women led by the president's wife, Mrs. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Martha Wright, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony, soon attracted the championship of distinguished men of the day. The anti-slavery crusaders, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and the writers Ralph Waldo Emerson and John Greenleaf Whittier, were staunch supporters of suffrage. Abraham Lincoln before he became President of the United States, favoured sharing the vote and all functions of government with women.

American women scored successes in their individual fields. Literature was brightened by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Margaret Fuller. Harriet Martineau gained recognition in art;

Distinctive Jewellery

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA. (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

BRANCH—HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASNBHARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

Clara Barton in nursing Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell was America's first woman medical student.

As William Lloyd Garrison was dramatically leading his campaign to emancipate the Negroes, the Crimke sisters of South Carolina freed their own slaves, bravely facing the wrath of their neighbours.

So women were nearing their goal in the middle of the nineteenth century.

19 MILLION HAVE JOBS

The women of 1848 asked for a chance at lucrative employment. Today nineteen million women are employed in the U.S., representing one-fifth of all the women in the country and one-half of all the women between 18 and 24 years of age.

The trade unions and the Federal Government both take a lively interest in women's working conditions. Not only are their conditions for work improving but opportunities to rise in chosen occupations are increasing. Today a woman finds 442 different classification of employment open to her. Some of these include highly skilled and, consequently, highly paid fields, such as medicine, law, chemistry, photography, business management, education, editing, banking, scientific research, literature, stage, radio, architecture, and public office.

American girls have an affinity for the typewriter. It is a companionship that has been going on since 1870, when the typewriter was first put on the market. The girls showed so much adaptability and skill on the typewriter that it was responsible for introducing them in large numbers into office work. They, and the other girls who work as clerks, telephone operators, and salesladies, are called "white-collar workers." In 1870 there were 13,000 white-collar workers. Now there are nearly 6,000,000.

The average American working girl is probably a stenographer, a typist, a bookkeeper, or a file clerk. Typists, clerks, and accountants are considered young people with a future and are treated with respect. They have many opportunities for advancement.—*American Reporter*.

Dr. P. P. Pillai Retires

Dr. P. P. Pillai, ILO Representative in India and Director of the International Labour Office, Indian Branch, has proceeded on leave from 11th May, preparatory retirement.

A familiar figure in Delhi's international circle for the last 25 years, Dr. Pillai started his career as a Member of the League of Nations Secretariat at Geneva. After a few years he was appointed a Senior Member of the Diplomatic Division of the ILO at Geneva. He was deputed in 1929 to set up the Indian Branch Office of the ILO, of which he has remained the Director all these years.

He was elected the Vice-Chairman of the Indian Branch of Chatham House for 1942-44, and in 1946 was appointed Chairman of the ILO Mission to organise the Asian Regional Conference. Early in 1947, he became India's first permanent representative to the U.N. at New York, and it was during this period that he had to take up such questions as Indonesian independence, Kashmir, and the apartheid problem in South Africa. From New York he was transferred to France where he was in charge of the Indian Embassy at Paris.

Dr. Pillai has written several books on economic and labour questions, and is widely known as a keen student of international affairs.—*ILO New Service*.

The Penicillin Story

Recently dedicated in a London church was a new and unusual window, one part of it depicting a living scientist. He is Sir Alexander Fleming, the discoverer of penicillin. In a recent talk in the BBC's European Service, C.L. Boltz, a professional scientific journalist, told the story of this remarkable drug. In the late summer of 1928 Alexander Fleming was working as a bacteriologist investigating certain sorts of staphylococcus, a disease-causing bacterium. These microbes multiplied on a nourishing jelly in small glass dishes, and on one occasion when Fleming had removed a cover from one of the dishes something from the air dropped on to the jelly-culture. When he looked at it about a week later he was astonished to see that a blue mould had formed, and there were no staphylococcus bacteria left. "Doubtless many bacteriologists had seen something like it," said Boltz, "but it was Fleming who was struck by it."

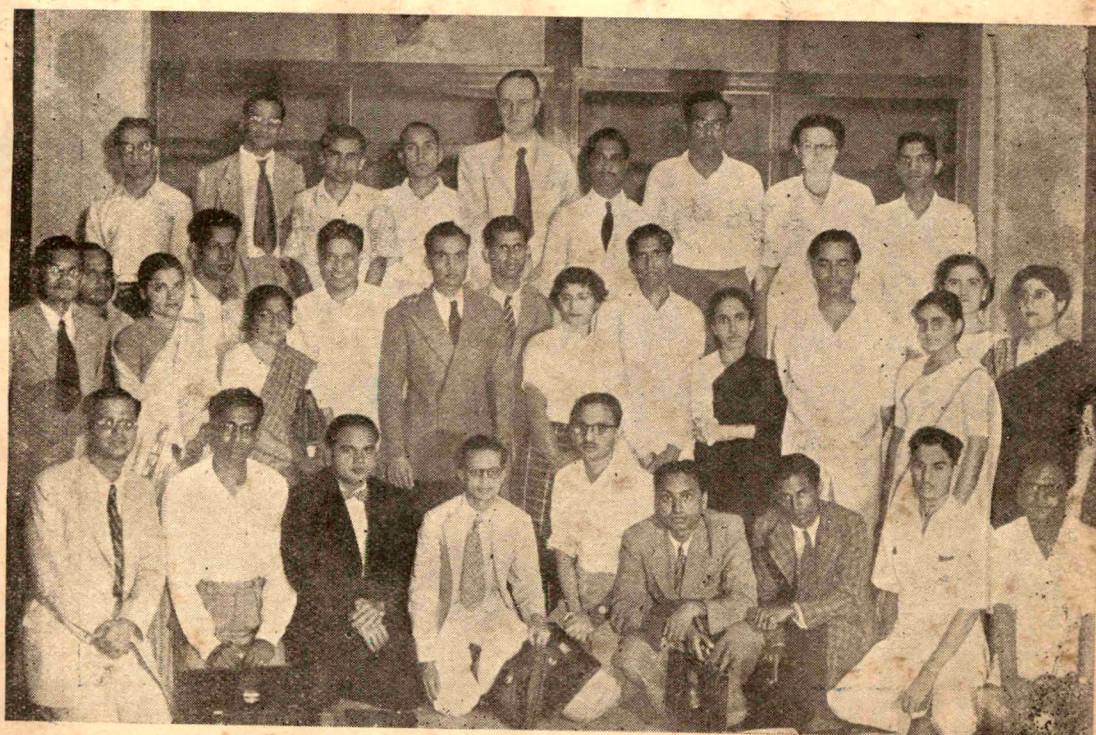
Fleming investigated the mould, taking a little and letting it multiply in a test-tube. He then took a flat dish of the nourishing jelly and put some of the test-tube medium in a broad line across it. He next put colonies of well-known disease-causing bacteria in separate streaks across the jelly from the edge of the dish towards the line of mould, and two grew right up to the edge of the mould and four did not. The mould was identified as a species of penicillium, and proved that the liquid in which the penicillium grew contained some chemical which destroyed disease-causing germs. Fleming called this chemical penicillin, and showed that as a killer of certain bacteria it was more powerful than anything he knew. It did not harm rabbits and mice when injected into them and was therefore non-toxic, an essential quality if it were to be widely used. He tried the culture on man, where it was again non-toxic, and further tests showed that it did not harm the white cells of the blood. Fleming worked with a filtered liquid from the culture medium, and failed when he tried to separate the pure penicillin.

Eleven years later at a school of pathology in Oxford two scientists, Howard Florey, now Sir Howard, and Dr. Ernst Chain, teamed up to examine antibiotic materials, the chemical substances from living materials which would kill disease-causing bacteria. They decided to start their academic work with penicillin, and in 1945 shared the Nobel Prize with Fleming for their work on this drug. There happened to be some of the descendants of Fleming's penicillin in the school, and with this they set to work. The first task was to produce the actual chemical of penicillin. After several months a brown powder was obtained which they believed to be pure penicillin, and though this was ten times more powerful than the sulpha drugs, it was later found to contain not more than two per cent of pure penicillin. "It is now known that pure penicillin is efficient in the unbelievable dilution of one part in 50,000,000 parts of water," said Boltz. "After a few experiments on animals they realised that this powder was not merely an antiseptic but a general therapeutic agent which the animal system could tolerate in tremendous doses. It was then tried on human cases and succeeded beyond any doctor's dreams—they had at last produced the first true antibiotic."

"The result is widely known," said Boltz, "Penicillin is available for all. It saved thousands of soldiers' lives. It is now saving the lives of thousands of civilians, whilst the list of antibiotics gets longer and longer—all drugs stemming from that one observation by the British bacteriologist who is commemorated in stained glass in a London church—Sir Alexander Fleming."—*B.B.C. Weekly*.



Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, leads the procession of the faculty members of the Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he delivered the Convocation address on June 2, 1953



Forty-five scholars from all parts of India left Bombay for the United States on July 2, 1953, for a year's study and training in various fields under scholarship grants from the U. S. Govt.



A VILLAGE SINGER
Manicklal Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1953

Vol. LXXXIV, No. 2

Whole No. 560

NOTES

The One-Pice War

The murky pool of Calcutta politics was again violently agitated in July. This time the stench of the mud reached even the inner recesses of private homes because most of the newspapers liberally plastered their pages with the foul muck that was being flung about in the streets and the parks and maidans by the disruptionists, demagogues and the unemployed. The greatest amount of the suffering fell on the poor common citizens, 95 per cent of whom, at a modest computation, would have preferred to have been left in peace.

The ostensible reason advanced was the increase in the 2nd class tram fare by one pice. And it cannot be denied that the Government of West Bengal's cool announcement of the increase, without previously acquainting the public of the reasons for the increase and the investigations thereof, was not only stupid and tactless but also provided ample material for arousing resentment in the public mind. Black-marketing and profiteering is perhaps more rife in Calcutta than in any other city of note in the Union, and thanks to the methods of the Law and the mentality of the highest officers in charge of the dispensation of justice, there does not seem to be any means of either punishing the criminals or of giving relief to the man-in-the street. The opportunity thus given to stir up resentment was quickly taken advantage of by disruptionists and their fellow-travellers in the camps that now pass under various names but are commonly grouped together as "Leftists." The public, or at least the majority of the thinking section of it, had lost all confidence in the Congress and the Congress Government, and the forces that usually operated in previous similar occasions to steady the public mind and stem lawlessness, had been badly betrayed and let down by both the Government and the Congress and were therefore left helpless and frustrated. The newspapers of the City being mostly

of the weathercock variety, veering whichever way appeared easy for increase of circulation, there was nothing to check a flare-up.

A far-flung meandering city with an extremely heterogeneous population is at the best of times full of adventurous and lawless elements. Further, Calcutta is the only major city of India that experienced all the anti-social and disturbing effects of the last Great War. Then the devastating effects of the communal riots, with its attendant evils of murder, arson, rape and plunder have deeply scored the minds of the unsteady and immature sections of its peoples. And, to cap all, there has been a mass influx of the uprooted refugees, in hundreds of thousands, with all moral values upset. Add to this unemployment on a vast scale and ruthless looting by profiteers, and there you have an explosive mixture.

The Government, blissfully oblivious of all this, being totally out-of-touch with its people, provided the spark. It reflects the greatest amount of credit on the common citizen that the explosion was not disastrous. Perhaps, the flimsy nature of the ostensible reason for the movement was the main deterrent.

The prices of far more vital necessities, like food and clothing, have gone up to a greater extent within the last few months. In the case of cotton dhoties, the market price has gone up by 55 per cent. But the leftist "leaders" did not even bat an eyelid nor did the newspapers give so much as an inch of column space or even a 12-point headline. But the tram-fare which has not been raised since 1938, and is the cheapest in India, caused this frightful uproar. We have indeed a crazy world of our own in these parts!

The announcement of the increase in fares was quickly seized upon by the "leftist" leaders as a god-send. A Resistance Committee was formed, public meetings were held and the Government was denounced in the usual terms. The public were advised to ride in the 2nd class cars but to pay no fares. All the unemployed and the street urchins received this order

with whoops of joy and the trams were loaded with crowds of them. But even then trams ran and people who had their livings to earn rode on them, and some of them even offered to pay enhanced fares. This did not suit the agitators and so more violent methods came into action. Bombs, soda water bottles, acid-filled bulbs and stones were used against the tram-cars and the police, and the peaceful citizen, being of no account, came in for a fairly heavy share. Arrests were made, but the incidents increased. The West Bengal Cabinet was wobbly in the extreme, particularly, the Minister in temporary charge of law and order, being totally unfit for that—or, for that, for any—portfolio. The police were abused and stoned, and a continuous game-of-hide-and-seek went on in the streets and lanes of Calcutta.

Then came a *Hartal* on the 4th of July, paralysing the city. Fire and bombs were used, trams stopped and coaches set on fire and violent attacks were made on trams, and the police. Mob violence assumed an ugly shape. Over 500 persons were arrested, of whom the majority were released after warning or with nominal fines. A temporary lull ensued.

Then started molestation of tram-passengers. Filthy abuse and pulling-off the cars by force began it and soon it changed to heavy stone-throwing. Students were called out from schools and colleges and helped greatly in creating pandemonium on the streets. Bombs and crackers and acid-bombs followed, injuring innocent passers-by mostly. Police dispersed a procession which attempted to break into an area prohibited under Section 144, by tear-gas and lathi charge. In other areas too, lathi-charges and tear-gas were used to disperse unruly crowds. Again an uneasy lull followed.

Then came another call for a full all-West-Bengal *hartal* on the 15th. And at this juncture the effete and degraded Congress under its totally inept leader issued a challenge to the agitators. What is more, they brought out a procession on the 14th under strong police escort. The result was a flare-up.

In the days that followed incident succeeded incident. The *hartal* was anything but peaceful, trams, trains, shopkeepers, hawkers and, of course, the peace-loving common people all suffered. Police resorted to firing, Fire Engines rushing to the aid of poor *bustee-dwellers* were attacked and some firemen seriously injured. Calcutta became the stage for a mob and police saturnalia. The Congress beat a hasty and most inglorious retreat, which was only what was to be expected. The Ministry issued a bombastic statement that "force will be met with force," while quaking in their shoes at the shape that the movement was assuming. It called out troops in route marches to bolster up its own courage—and let things slide, after proclaiming Section 144 all over the city.

Then followed a night-mare orgy of violence in some areas, with police opening fire on attacking mobs and tram and State buses attacked and paralyzed. The

Government tried to conciliate public opinion by suspending the tram-fare enhancement order, subject to an enquiry and decision by an independent tribunal. It was late in the day, and the demagogues had gained the upper hand. So, little effect of this concession was apparent.

Then followed an incident which showed how far deterioration had taken place in public Services. In breaking up a meeting in the maidan, press reporters and press photographers were brutally assaulted by policemen. It was officially stated that the police had been assaulted first. But even if that be true, there can be no excuse for this extremely disgraceful lapse from discipline and shameless breach of faith on the part of those who are supposed to be guardians of law and order and custodians of peace.

What of the press in Calcutta, through all this? The Fourth Estate, the Mentor of the Rulers, the Mirror of Public Opinion? We all ask for the fullest measure of liberty for the press, and most of us are sincere believers in that. But is there any liberty without responsibility, or is the Press like Cæsar's capricious wife, above all reproach, be she no better than she could be?

If the A.I.N.E.C. be anything but an unctuous body of decorative self-seekers, then there is cause for enquiry.

Enquiry into Syamaprasad's Death

After Pandit Nehru's return to India he addressed a condolence letter to the sorrowing mother of our beloved Syamaprasad. In reply Srimati Jogmaya Devi, the bereaved mother, sent a very restrained and dignified appeal for an enquiry into the circumstances leading to the demise of her distinguished son. Pandit Nehru's reply to that was not only evasive but was lame, inasmuch as he formulated conclusions without any vestige of an investigation by an independent body, official or non-official. The mother closed the unhappy correspondence with a gentle reproach in a resigned mood. The correspondence was released to the press.

But does that mean that no enquiry should ever materialise? It would be an unhappy precedent for all political parties and leaders. The enquiry has been asked for by people holding widely different political opinions. For Syamaprasad did not belong solely to his party or to the province of his birth. The sphere of his work extended over a very wide area.

We know Pandit Nehru is faced with a Frankenstein of his own creation. But is he the supreme arbiter of all things in the Union? Has no one else any voice?

Further, we would enquire, where are the parties that assured Syamaprasad of full-hearted support in his movement? He has kept his faith even unto death. Is it not incumbent on those that promised support to come out, staking all, and force the enquiry. It will be a lasting disgrace to all of them, and indeed to democracy in India if this attempt at foiling enquiry succeeds.

Report on Currency and Finance

The Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance for the financial year 1952-53 starts with a survey of the recent world economic developments, which provides a background to the detailed review of the economic and financial developments in India. The report draws attention to the fair measure of economic stability achieved during 1952. The post-Korean inflationary pressures, which had been generally halted by the end of 1951, eased further in many parts of the world. The movement towards stability resulted from the operation of such factors as increased production and a fall in demand, following the decline in stock-piling and the stretching-out of defence expenditures, and the further flexible use of the orthodox instruments of credit control.

The international payments situation in general underwent a marked improvement during 1952, especially in the dollar sector. The sterling area recorded an impressive improvement in its overall payments position, having converted a deficit of £531 million in 1951 to a surplus of £77 million in 1952. The surplus in the US balance of payments on current account showed a sizeable decline, though the problem of the dollar gap continued to exist. Despite a larger movement of short-term private capital into the USA, the total holdings of gold and dollars by the rest of the world increased by over \$1 billion, the largest share accruing to Western Europe. The volume of lending by the IBRD and the Export-Import Bank also showed an increase over the previous year.

Against the background of these international developments, the Report proceeds to review the major economic and financial developments in India during 1952-53. The Report says that the year 1952-53 recorded further progress in several directions, although it was not free from difficulties. The stresses and strains of the post-partition period and the war and post-war inflationary pressures were largely relieved, the new monetary policy adopted in November 1951 having contributed significantly to this result. Industrial production showed a further substantial improvement during 1952, the average index (base: 1946=100) of industrial output for 1952 rising by 10.0 per cent. The progress in industrial production was general, covering basic as well as consumer goods industries. Higher production was facilitated, the Report says, by the continued prevalence of industrial peace and larger availability of industrial raw materials. The improvement in production was achieved in spite of the difficulties experienced by some industries as a result of the recent world-wide shift to a buyers' market, with the accompanying recession in prices.

Agricultural production in 1951-52, on the whole, showed an improvement as a result of continued efforts under the Integrated Production Programme. Increases were mainly noticed in respect of cotton, jute and sugar,

declines. In 1952-53, there was an increase in acreage under foodgrains.

The general price-level in India was comparatively free from the sharp fluctuations noticed since the outbreak of the Korean war. The precipitate decline in wholesale prices during February-March 1952 was followed by the restoration of a measure of stability at the lower levels, notwithstanding wide variations in prices of some internationally-traded commodities. Speculative overtrading and overstocking which had greatly accentuated price variations in the post-Korean period, were considerably subdued during the year, largely owing to the new monetary policy. The Economic Adviser's general index number of wholesale prices (base year: August 1939=100) moved by about 2 per cent from 377.5 in March 1952 to 385.2 in March 1953. It may be mentioned here that the price-level has gone up further with a corresponding rise in the cost of living. Speculative overtrading and overstocking in recent months have considerably increased.

The monetary and banking conditions in the country, the Report states, recorded further improvement as compared to the post-Korean phase. Money supply showed a further downward adjustment, the decline, however, being relatively smaller at Rs. 37 crores, as compared with Rs. 175 crores in 1951-52. This smaller contraction was due partly to the budget deficit in 1952-53 on Union Government account, and partly to the foreign assets of the Reserve Bank being almost in balance in 1952-53, as against a considerable decline in 1951-52. The foreign assets of the Reserve Bank reflect changes in balance of payments on current account as well as capital movements. Recourse to the Reserve Bank by scheduled banks for accommodation during the year was considerably less than in 1951-52, and in the absence of any change in the Bank's lending policy, this probably indicated that available resources in the money market were generally adequate.

Regarding the trouble in the capital market, the Report points to the considerable measure of stability in the capital market, after a period of uncertainty following the adoption of the new monetary policy and the general price recession of February-March 1952. As the year advanced, fears of a possible further trend towards dearer money seemed to recede, and there was a growing feeling of confidence in the pattern of existing structure of interest rates. This lent considerable strength to the gilt-edged market. The open market operations of the Reserve Bank were in broad harmony with the new monetary policy enunciated in November 1951 and were conducted with a view to the stability and strength of the Government bond market. The industrial securities market, on the other hand, evinced on the whole a downward trend, though it was much less marked than in the previous year.

Reviewing the working of the Bombay bullion market, the Report refers to the new bye-laws promulgated in

and to ensure speedy payment of differences when fluctuations were rather excessive. These objectives were largely fulfilled. The aggregate volume of business as well as the outstanding business showed a substantial decline to safer levels in comparison with previous years. The fluctuations in prices, however, inevitably continued to be somewhat frequent owing to the narrower market.

As regards the budgetary position of the Union Government as well as of the State Governments and Railways, the Report states that there was deterioration during 1952-53. As against an overall surplus of Rs. 7 crores in 1951-52 for the Centre and the States combined, it is estimated that in 1952-53 there would be an overall deficit, taking the revenue and capital accounts, of Rs. 122 crores,—Rs. 64 crores at the Centre and Rs. 58 crores in the case of Part A and Part B States. The actual deficit, however, in the sense of an excess of the Government expenditures over receipts from the public will be smaller if account is taken of the transactions between the Reserve Bank and Government and the difference between the estimated and actual closing cash balances held by the Union and State Governments. The net surplus of railways fell from Rs. 28 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 9.5 crores in 1952-53. The worsening of the budgetary position of the Government sector was due mainly to the steep fall in tax revenues during 1952-53 and to the stepping up of the development expenditure of the public sector in accordance with the targets set in the Five-Year Plan. An important development during the year was the change in respect of devolution of taxes and grants-in-aid to the State Governments, as a result of the acceptance by the Government of India, of the recommendations of the Finance Commission.

Expenditure on development schemes included in the Five-Year Plan rose from Rs. 262 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 322 crores in 1952-53 for the Union Government, Railways and the State Governments taken together. The budgetary resources allocated for development by the Union Government and Railways fell from Rs. 159 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 103 crores in 1952-53, whereas in the case of Part A and Part B States, they rose from about Rs. 46 crores to Rs. 55 crores. A good part of the development expenditure was financed through grants and loans received from abroad, which during 1951-52 and 1952-53 amounted to Rs. 189 crores.

The record of India's balance of payments position in 1952 was one of adjustment to the disinflationary trends, which gathered strength at home and abroad. In exports, the adjustment was mainly in respect of prices, effected partly through lowering of export duties. The progress of disinflation necessitated a number of other changes in trade policy, mainly by way of relaxation of export controls in an effort to maintain and promote exports. Even then, the volume of exports declined by some 10 per cent as compared to the previous year. The volume of imports also dropped by 12 per cent. The changes in prices are estimated to have caused a deterioration of 24 per cent in the average terms of trade for

the year. The net result of the series of price and volume re-adjustments was a widening of the trade deficit from Rs. 113 crores in 1951 to Rs. 134 crores in 1952. On the other hand, the current account deficit was actually smaller by Rs. 20 crores, as a result of a favourable swing in invisibles and donations. An analysis of the regional pattern of the current account in 1952 shows major shifts except in regard to OEEC countries. The surplus with the sterling area countries other than Pakistan was more than halved in 1952, while the deficit with the dollar area rose from Rs. 62 crores to Rs. 115 crores. The payments position on current account with Pakistan showed a swing of nearly Rs. 79 crores from a deficit of Rs. 47 crores in 1951 to a surplus of Rs. 32 crores.

Sterling Agreement

India and the UK entered into a financial agreement on the 20th June, 1953 at New Delhi with respect to the release of sterling balances which India holds in the UK with the Bank of England. The agreement has retrospective effect from 1st July, 1951 and will remain in force for a period of six years, that is up to 30th June, 1957. This agreement is only a consolidating one and as such does not break any fresh ground. It consolidates the provisions of the agreement entered into by an exchange of letters on 8th February, 1952 between the Government of India and the UK Government. The agreed arrangement for the release of sterling balances remains unaltered.

The first Indo-UK financial agreement on the release of sterling balances was signed on 14th August, 1947. This agreement was in force originally for a period of six months ended 31st December, 1947. But later on it was modified and extended from time to time by letters exchanged between the two Governments. It was eventually extended for a period of six years ending 30th June, 1957, by exchange of letters on 8th February.

India's sterling balances are held in two accounts, namely, No. I account (current account) and No. II account (blocked account). The current account is credited with any sterling received by the Reserve Bank of India for current transactions and any sums transferred from No. II account. The No. II account will be credited with the proceeds, at maturity or on realisation, of any investments purchased in accordance with established custom, out of funds standing to the credit of that account. The No. II account will also be credited with any sums, transferred from No. I account which had been paid into it (i) after 15th July 1947, in respect of the settlement of any matters outstanding under the Defence Expenditure Plan and of any other accounts relating to transactions which were connected with the war and took place before 15th July, 1947 (the date from which the first agreement came into force), (ii) any amount equal to the net capital movement from the other scheduled territories to India, and (iii) such other items as may be agreed upon between the two Governments.

An important provision of the agreement is that the sum of £310 million unblocked and transferred to the current account under the agreement of October 1951, will be retained in that account by the Reserve Bank of India as a currency reserve and will not be drawn upon without prior consultation with the Government of the UK. The other provisions of the agreement are intended to regulate the flow of the annual instalment transferred from No. II account to No. I account. Every year, during the period of currency of the agreement, a sum of £35 million will be transferred to the No. I account. Such transfers will be made only as and when necessary to maintain a minimum balance of £30 million on No. I account, in addition to the above-mentioned sum of £310 million held as currency reserve. This amount of £35 million will be available for utilisation during each year. Any balance of the unutilised portion of the amount transferable in any year will be carried forward and added to the sums available in the later periods, provided the minimum balance of £30 million is retained in addition to the currency reserve. Subject to this condition, the Government of India can overdraw in any year to the extent of £5 million without prior consultation with the UK Government. If in any year India requires to draw more, it should consult the UK Government. Any balance remaining on No. II account on 30th June, 1957 will be transferred to No. I account.

The result of working of the agreement during the last two years indicates that the utilisation of sterling balances had been less than the amount available. On 1st July, 1951, the date of commencement of the agreement, India's sterling balances amounted to £643.06 million, including £90 million in the current account, representing the unutilised releases during the period before 1st July, 1951. Under the agreement India could have drawn £70 million during these two years, in addition to the sum of £90 million brought in from the previous years—a total of £160 million in all. Of this amount, £50.62 million remains unutilised. This unspent balance of £50.62 million, in addition to £105 million, making a total of £155.62 million, will be available for drawing during the next three years. The balance of £533.68 million as on 3rd July, 1953, includes £343 million which represents the currency reserve and the minimum balance of £30 million to be kept in the current account.

Expansion of Hindusthan Shipyard

Addressing the first Ordinary Annual General Meeting of the Hindusthan Shipyard Ltd., the Chairman of the Company characterised the last year as one of preparation rather than of achievement. The Company had to face innumerable difficulties, such as shortage of steel and propelling machinery. The year consequently ended with a loss of Rs. 15.47 lakhs for the Company. The way in which this loss could be made up still remains to be explored, as there is little prospect of its making a profit in the near future. The surplus staff drained away a good deal of money of the concern. With

effect from 15th July, 1952 it has entered into a five-year agreement with a French firm for technical advice required for training Indian personnel at its shipyard, for securing orders for ships from outside India, and if necessary, for trying to bring about the sale of the ships built in the yard.

The Hindusthan Shipyard was registered on 21st January, 1952 as a private limited company, the Government of India holding two-thirds share. The new company took over the Vishakhapatnam shipyard from the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. on 1st March, 1952 at a valuation of Rs. 2.72 crores. The authorised capital of the Company is Rs. 10 crores and the paid-up capital is Rs. 3.09 crores. Of the paid-up capital, Government of India holds two-thirds, that is, Rs. 2.06 crores and the balance is held by the Scindias. Although the Government is the principal shareholder, the company has a distinct legal entity and it is being run on commercial lines.

The Five-Year Plan has provided a sum of Rs. 4.75 crores for the development of the yard and Rs. 7.34 crores for the grant of loans to ship-owners for the purchase of new or additional tonnage and for payment of subsidies on the ships built at the shipyard. In addition, the Plan envisages an expenditure of Rs. 1.50 crores for the development of the shipyard. The object is to raise the productive capacity of the yard to about 50,000 d.w.t. per year and to establish a workshop for building engines in this country. As regards shipping, the plan is to increase the coastal and overseas tonnage from about 400,000 to about 600,000 gross registered tons. The shipyard's contribution to this is expected to be 100,000 gross registered tons.

The Government of India has already advanced Rs 30 lakhs for the development of works now on hand. The third berth has been completed and equipped and a keel will be laid on it by the next month. The 35-ton crane has been erected and the foundation of the 125-ton crane is ready. The future programme of the company includes the building of one large and one small berth, raising the capacity of the hull-shop, machine-shop and other shops, installation of more up-to-date and more extensive cranes and erection of a large prefabricated shop which would be able to build 12 ships a year. The establishment of a dry-dock at the Vishakhapatnam port is considered to be an urgent necessity.

At present, two 8,000 d.w.t. *Jala*-type ships are under construction. The first of these ships is for the Barat Line and the second for the Scindia Steam Navigation. It is said that the performance of the shipyard in recent months has been slow. This is mainly due to the shortage of ship-building steel resulting from a number of unforeseen breakdowns in the only plate-rolling mill in India. The company has been permitted to import plates from overseas and it is expected that in future such hold-ups will not occur. The company is still, however, dependent on foreign firms for the supply of engines and auxiliary machinery. Orders were placed

for engines and machineries for these two ships under construction in December 1951 with a Glasgow firm, but delivery is promised only in October of this year for the first ship and in December for the second ship.

About 60 per cent of the parts of a ship, including the hull, superstructure, deck and cabins are being constructed at the shipyard, while the remaining 40 per cent including electric fittings, copper pipes and steam fittings together with all the prime movers and auxiliary machineries are being imported, mostly from the UK.

The question of subsidy is an important problem regarding the financing of the ship-building. The Government of India has accepted the principle that the price to be charged for ships built in the shipyard should be equivalent, as nearly as possible, to the cost of building a similar ship in a shipyard in the UK, and that the difference between the actual cost of construction and such a price would be paid by the Government to the shipyard as subsidy. But the difficulty would be regarding the determination of the UK parity price. Foreign shipyards are reluctant to quote a price unless they have a reasonable prospect of getting an order. Further, the cost of building the same ship in different shipyards in the UK differs. These are the problems that confront the shipyard at present.

The Progress of the Damodar Valley

The Damodar Valley Corporation now in its fifth year of construction programme has so far spent about Rs. 45 crores out of the revised estimates of Rs. 83.8 crores for the first phase of development. The Tilaiya Project is in final stages and the opening ceremony of the dam was performed by the Prime Minister on February 21, 1953. About 5,000 acres were irrigated from the reservoir here during the year. Two generating sets of 2,000 Kw each are being installed. About 55 per cent of the earth dam and 63 per cent of the concrete dam at Konar has been completed. It is almost ready. The gates will be fixed by the end of this year. At Maithon the right embankment has been built. The river has been diverted through a tunnel, and work on the main earth dam is proceeding. In the Panchet Hill area good progress has been made on the diversion channel.

The first unit of 50,000 Kw at the Bokaro thermal power station began to operate on February 21, 1953. Two more units have been installed in June of this year. The transmission system to distribute the power produced at Bokaro has also been completed by June 1953.

The Damodar Valley is the source of important minerals in India. It contains nearly 80 per cent of India's known resources of coal, 94 per cent of her iron ore, 70 per cent of her mica, 100 per cent of copper, 10 per cent manganese, 100 per cent kyanite, 70 per cent chromite, 45 per cent china clay and asbestos and 20 per cent lime-stone.

The supply of electric power will facilitate the exploitation of these resources, will increase food production

in the lower reaches of the river and improve the navigation facilities for better trade and commerce.

The committee, under Mr. P. S. Rau, the present administrator of Pepsu, which had been appointed by the Government of India last year to investigate charges against the Damodar Valley Corporation, was understood to have reported that as a result of high charges for extra-contractual work on the Konar Dam, the Corporation was liable to overpay to the extent of Rs. 175 lakhs, reports the *PTI*. These items, like clearing the jungles, it was pointed out, should properly have been included in the contract itself. The rates allowed were also on the high side. Mr. Rau was stated to have said that some of the criticisms were justified, specially in regard to the nine-crore Konar Dam. The Tilaiya Dam was originally designed to be an earthen one. But the design was changed to a concrete construction long after the plans had been finalised and tenders had been invited, resulting in an increase in its cost by about rupees one crore. He had also criticised the failure to appoint a Chief Engineer for the Corporation for the first three years of its life.

The report was now under the consideration of the Government of India. *PTI* reports that "one of the points under consideration is how far even in the absence of a chief engineer in the early stages the high charges and payments could have been avoided in view of the fact that the Corporation had the services of a firm of Swiss consultants for the construction of the Konar Dam, as also a number of Indian technical personnel at lower levels who were acquainted with Indian conditions and rates." The Swiss firm had been engaged for a fee of Rs. 18 lakhs to advise the Corporation on the Konar Dam and, particularly, for preparing designs, drawing up tender documents, selection of contractors, supervising contractors and checking the bills of contractors before payment.

The Government had decided not to renew the terms of the Chairman and other members of the Corporation, it was learnt.

Situation in Hyderabad

Sri B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad, told a Press Conference in Hyderabad on July 17 that the State Government contemplated floating District Development Loans to the tune of four to five crores of rupees and the loan amount collected from each district would be spent on developments on that district, reports the *Hindu* in its issue on July 19. The Premier said that an announcement to this effect would be made after obtaining the necessary concurrence of the Government of India. The Loan would enable the State Government to develop those areas to which proper attention could not be given in the Five-Year Plan for lack of resources. Rupees forty-one crores allotted to the State under the Plan were to be spent mostly to complete projects that had been taken up. The Government would finance the development of

the Mahrathawada area, to which no project could be provided under the Plan, by the State Government, Central Government and the District Development Loans to be floated.

The Chief Minister disclosed that the Government had decided to set up four Wage Boards, which would find out the extent of hardship caused to labour by the demonetisation of Hali currency. According to the Premier, the State Government had under contemplation a proposal to introduce a labour unemployment insurance scheme.

The Government had also sanctioned a land census scheme at a cost of Rs. 15 lakhs, to be completed by the end of the year. The Government would shortly take a decision in the report submitted by the committee on the question of abolishing cash grants to Mansabdars which now totalled Rs. 26 lakhs. The Government had also appointed an expert committee to examine the question of land development under the Tungabhadra. At present 2000 acres were ready for cultivation and soon another 4000 acres of land could be reclaimed.

The correspondent of the *Hindu* further reports that "questioned whether the Nizam had obtained the permission of State Government before he authorised his financial adviser to bring out a book *From Ruler to Rajpramukh*, the Chief Minister replied that no such permission was necessary. The book contained facts which were known to everybody. Besides, it was meant for circulation in India, and was not to be sent to foreign countries. It was obviously intended to meet the agitation to curtail the compensation that was given to him in lieu of taking over his personal estates by the State Government. 'Perhaps' the mark had been overhit."

Film Industry and Finance

In an interview with the representative of the *Hindu* in Madras on July 10, Dr. B. V. Kesar, Minister for Information and Broadcasting said that though the organisation of a Film Finance Corporation was no doubt very important, the problem was one of finding money for starting such a corporation. The Government was not in a position to provide the necessary finance; however, they were thinking over the matter and considering whether it was possible to get money from somewhere for such a corporation.

Music Policy of 'All-India' Radio

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Sri B. V. Kesar, had recently introduced measures banning the relay of film music which was said to corrupt the people's tastes; and auditioning of artistes throughout the country and categorizing them, so as to improve the quality of the classical music from A.I.R. Discussing these measures in an article in the *Vigil* of July 18, Sri C. P. Wadehra writes: "The mark has been missed in both." The first had anta-

gonized the listening public and the second had resulted in extreme apathy, and even positive hostility on the part of the artistes who were the main prop of the A.I.R.'s programmes.

Sri Wadehra writes that there was certainly no denying the fact that certain film songs had a very undesirable effect on the people. But for all that it was wrong to brand all film music as falling in such category. All film music was not "vulgar." On the contrary, the connoisseurs of classical music would admit that certain musical forms, such as, *thumri*, *dadra*, *ghazal*, *kajri* and *ghaiti* were invariably woven round the so-called "vulgar" themes. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that very often film songs acted as an aid to the masses for an appreciation of classical music itself.

But the All-India Radio refused to recognise the beauties and subtleties of film music. According to Sri Wadehra, the proper thing for them to do would be to "pluck out the string of vulgarity and cheapness from film music and let the rest take care of itself. It should not throw the baby along with the bath water."

Criticizing the measure of auditioning of artistes Sri Wadehra writes that it "has hitherto done more harm than good." The selection of the personnel for the jury was not happy. With the exception of Rattanjankar and Patwardhan, none of the others were "better than non-conversant listeners. It is hard to see on what criterion Mr. H. N. Haksar, Proprietor of Pandit Bros., New Delhi, has been included in the committee." Besides, it was hardly possible to judge the abilities of an artiste by a single performance. Hazards of mood, instrumental accompaniment and audition consciousness might intervene to spoil his performance. Moreover, in many cases the judges had no idea of the artistes broadcasting from stations other than that lying in their region. Therefore, the writer suggests that an official of the local A.I.R., should be on the jury to advise the jury in all such cases.

There were instances of misjudgements due to partiality and prejudice of the judges. He lists several such instances. One of the instances he cites related to Ustad Chand Khan who had refused to broadcast from the A.I.R. as he was shabbily treated by the jury. Sri Wadehra writes: "While the jury thought lightly of this venerable artiste, the A.I.R. insisted upon his broadcasting in the National programme on June 27. A violinist from Bombay who was given "C" class was re-auditioned at the instance of the authorities and the same jury declared him as a musician of the highest merit."

The writer alleges that the power of exempting certain artistes from the audition tests had not been properly used by the jury "whose members invariably exempted their own friends and *chelas*, but subjected

even eminent musicians to the test." He continues: "And as far as the North is concerned, it is the 'Bhatkaude Group' that is in power and it favours at various A.I.R. stations only its own men."

Concluding he writes that while auditioning as such need not be given up, the authorities should see that no injustice was done to eminent and deserving musicians and nepotism and groupism were not allowed to have free play.

We ourselves are very pessimistic about the functioning of the A.I.R. The *Vigil* has put emphasis on one aspect of the A.I.R. programmes. Similar criticism might with justification be levelled about many others. Each centre has its local cliques which influence not only the choice of artistes but all matters where money and patronage are concerned. Even the local committees usually have a large number of totally unfit persons, incapable of either preventing the deterioration of the programmes or of suggesting alternatives. But then such is the condition of all Government departments, inefficiency, corruption and nepotism being rampant. In the A.I.R., there are further some even viler factors.

Library Movement in India

Sri Giriya Kumar wrote in the *Vigil* that the library movement was a powerful social agency for universal social education. The name 'library movement' was somewhat misleading in Indian context because it had hardly touched the fringe of any section of the mass of people in our country. This limitation of its growth was due to illiteracy, absence of library legislation, poverty and limited influence of democratic ideas.

The first landmark in the growth of the library movement, according to the writer, "was the establishment of a free State-aided library system throughout Baroda State forty years ago." At the unofficial level the contribution of Madras was unique. The Madras Library Association founded in 1928 launched a systematic campaign for the passing of a library legislation which was partially successful when in 1949 the Madras Public Libraries Act, 1948, the first of its kind in India came into force. Though the Act had some inherent defects and its implementation was rather slow, it was very much welcome as a first measure of legislative enactment. The efforts of Dr. S. R. Ranganathan were also a great contribution towards the growth of the movement.

In the opinion of the writer, the National Library, Calcutta, did not perform any of the functions of a national library. He suggests a central enactment with the following provisions: "(1) To watch the progress of library development, (2) Persuade States to set up a comprehensive library system, (3) Establish the National Central Library, and (4) Make library finance statutory as for other essential services."

The Palm Gur Industry in Madras

The *Hindu* writes that Madras was the leading producer of palm-gur. The industry had received an impetus with the introduction of prohibition in some of the States. Figures relating to the industry showed that in 1952 more than two thousand jaggery manufacturing co-operative societies in Madras had a membership of more than a lakh and a half and the annual production was twenty-two and a half lakhs of maunds of jaggery, valued at about Rs. 78.1 lakhs. Madras had made efforts to increase output and improve the quality.

The newspaper continues that though palm-gur was claimed to be more healthy, people preferred to use white sugar. In the opinion of the newspaper, therefore, "what seems required urgently is the widespread introduction of cheap but effective method of manufacture of gur in attractive and clean forms and the marketing of the product in a manner which would increase the number of consumers."

The price of sugar being what it is, there should be no difficulty in disposing of the gur if the price is as low as indicated in the valuation above. If the gur be *clean and fairly dry*, both of which qualities being easily attainable, and is kept out of the black market, then that could be a real source of income to a host of tappers. Gur cannot be used in tea or coffee because of its strong flavour, but it can be consumed in many different forms of sweets, comestibles and dishes. Some cheap literature on that could be distributed through ration-shops, where they exist, and the Government might buy and sell the clean product for a while, just to encourage the better type of producers. The cottage industries department should take it up, without increasing the price unreasonably, as they do in almost every case.

Checking Expansion of Rajasthan Desert

The *Bombay Chronicle* of June 19 reports that much headway could not be made with the scheme for the immobilisation of the Rajasthan desert which was expanding insidiously. Mr. Mahendra Prakash, Senior Officer of the Research Station at Jodhpur, said that the slow progress in afforestation and land reclamation was due to the high cost of operations.

Mr. Chaturvedi's plan to immobilise the desert envisaged the establishment of a Desert Afforestation Research Station at Jodhpur which would study the sylviculture of various species growing already in the desert; possibility of the introduction of exotic species of trees from other countries; hydrological conditions by collection of water level data of wells; rainfall; and wind velocities at selected points.

The Desert Station would also maintain a large seed store for the free distribution of seeds of various species, carefully cleaned and packed, to be sown broadcast at the break of rains. In addition, the Officer-in-Charge of the Station was to arrange for demonstration of desert control methods by organising the creation of cases of vegetation around Raja-

sthan Armed Constabulary Posts; Railway Stations, Police Stations; Tehsils and Schools; creating a fifty-mile wide forest belt extending over 400 miles to withstand the onslaught of blown sands from Sind, the belt to be located about five miles inwards of the western border of Rajasthan and completed in ten years; establishing shelter belts along selected roads and railway lines running transversely to the direction of winds.

The pressing need of Rajasthan at present, the newspaper adds, was to increase the proportion of the area under forest which was now only 10 per cent of the total area. The desert region had, however, only less than 1 per cent under forest.

Crisis in the Uttar Pradesh P.S.P.

The People writes :

"The crisis of confidence that occurred at the Betul Conference of the Praja-Socialist Party is having serious repercussions in the PSP ranks in U.P.—as must be the case elsewhere. . . . The crisis of Betul has a long past. The U.P. Socialist Party is familiar with such crises for quite some time and has not been able to resolve them in spite of Kripalani's meandering into Marxism and Lohia's surface sympathy for Sarvodaya."

The first collision between the leadership and the rank and file of the U.P. Socialist Party occurred at the Muzaffarnagar Conference in 1949 when the leadership suffered a reverse as its nominees lost in the battle of ballots over the election of the new executive. At the following conference at Azamgarh, Sri Jaiprakash Narain only temporarily succeeded in patching up the differences. The Praja-Socialist merger was another bitter shock to the U.P. Socialists. Even Acharya Narendra Dev did not feel quite happy with it. This was due to the fact that the K.M.P.P. in U.P. consisted of Rightist Congressmen. The recent talks of coalition with the Congress and Government on the top and on a personal level had led to some genuine heart-searching among the Socialists, who were now seriously attempting to reconsider their Socialism.

According to the paper, the chief dilemma facing the Praja-Socialist Party was "one of clearly and definitely defining their ideology when everybody is some sort of a Socialist." In U.P., this predicament was all the more great because the Congress leaders there were old Socialists.

Dr. Lohia's influence was on the wane among the U.P. Socialists, though he carried the day at Betul.

New Horizons in Orissa Politics

Significant news is coming from Orissa Congress circles. *PTI* reports that Sri Harekrishna Mahatab had expressed his desire to resign from the post of Secretary-General of the Congress Parliamentary Party. He was also reported to be in correspondence with the Congress President and the Secretary of the Congress for resigning his membership of Parliament

and the A.I. C.C. He would engage himself in constructive work among the people of Orissa.

The Chief Minister of Orissa, Sri Nabakrishna Chowdhury, is also understood to have expressed his desire to be relieved of the leadership of the Party so that he could devote himself to the Bhoodan movement started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave. It is known that his family members have been opposed to his continuing as Chief Minister for quite a long time, and are now pressing upon him the futility of functioning as a driver of the Congress engine.

Literacy in Bombay Villages

A survey carried out by the State's Bureau of Economics and Statistics in 1951-52 revealed that 17.41 per cent of the rural population of Bombay were literates.

Mr. "Statisticus" analyses the results of the survey in an article in the *Bombay Chronicle* and writes that according to the survey, the proportion of literates was the highest among the age groups 6 to 15. The overall picture of literacy among the young was that 40 per cent of them were literates and 60 per cent still illiterate.

The results of the survey was confirmed by the national census which had recorded a figure of 17 per cent for literacy of the rural population in Bombay. Incidentally, Bombay was the first State in India to introduce free and compulsory education.

The Power Behind Bhoodan

As there are many curious explanations of the nature of Bhoodan movement, we give the following words from Vinobaji's speech at Chandil:

"Many ask me: You seem to have considerable influence with the Government. Why do you not then press them to pass a suitable legislation and thus bring about the distribution of land without compensation? I reply, I do not stand in the way of legislation.

"If, however, this does not satisfy you and you want more from me, I may tell you that whatever the measure of success I may achieve in my work, it will surely facilitate the passing of such legislation. I am creating the atmosphere which will smoothen the way for it.

"But there I must stop. If I go a step further and start repeating that our objective cannot be achieved except through legislation, then it means I have strayed from my duty, the duty imposed on me by the particular path that I have chosen to go. My duty is clear. It demands that without taking recourse to legislation we should be able to bring about a change of heart among the people, so that they may voluntarily distribute land without waiting for the legislation. Is it because of legislation that mothers suckle their children?

"There is then such a power as love in the hearts of men which enriches human life. Man lives on love, he is born through love and through love is he sustained in his life and finally when he makes ready to depart from

here and looks around to catch a sight of his dear ones, it is love which consoles him and strengthens him to start on his unknown journey.

"If in spite of such overwhelming evidence of the power of love on every side, I do not endeavour to enlarge the bounds of this force so as to make it the basis of social life, if instead I merely keep harping on legislation, I fail to discharge my duty and I falsify the hope of the Government. I therefore want to devote myself to the creation of *Jan-Shakti*; the forging of the sanction of enlightened masses—a power which is opposed to the force of violence and different from the authority of the State."

Indians in Kenya

Mr. Peter Evans, the Irish lawyer, who had been deported from Kenya, speaking on July 2, at a dinner given by the Indian National Overseas Congress at the Tajmahal Hotel, Bombay, criticized the Indian leadership in Kenya, reports the *Bombay Chronicle*. Mr. Evans said that the mentality of the Indian leaders was outdated and they were still thinking in terms of 'special rights,' unless the Indian leaders gave up this attitude and were ready to share the lot of the African masses, Mr. Evans warned, they would be "finished as settlers" and would be rejected by the masses of Africans. "The Indian settlers would perhaps even be forced back to India if they alienated the sympathies of the Africans."

"One ray of hope for the Indians," Mr. Evans said, "was the slow but gradual emergence of 'new and younger Indian leadership'. This consisted of young businessmen but mostly of the young professionals—the doctors, teachers, and the lawyers."

Speaking on the same occasion, Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Secretary-General of the Kenyan African Union, said that the Africans looked to the East and India for encouragement in their struggle for national independence. He said he had been overwhelmed at the sincerity of the Indian people for the Africans.

Mr. S. K. Patil, President of Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, endorsed the view of Mr. Evans that Bombay could give a lead in mobilising Indian opinion in the country to bring pressure on the present Indian leadership in Kenya so as to bring about harmony between the views of the Government of India on the subject and the views of the Indian leaders in Kenya itself.

Foreign Agents in Indian Press

The special correspondent of the *People* in New Delhi writes that there was great anxiety in New Delhi over the growing influence of certain foreign agents over some sections of the Indian Press. "These agents," the correspondent writes, "no longer satisfied with merely getting praise for their power bloc, and abuse for their enemies are attempting to dictate newspaper attitudes even in national affairs." Continuing he writes: "It is learnt on good authority that the new line, which the foreign influenced section

of the press would take now would be one of supporting the Congress and sabotaging Shri Nehru on the international front."

This new strategy for the purchased press had been devised after the debacle that certain foreign influenced papers had faced in becoming blatantly anti-Nehru and anti-Congress.

The correspondent notes that since the efforts of the American newspaper *Tycoon Margulies* to buy up or start newspapers in India were rebuffed by the Indian press and public foreign agents had succeeded in employing some Indian newspapers and even newspapermen to serve their ends. He refers to the fact that "newspapers that have recently grown prosperous by merely changing their content and tone without any increase in their circulation or advertisement revenues are numerous." The recent session of the Federation of Indian journalists is said to have also drawn the attention of all concerned to this aspect.

This is a most curious statement and evidently refers to papers in Delhi or New Delhi. But is that all the reason behind criticisms of Pandit Nehru?

Krishna Menon Defence Minister?

The *Hitavada*, July 13, reports that Sri V. K. Krishna Menon was likely to be included in the Cabinet as Minister of Defence. He might also replace Sri Charu Chandra Biswas as the leader of the House in the Council of States. Sri Menon had already been elected to the Council of States in the vacancy caused by the death of Sri Gopalaswamy Iyengar.

Earlier on July 3, the *Bombay Chronicle*, quoting the *U.P.I.*, had also predicted an imminent change in the Cabinet and a reshuffling of the portfolios. The possibility of Sri Menon's joining the Cabinet was also stressed. It was stated further that some members of the present Ministry might quit. The portfolios listed as likely to change hands as a result of the re-shuffle included Food and Agriculture, Railways and Transport, Home Affairs and Planning.

As the Ministry stands today, it matters little as to what changes are made in the personnel of the Cabinet. Sri Krishna Menon may be given any portfolio without causing any deterioration or improvement regarding the efficiency of that august and effete body. Pandit Nehru has a unique system in choosing his colleagues. The common citizen has less than little to say about that, having given him the supreme authority. The bye-elections that are now taking place provide some index about the esteem with which the general public regard the methods of our tin-gods.

Abroad also our stock is sinking because of Pandit Nehru's wobbling methods and incongruities. The contemptuous statement of Dr. Syngman Rhee is only a straw in the wind.

If we had a choice, we would have preferred to put a poet of standing, like Sri Suryakanta Tripathi "Nirala" in charge of defence—since "offense" is

anathema. His poems would have cheered the troops and melted the hearts of our enemies. Nothing further could be done by any Minister while Pandit Nehru held the reins.

Portuguese Possessions in India

Dr. Antonio Salazar, the Prime Minister of Portugal, declared in Lisbon on July 12 that Portugal would not negotiate for the transfer of a fraction of her possessions in India either with or without a plebiscite. Apparently Portugal's constitutional obligations and her debt to the people of Portuguese India stood in the way.

Commenting on the statement Mr. Peter Alvarez, Vice-President of the National Congress of Goa, said that the statement did not come as a surprise as it was quite in keeping with Portugal's imperialist tradition. Dr. Malan had assured Belgium, France and Portugal of his support for their territorial possessions in Africa because of their common purpose to 'stabilise and civilize that country.' Mr. Alvarez said that Dr. Salazar's statement was an extension of Dr. Malan's principle to Indian territory.

Mr. Alvarez said that during September the Action Committee of the peoples in foreign possessions in India would draw up their plans for a co-ordinated movement for liberating the people of Goa and Pondicherry from Portuguese and French rule.

Mr. George Vaz, the General Secretary of the Goan People's Party, said that Dr. Salazar was being backed by the imperialist powers, the U.S.A. and Britain, who were under treaty obligations to come to Portugal's aid, should India decide to take direct action to end the foreign pockets in Free India.

Mr. Vaz said that the Mutual Assistance Pact signed between Portugal and America in 1951 by which Portugal would use such money and armaments as necessary to defend her imperial possessions in India and elsewhere, must be considered as hostile to India.

In reality it is the vacillations of our own Cæsars and Pro-Consuls that have brought us to this low rank in the Comity of nations. If their spinal cords could be stiffened, all else would vanish.

Developments in Nepal

Referring to the formation of a care-taker government under Sri Matrika Prasad Koirala, leader of the newly-formed National Democratic Party, the special correspondent of the *Leader* at Kathmandu writes that the King's proclamation terminating the counsellors' regime and establishing a popular ministry indicated the King's sincerity for democratic ideals. He reproaches the other political parties for not joining the Cabinet and praises Sri M. P. Koirala's action in accepting the King's invitation to head the new government.

Referring to the charges of the Nepal Congress under Mr. B. P. Koirala that the ministry was undemocratic and a product of conspiracy and palace

intrigue, the correspondent writes that nothing was "further from truth and nothing could be meaner, because the Nepali Congress till the eleventh hour were themselves striving to join the same ministry with the same leader."

The correspondent adds that the present Premier, Sri M. P. Koirala, was trying to expand his Cabinet, the sanction for which had been accorded to him by the King, but all his efforts to rope in some well-known political leaders and independents had so far been infructuous. The Premier was reported to be willing to accord parity in the government to the Nepali Congress. But the Working Committee of the National Democratic Party feared that if any such opportunity was extended to Sri B. P. Koirala, he was certain to delve into group politics and make it difficult for the ministry to work as a team which was so essential for its success.

The diplomatic correspondent of the *People*, however, has a different story to tell about the same happenings. He invites the attention of all Indians to the growing anti-Indian feeling in Nepal which was being whipped up by Nepalese undesirables and foreign agents. This anti-Indianism came to the fore during the reception given to Tensing Norkey by the people of Kathmandu. The correspondent writes: "How the Indian pressmen were abducted and maltreated is a well-known tale, but it is not known that even the Indian Ambassador had difficulty to get access through the crowds and reach his seat at the reception." According to him, the Indian advisers in Nepal, partly contributed to this anti-Indian feeling. The advisers had been in Nepal for over two years to advise the Government of Nepal on political and financial matters. But, nothing seemed to have been done so far.

The correspondent writes: "Everybody in Nepal believes that certain foreign agents operating through one of King's closest friends, who owns big business in India, are exercising their sinister influence over the King."

These agents were allied to the ex-Ranas and the Gorkha Parishad. But since it was very difficult to push through to power such a discredited and communalist body as the Gorkha Parishad, those foreign agents wanted "continued chaos in Nepal, so that at a future date it may become another Korea or Kashmir giving free play to international intrigues." Those agents were, therefore, sabotaging by all means any effort for a rapprochement between the Koirala brothers.

The correspondent further writes that "some months ago there was a missionary influx into Nepal to the extent that even the Government of Nepal were alarmed. But since some of the King's closest advisers are agents of that foreign power they hushed up the whole episode."

Referring to the formation of the Ministry, the

diplomatic correspondent writes that the "Cabinet was formed in a conspiratorial manner which, perhaps, came as a surprise even to the Indian Ambassador, who as the reliable reports go, was informed only two hours before the swearing in ceremony.

"Besides two men, Dr. D. R. Regmi and Mr. Tanak Prasad were invited to join the Cabinet only two hours before the swearing in ceremony and naturally both of them refused. Even the King's councillors did not know of it in advance."

Meanwhile, rumblings of revolt were now audible in Nepal. A *PTI* despatch from Kathmandu on July 11 said that the Governor of Dailekh, Nepal's western area, had fled to Nepalganj, on the Nepal-Uttar Pradesh border, following unrest in his province. The insurgents were reported to be led by Sri Bhimdu Pande, the Communist leader. *PTI* correspondent in Bareilly reported on July 21 that the rebels were retreating after their first engagement on the 19th with the Uttar Pradesh Armed Constabulary lent by the Government of India and operating under the joint Indo-Nepalese command. Two Communist rebels were reported to have been killed and over 50 injured while 276 insurgents including their 28 leaders were captured. The correspondent of the *Leader* at Bareilly reports that the Commander-in-Chief of Nepalese armed forces who had earlier visited Lucknow reached Dudwa, base of operations near the Indian border on the 19th July and held consultations with the Indian officials who readily accorded their permission for transit of Nepalese armed forces which were being rushed through the Indian territory for putting down the insurgents.

A *PTI* despatch from Kathmandu on July 26 states that the Prime Minister, Sri M. P. Koirala, said that the Government had no concrete evidence so far whether the Communist Party or any other political party had inspired the activities of Sri Bhimdu Pande, who was stated to be a follower of Dr. K. I. Singh, Nepalese rebel leader now in Tibet.

No clear picture can be materialised out of this chaotic nebula. But one thing is clear. And that is we are going to be befooled again, thanks to our Foreign Minister's wonderful choice of men and bumbling methods.

U.S. Interference in Kashmir

The *Leader* in an editorial on July 19 writes that though it could not agree with those who said that India had committed a mistake by referring the Kashmir question to the Security Council, it had to be said with regret that the Western Powers had misused their influence both inside and outside the Security Council in regard to the question of Kashmir. Even after six years the U.N. had failed to brand Pakistan as aggressor though it took them only a few hours to do so in the case of Korea. The difference of U.N. attitude in the two cases confirmed the Soviet allegations that the United States and Great Britain had been

sabotaging a solution of the Kashmir problem.

The only positive course of action suggested by the Anglo-American bloc was a plebiscite in Kashmir supervised by foreign troops. "If this resolution had been implemented," the paper goes on to say, "soldiers from Britain and America would have taken possession of Kashmir, the present Kashmir Government would have been superseded and either an American or a British soldier would have been appointed dictator in Kashmir." India had wisely opposed this solution.

But, the editorial continued, foreign interference was still continuing and Pandit Nehru's recent protest was therefore quite welcome. The editorial refers to certain suggestions put forward by the American press which, if implemented, would lead to a Balkanisation of Kashmir. The American formula provided for the incorporation of so-called Azad Kashmir in Pakistan, the accession of Jammu to India, the conferment on the Kashmir Valley of the status of an independent State and no plebiscite. "This solution," says the paper, "cannot be acceptable to the people of Kashmir and India because it is not a just solution. Whereas they wanted that the United Nations should take steps to put an end to Pakistani aggression, the arrangement suggested will enable Pakistan to a considerable extent to gather the fruits of her aggression. As for the offer of independence to the Valley, it is device to create a split between India and Kashmir . . ."

In this connection we have to take into consideration the attitude of Sheikh Abdullah, who has been set firmly on his feet by Pandit Nehru and has been able to make a catspaw of the Indian Union for his own personal ambitions and interests, thanks to the inhibitions of Pandit Nehru regarding the communal bogey. Pandit Nehru's 'trusty' advisers have helped Sheikh Abdullah very considerably, though in an indirect fashion. As a result today we stand to lose either way, after having poured out blood and treasure in torrents to save the people of Kashmir from aggression. It is apparent to all but the Sheikh that no part of Kashmir can exist as a fully sovereign and independent State for any length of time, but that does not help in this crazy world.

East Berlin General Strikes

Those of us that have observed at first hand the unrest in Calcutta during the last one month will read the following account, taken from the *Newsweek* of New York for June 29, of the East Berlin strikes. Of course, the latter were on a far greater scale, the causes being infinitely graver. The totalitarian methods of combatting the uprising are also instructive.

"The stone proved mightier than the sword last week. True, the Russians crushed with tanks and guns the mass rebellion of the workers of East Berlin. But the final victory belonged to these Germans. The men and boys hurling stones at tanks, burning Red flags, and attacking the Red Police demonstrated that

force alone was not enough to break the human spirit. And they were able to fight the good fight in a showcase along the dividing line between West and East Berlin, where their heroism could stimulate the entire free world. For two days they showed the West how weak its enemy was and how strong it was—if it had the courage to use that strength.

• The Spark : On Tuesday morning, June 16, in East Berlin, construction workers reported on the job as usual at the massive model housing project along the stretch of Stalinallee. But about 9 o'clock, the clatter of construction stilled as workers by thousands downed tools. Some bare to the waist, some in white smocks and paper caps or the carpenter's traditional black velvet, they began to march up the newly broadened showpiece avenue behind a blue banner. Originally it had boasted : "Block 40 fights proudly for socialism !" Now the cloth had been turned back to front and upside-down and painted with a new rallying cry : "We demand a lowering of the work norm!"

Ostensibly the workers were protesting a new order increasing work-quotas by 10 per cent without raising pay. But as they headed for Leipzigerstrasse, seat of the principal offices of the puppet Red government, their chorus of shouts came from more deeply seated grievances : "We don't want to be slaves ! We want free elections ! Down with the People's Army ! Down with the government !"

The swelling procession halted noisily in front of the gray building which once housed Goering's Air Ministry. "Bring out [Premier] Grotewohl !" "You've had your turn—now it's our turn !" Fritz Sellman, heavy industry chief, at last vented out, "Fellow workers—" Instantly a great chorus of "You're no worker !" drowned out his voice. A tall bricklayer leaped up beside him, denounced the regime, and called for a general protest strike.

At 2 o'clock, the outdoor loudspeakers announced that the work-quota order had been revoked. But by now East Berlin was beginning to seethe. The Communist banners and posters that almost cover the drab walls of East Berlin were yanked down. Laborers attacked and scattered blue-shirted youth groups. Angry street-corner gatherings shouted down Red agents arguing against demonstrations. A Russian armored division began moving into the city.

The Blast : Wednesday, June 17, began with rain. It didn't stop the East Berliners from massing in the streets and the squares. The general strike was on ; even subway and streetcar service halted. From the suburbs and as far as the huge state steel plant at Hennigsdorf, 12 miles distant, thousands of grim East Germans converged on downtown East Berlin.

They found every important government and party building ringed with black lines of *Volkspolizei*, backed by Russian tanks and troops. A huge mob gathered on the parade ground of Marx-Engels Platz to burn posters and demand free elections. Youths climbed the bullet-

scarred Brandenburg Gate, hauled down the huge Red flag raised over it by the Red Army, and burned it—with Russian soldiers looking on from one side and a West Berlin throng from the other.

As the fever of rebellion mounted, Deputy Premier Otto Nuschke, fat, bearded, and 70, was trapped by a mob and handed over to West Berlin authorities like a prisoner of war (they returned him two day later).

Russian infantrymen advancing with fixed bayonets stopped an attack on the Politburo office, but an assault on *Volkspolizei* headquarters was only driven off when shots were fired into the crowd. By early afternoon the Soviet military commander in Berlin had proclaimed martial law and Soviet tanks were trying to clear the embattled streets. Machine-gun fire crackled and demonstrators dropped. Enraged, the rioters rained stones against the advancing tanks and forced them to close hatches ; men leaped on their decks and struggled to break off the radio aerials.

In spite of a curfew and the arrival of a new Soviet tank division, the violence continued on Wednesday night. By next day, the East-West Berlin border was closed tight and mass arrests were under way. A firing squad executed the first alleged "foreign agent provocateur"—Willi Gottling, a 35-year-old jobless West Berlin painter with a wife and two small daughters.

The Berlin general strike spread into an East German revolt. Flames swept the huge Leuna synthetic-gasoline refinery at Halle. Mines, docks, factories, and rail routes throughout the zone were out of service as the rioting spread. At the end of the week much of East Germany was under martial law. No-one knew how many had died.

The Shock Waves : In West Germany, flags flew at half staff everywhere in mourning for the victims of Soviet repression. West Berliners stormed and wrecked the Communist headquarters in their sector. Mayor Ernst Reuter of West Berlin called the events "a full revolution and the beginning of the end of the East Berlin regime." The allied military commandants in Berlin protested the execution of Willi Gottling as a "travesty of justice" and appealed to the Russians to stop shooting : "Enough blood has flowed."

Unrest in Czechoslovakia

Not even the Red regime in Prague could conceal last week the impact of its drastic economic decrees of May 30. Copies of the Pilsen Communist organ *Pravda*, filtering across the Iron Curtain into Vienna, admitted that a "counterrevolutionary putsch" had been staged in protest in that arms-making city. By the Reds' own stories, machinery at the huge Lenin (formerly Skoda) works in Pilsen was destroyed and the City Hall archives were burned. Photos of Stalin and Klement Gottwald, late Czech President, were "publicly trod underfoot"; the Soviet flag was "disgraced" and an American flag was waved. But in the end, the Pilsen *Pravda* reported, "this gang of rioters" was "liquidated."

Exit Beria

The fall of Lavrenti Pavlovich Beria, deputy premier of the Soviet Union and No. 2 of the Triumvirate, is another more proof that the basis of the Soviet regime is the government by elimination. Over the fate of Beria revolve much guesswork and speculation since the drama has been played behind the closed doors of the Kremlin. The blow struck at the policeman-in-chief is really directed at the whole policy of reform and concessions that followed since Stalin's death. During the first hundred days or so after Stalin, Soviet policy reflected a coherent picture. The new regime was beginning to eliminate the worse features of Stalinism at home and was determined to take a more conciliatory attitude towards the West. The stage thus seemed to be dominated by reformers and conciliators—but the followers of Stalinism that were bred in toughness seemed lost and bewildered. After the Berlin rising the Stalinists raised their heads again.

It is now clear that the form taken by the campaign against Beria marks a return to Stalinism at its worst. When a man who has served his country for the whole of his adult life is described as a "bourgeois renegade," a "hireling of foreign imperialism," and an "enemy of the people," and when mass vituperation against him is staged throughout the country, Russia seems to be rattling back to the day of the notorious thirties. At least this is not the way of liberal reform. Further, it is significant that throughout the indictment of Beria reference is made to intensified infiltration by foreign agents, and stress has been given on increased vigilance. This was the main refrain of the campaign that was going on before Stalin's death and this reached the climax with the doctors' plot. It suddenly stopped on the morrow of Stalin's death when Beria assumed direct control of home affairs and internal security. The line of policy was reversed. During Beria's hundred days the crucial point was that the grip of the police was not tightened but relaxed. An amnesty was proclaimed and the constitutional rights of the citizen were emphasised. The "criminal" Jewish doctors were set free. Their accusers from the security services were arrested for having extracted information by "unconstitutional means." The self-confidence of the totalitarian policemen was being sapped. Beria's move was towards a freer democracy based on popular support secured not by threats but by consent. But Stalinism dies hard, although the Master is dead and Beria had to follow the fate of his predecessors, Yagoda and Yezhov.

The sequel to Beria's move was played out first in his native Georgia and then in all the other republics of the Soviet Russia. The "tough" directors of the purge, recently appointed who had been thriving on the vigilance campaign, were dismissed. Their victims were rehabilitated and charges of "nationalism" against them were exploded. In the process the whole Moscow policy of Russification was discredited and several of its exponents were eliminated. This is now being described by Beria's accusers as his attempt to excite "bourgeois

nationalist" elements as a prelude to a restoration of capitalism. The charges of "capitulation" to foreign imperialism is indirectly a condemnation not only of the internal policy followed in recent months after Stalin's death, but also the new approach towards the West and of reforms within the Soviet sphere as well. The Berlin and East German revolts played an important part in discrediting Beria's policy of conciliation. It was only after Berlin (June 17th) the signs of a comeback of the Stalinist diehards could be visible. The cult of the dead Master was partly revived and the very reporting of Berlin events, with its emphasis on the part played by "foreign agents" smacked of Stalinism. The partisans of "toughness" raised the plea that a switch from the iron hand of a General Chuikov to the velvet glove of a Mr. Semeonov would lead to the disintegration of the Soviet State, without any compensating gains.

The exit of Beria may not necessarily bring a reversal in the Soviet foreign policy in the immediate future, nor a sharp change in the treatment of Eastern Europe is expected. It is however said that the Berlin riots and their repercussions were not the only causes of the set-back of the conciliators. The growing economic difficulties in Russia are also responsible to a certain extent for the downfall of Beria. The new regime on assumption of power promised a more plentiful supply of consumer goods, hoping to obtain it partly through cuts in the production of other things and partly through increased production. The move towards liberalisation at home seems to have resulted in reduced supply of foodstuffs and a relaxation of factory discipline.

Regarding Beria's downfall there is another interpretation that this is the result of a struggle for power between rivals and this indicates a personal victory for Malenkov. It should however be remembered that a personality rises to power only as a representative of groups, of social trends and political forces. And moreover, the stress in the indictment on the need for collective—not individual—leadership strengthens the view that Beria's fall does not indicate Malenkov's climb to supreme power, but is rather a concession extracted from Malenkov by Russia's tough men for keeping him in power. It is however not easy to say who are these tough men that control the destiny of the nation from behind the curtain. One thing is certain and it is that the army, whatever role it played in the struggle, emerges as the principal beneficiary in the present political turmoil. Internecine struggle among civilians has strengthened its hands, while a return to vigilance and the glorification of the army opens the door to Bonapartism. Malenkov's is a very difficult job and it is confirmed that he does not lean too heavily on the victors over Beria.

The Stalinist policy towards national minorities was discarded by the new regime and there was signs of liberalisation in the treatment of minorities. The problem of minorities is a vital one for the Soviet Union, as there roughly half the total population is non-Russian. The economic development of the country, which brought

about a growth of non-Russian intelligentsia, has rendered the nationalist question still more acute. Stalin's successors thought that the Soviet Union could be cemented better by a more conciliatory method. During the very short period of the united regime, the Russifiers were in disgrace, and the "nationalist culprits" of Georgia, Ukraine or the Baltic States rehabilitated. Soviet propaganda always moves between the two poles of "co-existence with capitalism" and "imperialist encirclement." The possibility of the former and the risk of the latter are never completely dismissed and either one or the other is being played up at different times. When "co-existence" dominates the stage, relaxation, concessions and reform are advocated. But when emphasis is laid on "encirclement," appeals are made to vigilance and toughness, particularly in the vulnerable outposts. Just before Stalin's death warnings against "encirclement" became louder than propaganda about "co-existence." During the following hundred days after Stalin's death the line was reversed. A milder policy towards the minorities was advocated by Stalin's successors as part and parcel of a general campaign of relaxation. Now it is discarded and the cry of "encirclement" is being revived. *Pravda* recently warned: "To think that the capitalist world can look with equanimity upon our economic successes, successes which infect the working class of the whole world with the spirit of revolution is to indulge in illusions." The blame for the departure from the Stalinist policy of Russification is now being put on Beria who is being accused of "having tried to sow discord among the people of the USSR and to foster the bourgeois nationalist elements in the republics."

Changing Lights in the U.S.S.R.

During March many changes came out of Moscow. Communist organs throughout the world began to stress the possibility of "peaceful co-existence." Malenkov declared that no issues existed between Russia and other countries that could not be settled by peaceful means, specifically mentioning the United States. In the U.S., Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin contradicted press reports and said that West German goods passing through the Soviet Zone were receiving little interference and were not stolen, as so often stated. The Russians opened the Rothensee Canal in Berlin, connecting the city with Ruhr industries. Soviet radio broadcasters emphasized American help in winning the war against Hitler. Russian delegates to the European Economic Commission ceased recriminations and worked harmoniously. In the U.N., Russia voted with the U.S. to choose Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary General.

April brought more surprises. Where Soviet sailors had been punished for fraternizing with citizens of countries at ports of call, they were permitted to visit Paris and praise its beauty. U.S. editors were lavishly dined at Moscow and given freedom to look around. Secretary of State Dulles remarked: "Nothing that has happened, or which seems to me likely to happen, has

changed the basic situation of danger in which we stand." At Moscow, the accused doctors were freed, and those who charged them with murdering high officials were arrested, instead. At the American Embassy in Moscow, a group of high Russians attended a party and made themselves agreeable. At the Finnish legation, Molotov mingled with Western diplomats in an easy and friendly fashion. At the U.N. Soviet spokesmen drastically modified their germ warfare charges and their insistence on pressing them. Soviet censorship in Russia was markedly liberalized. *Pravda* asserted that no longer would one-man rule be tolerated, but would be supplanted by group decisions. President Eisenhower's peace speech was published fully and promptly, and the U.S.S.R. gave an immediate and optimistic, if firm, reply. Even the *New York Herald Tribune* declared: "Russia is receptive."

Meanwhile, Chou En-lai in Red China had indicated a willingness to re-open truce talks, and if he proved intransigent later, it could not be said that the U.S. negotiators were entirely flexible or conspicuously bent on speedy accomplishment. As May went on, Hungary concluded an agreement over the long-disputed Danube shipping, and Rumania did the same with Yugoslavia. Washington newsmen found the Russian Embassy willing to answer their letters of inquiry. Western military men going through the Soviet Zone of Berlin were no longer shadowed. Terms of abuse previously used to blackguard the West by East German speakers were banned. At Moscow, however, Marshal Nikoli Bulganin said that Russia wants peace, but must continue to arm until tension ends—thereby taking the words out of the mouths of some dozens of speakers in and out of the U.S. Congress. Finally, on May 16, William Oatis was freed from his Czechoslovak prison.

Soviet-French Trade and Payments Agreement

Tass reports that as a result of the conference for the development of trade between the East and the West convened by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe last April in Geneva, Soviet-French trade negotiations were opened in Paris on June 6, 1953 and culminated in the signing of a trade agreement and payments agreement on July 13.

These agreements were concluded on the basis of the September 3, 1951 agreement for regulating trade between the U.S.S.R. and France. The trade agreement would run for three years and deliveries by each side during the first year would approximate 12,000 million francs.

The U.S.S.R. would export to France, corn, anthracite, coal pitch, chromium ore, manganese ore, asbestos, oil, furs and other goods in exchange for which France would deliver to the Soviet Union, among other things, rayon yarn and fabrics, woollen, cocoa beans, citrus fruits, lead and essential oils. France would also build for the Soviet Union cargo ships of a 5,000-ton

carrying capacity, hoisting and transport equipment and steam boilers, this equipment to be delivered during the second and third years of the operation of this agreement.

Under the payments agreement, accounts for mutual deliveries were to be settled in French francs.

The Other Side of the Medal

In view of many contradictory phases of world events, the following remarks, taken from the *Worldover Press* of June 12, are interesting:

"Stubborn inflexibility may be a virtue at rare intervals in human affairs, but in the complex area of world relations, it is becoming one of the biggest nuisances with which intelligent people have to contend. Totalitarianism is not only a theory of government, it is a state of mind, and nothing in our time is more conspicuously impeding progress. All over the globe we are hampered by this bumptious attitude, so like that of the proverbial (and universally hated) sandlot baseball youngster whose method of coercion is: 'If I can't bat when I want to, I'll take my bat home.'

Syngman Rhee was only the latest stuffed shirt in the Korean mess to lay down his own law to the world. All through the protracted truce negotiations, the Communists have been proudly hard-boiled, and at many times the U.N. negotiators, meaning those from the United States, have been a close second. It remained for Rhee, in collaboration with Senator Taft, Senator Knowland, and the Washington coterie who have so often talked glibly of widening out the war, almost to break up the hope of a truce at the most crucial stage.

Over in Europe, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, desperately fearful lest German rearmament fails to go through, thus frustrating his desire for greater power, has begged President Eisenhower not to enter into any direct negotiations with the Russians. Knowing rearmament is still unpopular with millions of his countrymen, apprehensive of the Social Democrats' strength, he is out to convince the world that German unity can't be had without German remilitarization. The truth is just the other way around. Adenauer and his friends would prefer a national army, but knowing they can't have it, they are stubbornly plugging for a big share in the European Defense Community—a share they will try to make bigger and bigger at every opportunity. Everything, even a possible settlement of the cold war, must to bent around to fit the Chancellor's internal program.

As usual, the more insistent each so-called statesman is about having his own way, the more he relies on the menace of Communism to justify what otherwise would often be laughed at as fantastic. No one who follows this column could say it has been remiss in warning of Communism's real dangers; but Communism is not the sole and exclusive threat to freedom. Sometimes you wonder what would happen if there were no Communism to use as a justification for everything men want and couldn't hope to get without it. Around Washington a

quarter of a century ago, the Big Navy boys used to say they needed a mammoth navy to protect the Philippines; it was often whispered sardonically that in reality, the Philippines were necessary to save the navy. Whether or not that was true, it is true today that without Communism, many a "leader" would be left without an idea to his name. Look at Mossadegh, who is suffered because he seems to be the best bet against Communism.

Fortunately for such people, the Communists themselves can be counted on to give an assist whenever sanity is likely to break through. On 258 separate occasions, the West has tried to get Soviet agreement to an Austrian peace treaty. Now Russia backs away again, leaving open some devious diplomatic channels, but shunning any decisive top-level conference. As if it had suddenly found itself so amiable as to be alarming, the Kremlin had to show that it could be "firm" and like a veritable rock. The Communists have long been masters at the art of embedding themselves in a stony petrification. But alas, they haven't been alone.

Few people would advocate letting China into the U.N. while it is still a belligerent in Korea, but to tie the President's hands, and those of the American people (not to mention the entire U.N.) is nothing less than an act of political sabotage. How unrealistic is the old rocklike stubbornness behind this move can be seen when you realize how often the enemies of today become, the allies of tomorrow. Right now it may appear inconceivable; but the day might come when Americans would be as glad to see Red China in the U.N. as it would be at the present time to see the entry of its former enemies, Japan and Italy. In any event, the one characteristic of a sane foreign policy which no government can afford to surrender is flexibility, the right to change as the facts themselves become different."

American Publishers and Book-burning

The American Library Association (21,000 members) and the American Book Publishers Council have come out against the book-burning policy of the Government of the United States under the direction of Senator MacCarthy. In a declaration issued during the first week of July they said: "The freedom to read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack."

The declaration said that books were among the greatest instruments of freedom—the natural medium for the new idea and the untried voice, from which came the original contributions to social growth. They were essential to the extended discussion which serious thought required, and to the accumulation of knowledge and ideas into organized collections. Therefore, it was in the public interest that publishers and libraries should make available the widest diversity of views and expressions including those "which are unorthodox or unpopular with the majority. . . ."

The declaration continued: "It is contrary to public interest for publishers or librarians to determine the acceptability of a book solely on the basis of the

personal history or political affiliations of the author. A book should be judged as a book. No art or literature can flourish if it is to be measured by the political views or private lives of its creators. No society of free men can flourish which draws up lists of writers to whom it will not listen, whatever they may have to say."

It was the duty of the publishers and librarians to contest encroachments upon the freedom to read by individuals or groups seeking to impose their own standards or tastes upon the community. No group had the right to impose its own concepts of politics or morality upon other members of a democratic society.

The declaration added: "We state these propositions neither lightly nor as easy generalizations. We believe that what people read is deeply important; that ideas can be dangerous but that the suppression of ideas is fatal . . . Freedom itself is a dangerous way of life, but it is ours."

With this book-burning, Senator McCarthy has brought the U.S.A. in line with Hitler's Central Europa and Stalin's U.S.S.R.

"Nothing like Leather"

As the prospects for a quick Korean truce improved, the question of the admission of Red China to the United Nations increasingly haunted Anglo-American relations. At the same time Whitehall, presumably prodded by the so-called China Traders' Lobby, stressed anew the importance to Britain of trade with China. Perhaps the explanation lay in the sardonic remark of one influential Briton: "We British have always sold cooking pots to cannibals and there is no reason why we should not continue to do so now."

Story Behind U. S. Wheat Aid to Pakistan

The *Star* of Lahore in its 17th July issue publishes a dispatch from its U.S.A. correspondent, Mr. Munir Ahmad, giving the background story of the United States million-ton wheat aid to Pakistan.

According to Mr. Ahmad, "The decision of President Eisenhower to ask the Congress to make a gift of wheat to Pakistan was apparently based upon the report of Dr. Reed's special mission which pointed out the critical shortage of food supply; and also upon the report of Secretary Dulles in which he stated that the shortage of wheat was a grave and immediate problem for Pakistan and without large imports widespread famine would ensue."

Mr. Ahmad lists the following reasons as prompting the U.S. to come to Pakistan's aid:

Firstly, it fitted into the American policy of "enlightened self-interest" whereby the U.S. Government wished to have friends and allies throughout the world. It was also in keeping with the greater interest evinced by the present administration in Asian affairs.

Secondly, the U.S.A. was facing an unprecedented problem of storing 37 million tons of surplus wheat.

The wheat aid presented her with an opportunity of disposing her stocks, at the same time gaining for her the goodwill of foreign people.

Thirdly, the present Government in Pakistan was more friendly to America than any one before. The correspondent notes that "*especially Prime Minister Mohammed Ali was noted in this country (U.S.A.) for his unqualified support to the West in his speeches. Sometimes he seemed to go a few steps ahead of Karachi in asserting Pakistan's alliance with America.*"

Fourthly, a strong Pakistan would act as a counterpoise to India so far as the balance of power in South-east Asia was concerned; and it would tend to check India's independence of action in the international field.

Fifthly, there was a precedent in the U.S. wheat loan to India.

Sixthly, there was the obvious consideration of the great importance Pakistan had in the Muslim world. This aspect was greatly emphasized by Mr. Dulles in his broadcast to the American people on his tour of the Middle East and South-east Asia.

Lastly, Mr. Ahmad lists a psychological factor. He writes that "so far the best way to get aid from Washington has been to tell Uncle Sam that your country is strongly threatened with Communism; the Communists are increasing in number and unless American aid is rushed to stabilize the crumbling economy, the country would go Red. This approach has worked splendidly well. . . ."

Nurul Amin also to go ?

Pakistani politics seems to be in a flux. After the sudden dismissal of Nazimuddin there was at first a tendency not to accept the new Premier, Mr. Mohammed Ali, but, to quote the *Star*, "overnight a change came and people began to hail him as their 'Messiah'." The plight of the common people, however, had changed very little from the change in the top and retrenchment was still going on in all Government departments and mercantile firms.

Eastern Pakistan also had its share of this political conundrum. On the occasion of the recent visit of Mr. Mohammed Ali to that Province political activity was stepped up and, according to the Chittagong correspondent of the *Star*, ground was being prepared by the Opposition to oust Mr. Nurul Amin from his stewardship of the Province. The correspondent adds:

"East Pakistan's 'Political Robert Bruce' Mohon Mian who has been trying to capture power for the past many years, has not given up all hope. He is still doing his level best to make his men ministers. He had been to Karachi to discuss with Prime Minister Mohammed Ali and to impress on him that the Nurul Ministry has failed to deliver the goods for the common man."

The Dacca correspondent of the paper writes that there was some difference between the Pak Premier's

recent visit to East Pakistan and the previous one. While his first visit was intended to enlist supporters to his regime the latest visit was primarily related to bringing about some order in the chaos within the Muslim League which was torn asunder by a weak and ineffective leadership and by the growth of an opposition party within.

A Second University in East Pakistan

The *Star* reports that a new university had been started in Eastern Pakistan since July 1 by elevating the grade one college at Rajshahi to that status. The university would have jurisdiction over the area known as the Northern Bengal districts of East Pakistan. It was estimated that about seven thousand students would be benefited from the new university.

If this report be correct, then a move in the right direction has been made. No university can function with a large sprawling area within its orbit. The control becomes inefficient and the conflict in interests that follows hampers the actual progress of education. The foundation of the Dacca University was a consequence of the recognition of that fact.

Terms of Reference for Repatriation

The long-awaited truce has come at last, even though it might look uncertain as yet as to its duration. As such the repatriation terms as originally framed are worthy of record.

On June 8, General Nam Il, of the Korean People's Army and General William K. Harrison, United Nations Command Delegation, reached an agreement on the repatriation of the prisoners of war. The agreement provided for a Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission consisting of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and India to "take custody in Korea of those prisoners of war who, while in the custody of the detaining powers, have not exercised their rights to be repatriated." The Commission would have its headquarters in the vicinity of Panmunjon and would be headed by India. India would provide "sufficient armed forces and any other operating personnel required to assist the neutral nations' repatriation commission in carrying out its functions and responsibilities." The representative of India would also function as the umpire in accordance with the provisions of Article 132 of the Geneva Convention. Representatives from each of the other four Powers would be allowed staff assistants in equal number not to exceed 50 each. The arms of all personnel provided by the members of the commission would be limited to "military police type small arms."

No force or threat of force would be used against the prisoners of war to prevent or effect their repatriation. The Commission was to ensure humane treatment to the POW's in accordance with the specific provisions of the Geneva Convention.

All prisoners of war who had "not exercised their

right of repatriation following the effective date of the armistice agreement shall be released from the military control and from the custody of the detaining side as soon as practicable, and, in all cases, within sixty days subsequent to the effective date of the armistice agreement to the neutral nations' repatriation commission at locations in Korea to be designated by the detaining side." The detaining side would withdraw its military forces and the locations would be taken over by Indian troops. But the detaining power would be responsible for maintaining peace and tranquillity in the areas around the locations where the POW's were in custody.

"The neutral nations repatriation commission, after having received and taken into custody all those prisoners of war who have not exercised their right to be repatriated, shall immediately make arrangements so that within 90 days after the neutral nations' repatriation commission takes over the custody, the nations to which the prisoners of war belong shall have freedom and facilities to send representatives to the locations where the prisoners of war are in custody to explain to all the prisoners of war depending upon these nations their rights and to inform them of any matters relating to their return to their homelands, particularly of their full freedom to return home to lead a peaceful life." The number of such explaining representatives was not to exceed seven per thousand prisoners of war held in custody of the Commission and the minimum authorized was not to be less than a total of five. All explanations and interviews were to be conducted in the presence of a representative of each member nation of the Commission and a representative from the detaining power. After 90 days the work of the explaining representatives would cease.

Prisoners of war in the custody of the Commission would be free to communicate with the Commission for which there would be full facilities.

The prisoners of war seeking repatriation were to make an application requesting repatriation to a body consisting of a representative of each member nation of the neutral nations' repatriation commission. The application was to be immediately considered to determine by majority vote the validity of such application and on approval, the POW's concerned "shall be immediately transferred to and accommodated in the tents set up for those who are ready to be repatriated."

After the expiry of 90 days after the transfer of custody of the prisoners of war to the Commission, the question of disposition of the prisoners who had not exercised their right to be repatriated would be submitted to the political conference recommended to be convened in Paragraph 60, Draft Armistice Agreement, which was to endeavour to settle that question within 30 days, during which period the neutral

nations' repatriation Commission would continue to retain custody of those prisoners of war. The Commission was to free all prisoners of war who had not exercised their right to be repatriated and for whom no other disposition had been agreed to by the political conference within 120 days after the neutral nations' repatriation Commission had assumed their custody.

The Commission and the Red Cross Society of India would assist all those prisoners who indicated their willingness to go to a neutral country and after 30 days the Commission would be dissolved. If after the dissolution of the Commission any former POW would want to return to his homeland, the authorities of the country where he was staying would be responsible for assisting him in his repatriation.

Each side was to provide logistical support for the prisoners of war in the area under its military control, delivering required support to the neutral nations' repatriation Commission at an agreed delivery point in the vicinity of each prisoner-of-war installation. Both the contending parties were to be responsible for providing logistical support for the personnel of the Commission stationed in the area under their respective control and contribute on an equal basis to such support within the militarized zone.

After the armistice agreement became effective, the terms of this agreement would be made known to all prisoners of war who, while in the custody of the detaining side, had not exercised their right to be repatriated.

The interpretation of the agreement would rest with the Commission, which, including all its subsidiary bodies, would operate on the basis of a majority vote. The Commission was to submit a weekly report to the opposing commanders on the status of prisoners of war in its custody, indicating the numbers repatriated and remaining at the end of each week.

The agreement would be effective upon the date the armistice came into operation and after all the five powers mentioned had acceded to it.

Rhee's Standpoint

To most of us the actions of Dr. Syngman Rhee appear inexplicable. The following extract, from the *Newsweek* of June 22, might help in clarification.

Rhee and his Cabinet aides declared repeatedly: "A truce on the present terms simply means death to us. . . . Chinese Communist forces should be driven out from our territory even if in so doing we have to fight by ourselves. . . . We cannot survive without achieving unification." In Philadelphia, ROK Ambassador Dr. You Chan Yang accused "officials of the United Nations" of threatening to cut off even food shipments to Korea, "to force us to accept the truce terms." The State Department flatly denied it, and reportedly considered asking that You be called home.

Only once last week did Rhee hint that his mind

could be changed. Answering question submitted by a Swedish newspaperman, he wrote: "I need something concrete to show the people that our security has been guaranteed. . . . If the U.S. Government is ready to conclude a mutual-security pact, it will be a great encouragement to our people—so long as it is not conditioned, as it [now] is, by so perilous an armistice." President Eisenhower had offered to negotiate a defense treaty with South Korea, but only after the armistice had been signed.

As Rhee continued to blast the armistice "sell-out," U.N. officials in the Far East could only shake their heads and wonder: "What makes the old devil so bullheaded?"

One answer: After 60 years of striving for a single goal, at the cost of months of torture, seven years in prison, and 33 years in exile, it was cruelly hard for an old man to give up his dream. Since he was 19 and leader of an "Independence Club" scheming to rid the government of Japanese influence, Rhee has been struggling for a free Korea. When the Japanese tightened their grasp, Rhee went underground to organize resistance and finally was forced to flee with a price on his head. For decades he endured the embittering life of a lobbyist for an unwanted cause, haunting foreign ministries and international conferences in vain attempts to interest the great powers in the plight of Korea.

To such a man, the war which began in 1950 could only be a struggle to unite his country—not simply a police action to preserve its free southern half. And Rhee's friends believe his single-track ardor was encouraged by his Austrian wife, Francesca. Twenty-five years his junior, she tends his health with equally single-minded devotion and exerts a strong influence on him to persevere.

French Policy in Indo-China

The *Leader* reports that the French Government was reliably understood to have agreed in principle to full independence to Cambodia, Laos and Indo-China, within the framework of the French Union and subject to military control of such regions as are in the operational area of war against the Communists.

France was willing to envisage the granting such demands by Cambodia as its own customs, currency, judiciary (abolition of extra-territorial courts) and national command of its armed forces except in the operational area, east of the Mekong river.

Negotiations on similar lines would be carried on with Emperor Bao Dai, head of the Viet Nam State, who was due on a private visit to Paris shortly and with the representatives of the kingdom of Laos who were already in Paris. Negotiations would be with each State separately.

The French Cabinet would pursue their policy in Indo-China on two lines. They would work out measures of independence with the three associated

States of Indo-China, within the framework of membership of the French Union. At the same time military action would be stepped up within the possibilities of French resources without however having recourse to sending conscripts to Indo-China.

Dr. K. S. Shelvankar writes in the *Hindu*, July 19, that the grave problems and perplexities of the French with regard to Indo-China had in no way been eased by the Washington Conference of the foreign ministers of the U.S.A., U.K. and France and M. Bidault's mission in this vital respect was generally regarded as "having been inconclusive, if not a failure."

According to him, Foreign Minister, Bidault, had two main aims: "Firstly, to secure a pledge of increased American aid needed to carry out the so-called 'Narre Plan,' for military victory; and secondly, to consider ways and means of terminating the war as part of a wider Far Eastern settlement."

Egypt and Britain

Discussing the Anglo-Egyptian relations in an article in the *Daily Sketch*, London, reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle* on July 8, General Neguib, President and Prime Minister of Egypt, writes that British occupation of Egypt dated back to 1882 when the British had occupied the country to restore the Khedive's authority following the military rising led by Ahmed Arabi Pasha with the object of securing certain internal reforms. On August 10, 1882, Mr. Gladstone declared before the House of Commons that the British Government did not contemplate an indefinite occupation of Egypt.

"Such being Britain's commitments and pledges," continues Gen. Neguib, "she was bound, as time went on to attempt a self-vindication and defence of her intentions to remain in Egypt through a series of declarations avowing that the occupation was only a temporary measure and that she would evacuate the country as soon as order and security were established."

During these 71 years the British Government had made 60 such declarations but the British pledges still remained unredeemed. Britain still maintained 30,000 armed forces in the Suez Canal Zone.

All the efforts of Egypt to reach a peaceful settlement had been fruitless because the British "maintained their traditional imperialistic policy and never once deviated from the rigorous self-interest imposed by that policy." With a view to settling the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over the Suez Canal Zone Egypt had tried to accommodate the British but it had been clear that Britain would not be content with less than full technical and administrative control of the base which meant virtual occupation of the Zone. Egypt, being a sovereign country, could not accept such a subservient position. "The Egyptian Government cannot be expected to have on her territory a large number of British technicians receiving their instructions from the British war office direct and having the full management of the base while she complacently looks on," Gen. Neguib says. Egypt

herself could provide the necessary technical personnel.

Concluding he urged a change of attitude on the part of the British Government if friendly relations were to be maintained between the two countries.

Iranian Politics and Oil

The Teheran correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports in the July 7 issue of the paper that political forces in Iran were divided on the question of compensation to be paid to the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He writes: "The pro-Government *Niru-e-Siwam* indirectly defended in an editorial the principle of compensation and criticized Ayatollah Kashani who said that not even a pence was due to the ex-A.I.O.C. as compensation... The anti-Government influential daily *Dad* alleged that Britain had agreed to accept a compensation of £800 million or ten million tons of oil every year till the amount is equalled in price thereof."

The Premier, Dr. Mossadeq, was reported to have set up a special committee consisting of Messrs. Mattian Daftari, Shaygan, Sanjabi, Abulfazal Lisani, Hussaihi Khusbin, Mohammed Hussain Aliabadi and Abdul Hussain Aliabadi to decide the amount that could be paid by Iran as compensation to the AIOC, to find ways and means to lessen international legal complications in the sale of nationalised oil to world markets and to put up suggestions as to how best Iran could sell the maximum quantity of oil under the circumstances.

The Iranian ambassador to Washington, says the correspondent, was believed to have informed Teheran that the question of the Iranian oil would certainly come up for discussion during the Western Big Three meeting after which some new proposals were likely to be made.

In another despatch from Teheran, published in the same issue of the paper, the correspondent writes: "Ahadan, the largest oil refinery in the world at one time, has now been 'nationalized' in all respects, so much so that all foreign nationals working in the installations have either been sacked or marked for retrenchment in near future. The strength of the personnel is 3,000, all hands being regularly paid, but the place is no more humming with the previous orderly life and is lying just idle, except for refining oil for home consumption, said Mr. D. M. Jejurikar, Second Secretary to the Indian ambassador in Teheran."

Prof. Vincenc Lesny

We have heard with deep regret the news of the demise of Prof. Dr. V. Lesny of the University of Prague at the age of 71 years.

Professor Lesny was in the first rank of the distinguished Orientalists and Indologists of the West.

He was a great friend of India, having visited this country twice, in 1923 and 1927, in the capacity of a visiting professor at Santiniketan.

Incidentally, he died in April of this year and the sad news has taken over two months to filter through. But we have the assurance of Srimati Amrit Kaur that there is no Iron Curtain!

BHOODAN-YAJNA AS THE CALL OF THE AGE

By SURESH RAMABHAI

It is the object of this article to see how the Bhoodan-Yajna movement is in keeping with the call of this age. Before doing so we must have a clear picture of the national and international situation to-day.

About six years ago the British Parliament passed an enactment partitioning India into two—India and Pakistan, and conferring upon them self-government absolving itself of all political responsibilities in the newly created States. It meant a withdrawal of the British political authority from India. In our country, the goods were delivered to the Congress party which has since been holding the reins of power both at the Centre and in the Provinces (now called States). In accordance with the new Constitution of India, adopted on January 26, 1950, country-wide elections were held in December 1951-January 1952 in which, again, the Congress party was returned to power with a large majority. Almost every adult, male or female, had the right to exercise his or her vote and about seventeen crores of people did exercise it—an unparalleled event in world history. The right to vote notwithstanding, it did not bring about any change in the status-quo. For the legal postulates defining the basis of our 'democratic' constitution, as in any other democratic state, are but the incidents of the standing class-relations in which an economic oligarchy, working on the profit system derived from private ownership, reigns supreme. In sober fact, the Government of India is nothing save the executive instrument of the class in society which owns the means of production and wealth. So the new Republic of India secured political freedom for India as a whole but not for the masses. It remains the exclusive preserve of a bureaucracy controlling the production-resources, again, as elsewhere too.

To come to the economic sphere. The British occupation of India was both political and economic. Nay, it was essentially economic and it was political to the extent to which it protected their economic interests. Surely, British economic interests govern the British political policy resulting in the establishment of a long chain of British possessions from Gibraltar in the Mediterranean, via Suez and Aden, to the far-off Perth on the West coast of Australia. Incredible as it appears, the Republican India has not touched the British economic interest even with a pair of tongs. On the contrary, they have been assured every facility and a no-discrimination guarantee (between Indian and foreign business) promised besides. Intimately linked with and dependant on the British big business is the Indian big business. The latter a new phenomenon since the Great War I, is verily a younger cousin of the former. During non-co-operation days the

latter fully exploited the freedom struggle and made a good headway, though in no way approaching its white brother. Even to-day the Indian business is not resourceful or strong enough to stand completely on its own feet and has, therefore, entered into equal or unequal partnership with the foreign business to gain a firmer grounding. Perhaps this continued dependence of the Indian big business on the British one is very largely responsible for letting the latter remain intact in free India. But it needs no prophetic vision to state that with the lapse of time would deepen the British economic entrenchment which only a strong Government, serving class-interests other than those as the one now, could resist. This, in substance, implies the substitution of the visible political slavery by invisible economic domination of the country.

As observed above, the State in India serves a definite class-interest. To earn more profit this class seeks to extend its activities which means setting up more and more machinery to produce the articles of consumption. In other words, this class brings about a ruin of Indian home or cottage industry wiping out the cunning of the hand or the craft of the village. It has actually led to tremendous unemployment in our countryside, making the village-weaver, oilman, tanner, spinner, shoemaker all idle, and progressively so. Our village self-sufficiency whose foundations were wrecked by the British rulers, seems to be getting the last kicks by the Indian rulers themselves.

Yet another misfortune. In spite of all official support and foreign backing, Indian big business finds that our country is becoming a "high-cost producer in precisely those branches of production where her supremacy had been established by the low cost of management, and her position as an exporter of Jute manufactures; cotton piece-goods, coal and plantation products has been weakened by rising cost of production," which is mostly attributable to wages and other increases in labour-remuneration. The Indian industry must reduce cost which it can do either by paying labour less or retrenching it. As the former is not a practical proposition (for judged by Western standards, Indian labour even now is very poorly paid) the latter is the only course which is termed as "rationalization" in industrial circles. Without installing improved machinery requiring less hands the cost is not likely to go down. This requires retrenchment and yet greater retrenchment, which means further increasing the force of the unemployed.

Unemployment seems to grip not only the uneducated or the unskilled labourer but also the educated or the skilled labourer. The problem of educated unemployed

is assuming alarming proportions and has become a source of headache to the Government. But India Government is not likely to succeed easily where the gigantic, resourceful and colonial Governments like those of U.S., U.K. and France, are not able to pull their way through.

Mounting unemployment and aggravating ruin of our cottage industries are intimately connected with the frequent recurrence of famines or scarcity conditions in several parts of the country.

The social status of an individual is very much a reflection of his economic position. The deteriorating economic condition of a large section of the population, specially of the poorer section has further countenanced social disparities. The Harijans, though by law equal in status to any one else, are almost as outlawed as ever. Isolated humanitarian attempts to mix them with the scheduled caste are only an exception to the general untouchability practice. Besides, the gulf between the rich and the poor has gone wider with no symptoms of its decrease.

The climax of the situation is reached in the administrative sphere. Honesty and industry seem to be at a discount in our present administration. Here is the view of a retired I.C.S. Officer, trusted by the Government and a well-known authority in this sphere :

"In all the circumstances it would not be wrong to conclude the Government is not deeply concerned about clear or impartial administration. Is Government in this country really anxious to stamp out corruption? Obviously not."

This is the picture in brief.

Thus in the different walks of our national life to-day after six years of political freedom, the position of the man in the street has not only not improved but definitely worsened in many a regard. The result is frustration and dissatisfaction and, in general, a consequent disinclination to apply oneself devotedly to any serious objective. The various political parties or the political leaders have no solution for the sad crisis engulfing us all to-day. And India presents the woeful spectacle like that of the unfortunate, inert owner who refuses to work up and till his newly-acquired piece of land. At a time when we should have been marching like one man we are frittering away our energies in trifles, disputes and *tamashas*.

A cold war is on in the outside world divided in two blocs, the capitalist countries led by USA and the socialist ones led by USSR. The former are not only trying to fight out the latter but seeking new colonies (economic if not directly political) or strengthening old colonial powers to pass over the capitalist crisis at home. The latter, not as much suffering from the maladies of unemployment and economic or social disabilities—and enjoying greater social justice than elsewhere, are arming themselves with a terrific speed to meet any eventuality. The moral sympathy of the large masses on the globe is with the latter. But on the whole the world seems to

be receding from peace. For while the one bloc is interested in it only inasmuch as it can help preserve its economic oligarchy, the other, behaving like an armed vigil trying to do away with the vultures likely to seize hold of a carcass, is not inclined, at present at least, to bury the carcass and throw away arms for good. Thus a race for armaments goes on unabatedly in which the greatest casualty is the personality of the individual or the being of man as Man.

It is in the above context of the present situation that Acharya Vinoba's Bhoodan-Yajna movement has to be appraised. Its basic principles, in fine, are two :

- (i) All land belongs to God ; all property is His ;
- (ii) He who feeds his body must work it.

The coal-like crude, allotropic forms of these two diamonds are :

- (i) No body is to remain landless in India ;
- (ii) Everybody who eats must do some bodily labour at least for, say, four hours, a day.

In contrast, the reality is :

- (i) There are crores of landless people in our country ;
- (ii) There are crores who work but have never known a full meal, crores who have no work for many months in the year ; there are lakhs who work (in factories or plantations) but remain underfed and lakhs who do no productive work and yet eat and enjoy.

The method to operate the said two principles is that of love and self-suffering, i.e., Satyagraha and conversion. The movement reposes faith in the essential goodness of man ; his heart is a human heart which cannot escape melting at the higher and yet higher heats of fellow-man's voluntary suffering. As even the hardest platinum melts at the corresponding high temperature of the heat furnace so also the hardest heart, if any, would melt at the correspondingly high human self-sacrifice. Gandhi demonstrated the efficacy of this method in the political sphere in South Africa and India. Vinoba—his chosen and ideal Satyagrahi—seeks to demonstrate the same, as a corollary, in the socio-economic sphere. His is not merely to obtain a bit of land here and another there but to lay, in Vinobaji's words, the foundations of 'Gram-Rajya' (Village-sovereignty) :

"Obtaining a sixth share of one's land is the smallest part of the Bhoodan-Yajna. The land collected has also to be distributed. Those who would be given land would also be provided with resources to cultivate it. They would have to be established on those lands. By means of khadi, village industries, Nai Talim, etc., Gram Rajya has to be established in the villages where we obtain land."

Obviously the movement proposes to upturn the current flow of the tide of economic wealth and resources and build up a new, truly or religiously democratic State which would not dance to the tune of any economic oligarchy. Neither would it perpetuate a managerial class of unproductive Babus and administrators running the State on self-made or totalitarian lines. Nor would it allow Capital to remain and enjoy its present 'gaddi' or capital position, yesterday a keep of the capitalist and

to-day of the administrator ; it seeks to do away with capital as far as possible and crown instead the labour of man. Nor would it let a majority have its say on account of its sheer weight of numbers : no voting but unanimous selection with regard to meritorious and self-less service will determine the leader or the higher authority. Thus the movement seeks to bring about an order which in its political and economic set-up would be in complete variance with the pattern we have to-day. The characteristic traits of the present order, military power and the legal coercive power of the State, would be conspicuous by their absence in the new order which would command only one power, popular strength or the self-reliant power of the people working under the single sanction of progressive non-violent non-co-operation. Again, in this order nobody will be a pure administrator or intellectual worker or desk-clerk nor any a purely manual worker or labourer. The classes will be merged among themselves so that everybody works by hand for his maintenance and nobody is denied an opportunity to develop his special faculties or tastes. In a word, the objective of the movement is the formation of a caste-less and class-less society, with the might of arms or state non-existent, in which the innocent bar of conscious public opinion settles all problems within and the simple instrument of non-violent non-co-operation, of course voluntary and thorough, meets all foes from without.

The technique employed by Vinoba to fulfill his mission is by now well-known. Like a beggar he goes from door to door saying :

"If you have four sons please consider me as the fifth. And accordingly give me my share."

He makes his appeal on behalf of the Daridra Narain :

"With folded hands I entreat you to fulfill my mission. I am not asking land for my own sake. Those on whose behalf I come to demand are mute and cannot express their minds. I wish my words touch your very hearts straight as Ram Ban (Divine Arrow)."

His appeal is not one of pity. He wants the donors to make their gifts not in a spirit of arrogant generosity but of dutiful devotion as they cannot ignore the writing on the wall. Hence Vinoba's warning is :

"I have attempted to bring it home to the people that land is but a symbol here. It cannot be removed from its place. And when the poor are hungry of it, it is bound to go to them tomorrow if not today, by another means if not this. It is absolutely impossible that the general public should permanently accept the position of being deprived of this land for ever. I, therefore, do not want these lands to pass anyhow from their rich owners to the landless, but that it should reach them by right and proper means."

Thus awaking the rich to his duty and the poor to his right, the movement launches for economic equality on sane and kindly lines, avoiding all bitterness and

inhumanity. When Vinoba obtained six thousand acres in 50 days in Telangana, intellectuals applied their wits to calculate the time to secure the target of five crores acres. But in two years he obtained about ten lakhs and the present speed threatens to recognise no established progressions of Mathematics. They of Mangroth in Hamirpur district of U.P. donated the entire village. So also at Seeyadeeh in Gaya. An unknown and unheard-of phenomenon indeed !

More important than the gifts secured in the movement is the spirit behind it. In the midst of prevailing discontent and frustration Vinoba shows the only way of rescue. Through his movement he provides a medium to carry out constructive work or building the nation anew. While giving hope to the poor he has roused the rich from slumber in time. And because the catastrophe is national, everybody in the nation must contribute his or her share and apply the shoulder. He, therefore, calls his movement *Yajna*—sacrifice. Indian tradition bears it that on occasions of misfortune all joined together in penance and prayer (in the form of fire-worship) to ward off the evil. What form should the penance take today ? Where is *Ghi* to arouse the fire ? Where are other ingredients ? And even can everybody afford to secure timbers to add to it ? No, certainly not. Also the occasion demands highest sacrifice. So Vinoba wants nothing less than one's dearest—the very land on and by which one lives, the very wealth one owns, the very labour one performs—as one's offering in this prayer. This is why donations from the poorest are also accepted. None can be denied the joy of participation in this national penance. And because the penance begins from the self, *i.e.*, one changes one's own heart and fashions one's activity accordingly, it is a revolutionary penance and the Bhoodan-Yajna a revolution of the revolutions. It differs from all preceding revolutions in history in that it does not let one having-to-do-nothing-himself revolutionary bypass himself to rob some one else of his position or privilege : the Bhoodan-Yajna revolutionary has to recast his ownself in a new economic mould before whipping others to social change or economic equality. Which is why the appeal of Bhoodan-Yajna goes straight to the heart and has succeeded whereas every other has failed in modern India.

Now let us briefly see how the movement undertakes to meet our standing problems. Obviously, our food production is low because, in general, those who own land do not till it and those who till do not own it. Reverse the order—he who owns land tills it and he who tills it owns it—and the food problem will disappear like darkness before light and we would be able to provide food to others also after satisfying our needs.

But man does not live on bread alone. So a mere redistribution of land will not serve the purpose. What is required is a decentralised redistribution of all resources and means of production, *i.e.*, creation of decentralised self-sufficient units meeting their basic needs—

like food, clothing, housing, sanitation, medicine, education, etc.,—themselves with no interference from without. Says a resolution passed by the Sarva Sava Sangh at Chandil on March 8, 1953 on the occasion of the last conference :

"It is our firm conviction that Sarvodaya Samaj can only be brought into being through the establishment of 'Gram Rajya.' In order to attain this ideal every village must develop the capacity to be self-sufficient at least, with regard to the primary necessities of life, viz, food, clothing, shelter, health and education so that it may not have to depend on centralised production for the satisfaction of these primary needs. This will enable the people of the villages to establish 'Gram Rajya' by their own unaided efforts through the decentralisation of political as well as economic power. In the opinion of the Sangh, unless Power and Wealth are decentralised the individual will not have the opportunity for the harmonious development of his personality through labour rather than by capital.

"Therefore, with a view to give a country-wide impetus to the development of decentralised industries or in other words, village industries, the Sarva Sava Sangh had, in its Sevapuri resolution, appealed to the nation to begin with the boycott of such centralised industries as have been found to prove detrimental to the self-sufficiency of the villages in regard to food and clothing. The Sangh again calls the attention of the people to that resolution with all the earnestness at its command and earnestly hopes that the whole country will make a determined effort to make the programme the success for the fulfilment of the Bhoodan-Yajna."

This plan of an effective boycott of non-village made essentials can be more easily and successfully implemented in villages like Mangroth which, so to say, get a new birth at new redistribution. So long as the entire village land is not redistributed boycott would strengthen and be strengthened by popular opinion. In the words of Vinoba :

"The villages must wake up to the realization of their duty and decide what things they will produce in the village and then ask the Government to ban the import of those things which thwart their efforts. If the Government does not come to their help, they should be bold enough to stand up against the Government. Such resistance by the people against the Government will be of great help to the latter because that would pave the way for doing away with the need for the military. The Centre can never develop enough intelligence for governing all our numberless villages well and wisely. It is simply impossible. Therefore, instead of a body of planners, however competent, for the whole nation, every village should be enabled to become its own planner. The Central Government would only come in to help this village planning wherever and whenever it is approached to extend such help."

Herein lies the seed of evolving not only a new economic arrangement but also of laying up lines to secure political liberty to every citizen, or raising up a religious democracy where man in the street would

command as much, say, as the tallest in the land. Again, not, relying on violent power or coercive power of the State and working its way through popular opinion alone, this new democracy would be something unique in world annals and eliminating the poisonous elements of the so-called democracies of the West pave the way for the flowering up of people's real republics merging morals and ethics, politics and economics, theory and practice, all in one complete whole. It would mark a significant step onward in the march of mankind towards the goal of the kingdom of God, thereby slaking its parched throat which knows no solace at present. No other movement in the world today strives to strike the human malady at so deep a root and save the man from his impending ruin. Vinoba shows for all time that economic issues can be tackled by kindly and non-violent means and social-structures reared up on purely humanitarian basis. The war-mad world may ignore his message today, but if man is to live he cannot but adopt it tomorrow or the day after. That the torch-bearer of this new light should be Gandhi's own disciple and spiritual son with India as his laboratory is worthy both of India and the cause.

For us in India, even grounds of expediency demand, let apart high principles, Vinoba's method must be given every trial and co-operation. With starvation facing us and unemployment stalking around, only the course of decentralised self-sufficiency can get us out of the vicious circle of reducing our every development to disfigurement and progress to poverty. Also reliance on alien arms and ammunition will not let us fare better, in case of contingency, than, say, Japan or France. Just as of boycott and non-co-operation, non-co-operation was the more practical method to face the British boycott, so also decentralised self-sufficiency and Satyagraha or non-violent non-co-operation is the practical method now to meet foes within or without. And we cannot have decentralised self-sufficient units until the whole land mass in the country is rearranged. In other words, every village must become a Mangroth—wholesale donation.

It is a Herculean task no doubt. No single individual can do it. No single party can do it. It requires the united effort of one and all. India is like a house on fire which all inmates, whatever their calling or aptitude, must take to quench with whatever they get hold of—water, sand, rugs, etc. Once the fire is quenched—the enormous disparities in land-holdings removed and land redistributed on just and impartial lines—we can remodel the house to meet every want. The response evoked by the movement during the last two years does show that it is catching popular imagination. And soon it would take us by the storm. Let us lift us out of our little selves and join it and contribute our own offering, humbly and sincerely, in this the greatest penance, mission or Yajna, ever held for the emancipation of the common man.

HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

I

INTRODUCTION

THE Co-operative Movement in India has been a growth of about half a century and is largely dependent for its origin as well as development on the Government. Even before 1904 (when the movement was first officially set up), the Government was not unaware of the difficulties which the peasants and farmers were facing in borrowing funds and was anxious to ease the situation. As early as 1882 Sir William Wedderburn and Justice Ranade prepared a scheme for establishing the Agricultural Banks to provide loans to farmers. Their scheme was not accepted in the form in which it was presented; but its essential features were embodied in the Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Act (XIX of 1883 and XII of 1884 respectively) under which the agriculturists could borrow from the Government for productive purposes at about 6½ per cent. Under the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883, long-term *takavi* loans on the security of mortgage of land, are available for the following purposes:

(a) Construction of wells, tanks and other works of storage, supply or distribution of water for purposes of agriculture, or for the use of men and cattle employed in agriculture;

(b) Preparation of land for agriculture;

(c) Drainage, reclamation from rivers or other waters, or protection from floods or from soil erosion or other damages by water of land used for agricultural purposes or waste land which is culturable;

(d) Reclamation, clearance, enclosure or permanent improvement of land for agricultural purposes;

(e) Renewal or reconstruction of any of the foregoing works or alternatives thereon or addition thereto; and

(f) Such other works which the Government may so declare.

The Agriculturists' Loans Act made provision for the short-term credit for the relief of distress and to enable the cultivators to purchase cattle, seeds, implements, etc. The Gadgil Committee remarked that such loans were properly closely connected in their origin and their operation with times of distress or famine, and that the Committee had agreed that that Act should be confined to times of emergency and stress and not be used more extensively in normal circumstances.¹

Takavi loans have been advanced not only in times of threatened famine but also for agricultural improvement. But various objections have been raised against such loans. Firstly, it is held that the vast business of financing agriculture in general would put too great a strain upon the Government finance. Secondly, it only furnishes cheap capital and makes no

provision for cultivating thrift and self-help.² The borrower has no interest in the welfare of his fellow-borrowers, no participation in profits, supposing there were any, and no control over the management.³ Thirdly, loans cannot be advanced under either the agriculturists' Loans Act or the Land Improvement Loans Act for the redemption of old debts or the consolidation of holdings. Fourthly, there has been widespread ignorance about the facilities for credit and procedure necessary to secure *takavi* loans,⁴ which have been positively unpopular. This is attributed partly to the delay and uncertainty in getting the loan, due partly to the strictness of enquiries the administrative officials are required by the Act to make, and partly to the rigidity of the system of collection.⁵ In short, the *takavi* system is claimed to have failed in its primary purpose of stimulating agriculture.⁶ In brief, "the high rate of interest, the rigidity of collection, the onerous terms regarding periods of payment and conditions relating to securities required" are the chief objections to State loans.⁷

In 1892, Fredrick Nicholson was appointed by the Madras Government to report on the advisability of starting a system of Agricultural and Land Banks in the Presidency. He submitted a very exhaustive report summing up the situation as "Find Raiffeisen." He suggested that "small locally worked institutions on the lines of European village institutions were ideal agencies for the supply of rural credit because they would satisfy the postulates of proximity security, facility, excite local confidence and consequently draw in local capital, work cheaply, almost gratuitously and thus provide cheap credit, influence borrowers towards the true use of credit, and watch the utilisation of loans in accordance with the contract, exercise educative influence in matters of thrift, association and self-help, and develop high forms both of individual capacity, of public life and of national character." But his report was shelved. It was declared that it was unnecessary to take any action on it, as rural credit in the opinion of officials was not an urgent problem.

In the meantime, H. Depernex had submitted another scheme under the title of "People's Bank for Northern India." The Committee appointed by the Government of India to consider these schemes came to the conclusion that the best way of providing loans to farmers was to start co-operative societies on the

2. *Indian Year Book*, 1929, p. 29.

3. Calvert : *Law and Principles of Co-operation in India*, p. 2.

4. *Bombay Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, Vol. I, pp. 86-87.

5. Walff : *Co-operation in India*, p. 43.

6. Calvert : *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

7. *Agricultural Finance Sub-committee Report*, pp. 32-33.

1. *Report of the Agricultural Finance Sub-committee*, pp. 32-33.

lines of Raiffeisen societies. The Famine Commission of 1901 strongly recommended that in order to prevent further famines, it was essential that credit should be made available to the farmers to improve agriculture and that Mutual Credit Association should be started. This point was referred to a Committee in Simla, which in 1901 drafted a Bill for the establishment of Co-operative Societies under the presidency of Sir Edward Law. After much discussion this new Bill took the form of Co-operative Societies Act of 1904. The passage of this Act formally inaugurated the co-operative movement in India.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

The Co-operative Credit Societies Act was passed on the 25th March, 1904. Its chief provisions were:

(1) Any ten persons living in the same village or town or belonging to the same class or tribe, might be registered as a Co-operative Credit Society for the encouragement of thrift and self-help among the members.

(2) The main objects of the society were to raise funds by deposits from members and loans from non-members, Government and other co-operative societies, and to distribute the money thus obtained in loans to members, or with the special permission of the Registrar, to other co-operative Credit Societies.

(3) The organisation and control of Co-operative Credit Societies in each province were put under the charge of the special government officer called the Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies.

(4) The accounts of every society were to be audited by the Registrar or by a member of his staff free of charge.

(5) Rural Societies were to have four-fifth of their members agriculturists; urban four-fifth of non-agriculturists.

(6) The liability of the members of a rural society was to be unlimited, except with special sanction by the local Government; liability of the urban society members might be either limited or unlimited.

(7) No dividends were to be paid from the profits of a rural society but the profits were to be carried at the end of the year to the reserve fund, although when this fund had grown beyond certain limits fixed under the by-laws, a bonus might be distributed to the members.

(8) In urban societies no dividend was payable until one quarter of the profits in a given year were carried to the reserve fund.

(9) Loans could be given only to members, and usually only on personal or real but not ordinarily on chattel security, although ornaments, the common form of savings of many peasants, might legally be accepted as security.

(10) The interest of any one member in the society's share capital was strictly restricted.

(11) Societies formed under the Act were exempt from fees payable under the stamp, registration and income-tax.

In the words of Sir Denzil Ibbetson:

The chief object of these societies was "to give encouragement to the individual thrift, and of mutual co-operation among the members, with a

view to utilization of their combined credit, by the aid of their intimate knowledge of one another's needs and capacities and of the pressure of local public opinion."

In other words, the object was to encourage thrift, self-help and co-operation among agriculturists, artisans and persons of limited means.

Sir Adamson cherished this hope for the future of these societies in these words:

"Our co-operative credit society is but a frail barque launched upon a treacherous ocean but if it can escape from being wrecked by the opposition of the moneylender, if it can avoid being stranded on the shoals of mutual distrust among its members, if it can carry safe to the port a portion of its cargo of self-help and co-operation, it will some day rank as the most important bill ever passed by the Government for the betterment of the Indian agriculturists."

The following table gives us an idea of the growth of the credit societies in India as a result of the Act of 1904 up to 1912:

Year	No. of societies	No. of members	Amount of working capital (in Rs.)
1906-7	843	90844	2371683
1907-8	1357	149160	4414086
1908-9	1937	180338	8232225
1909-10	3428	224797	12468312
1910-11	5321	305058	20305800
1911-12	8177	403318	33574162

THE SECOND STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

The Act of 1904 provided for the registration of the Primary Credit Societies only. But the experience of 7 or 8 years' working showed that much progress could not be made in the supply of credit under it to the rural areas. It was for various reasons:

(i) It made no provision for purposes other than credit, i.e., marketing, supply, etc., or for the establishment of central agencies, such as Central Banks or Unions, necessary for the proper financing of Primary Credit Societies;

(ii) The total prohibition of distribution of profits (in Madras and the Punjab) in rural societies with unlimited liability was found to cause some hardship to rural members; and

(iii) The classification of societies into rural and urban was found to be extremely unscientific and inconvenient.

The Government realised these deficiencies and passed a comprehensive Co-operative Societies Act in 1912, the distinctive provisions of which are given below:

(1) Instead of registration being limited to Credit Societies, any society may be registered "which has for its objects the promotion of economic interests of its members in accordance with co-operative principles, or a society established with the object of facilitating the operation of such society."

(2) Unless otherwise directed by the local Government: (a) The liability of the Central Societies shall be limited. (b) The liability of the Rural Societies shall be unlimited.

(3) The requirement of an annual credit is retained, as are numerous other provisions of the Act of 1904.

(4) Any registered society may with the Registrar's sanction after carrying $\frac{1}{4}$ of the annual net profits to a reserve fund, contribute up to 10 per cent of the remaining net profits to a wide range of charitable purposes.

(5) Local Governments are given considerable discretion in connection with the making of rules for the working of societies under the Act, including conditions of membership, methods of operation, procedure at general meetings and provisions for arbitration between members and the committee or officers of the society, such rules to have the same force in the respective provinces as the Act itself.

(6) "Co-operation" may not be used as part of the title of any business concern not registered under the Act, unless it was already doing business under the name before the Act came into effect.

(7) Shares or interest in co-operative societies are exempt from attachment.

(8) Societies have a prior claim to enforce the recovery of certain dues.

The defects of the Act of 1904 were remedied by the new Act of 1912. This Act gave a great stimulus to the co-operative movement. It legalised many co-operative societies which had hitherto no legal recognition. Societies were now classified according as they were limited and unlimited. The Act also recognised non-credit forms of co-operation, such as societies for the purchase of supplies, for sale of produce, insurance and housing. It also recognised three kinds of Central societies as distinguished from primary societies, *viz.*, (a) unions consisting of primary societies for mutual control and credit; (b) central banks consisting partly of societies and partly of individuals; and (c) provincial banks consisting of individuals.

After 1912, there was a rapid growth not only in the number of co-operative credit societies but also in non-agricultural credit societies and in their membership. The development, of course, was not uniform in all the provinces; it being more rapid in areas like Bombay, Madras and the Punjab (where the agriculturist has mortgage rights in his land) than in the zamindari areas like Bengal (where the cultivator has little to offer except his personal security). The non-credit types of co-operation were also being gradually developed, so that societies for milk supply, sale of produce, cattle insurance, yarn, silk and manure purchase, retailing of farm implements and common necessities were also coming into prominence.

THE THIRD STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

The movement entered into the third stage in 1914 when the Government of India appointed a Committee under Sir Edward Maclagan to "examine whether the movement especially in its higher stages and financial aspects was progressing on sound lines and to suggest measures for improvement which seemed to be required." The Report appeared in 1915. It is considered as a document in the annals of co-operative history.

But unfortunately many of the very valuable recommendations made in this Report have not been scrupulously followed. The following points made in connection with Rural Credit Societies in order to make them truly co-operative may be studied with great interest and benefit:

- (1) Knowledge of co-operative principles and proper selection of members,
- (2) Honesty is the chief basis of the Credit,
- (3) Dealings to take place with the members only,
- (4) Loans not to be granted for speculative purposes,
- (5) Exercise of careful scrutiny before advancing loans and proper vigilance afterwards,
- (6) Ultimate authority to be in the hands of members and not in those of office-bearers,
- (7) Encouragement of thrift and the constitution of an adequate reserve fund,
- (8) Only one vote for one member and maximum publicity within the society,
- (9) Capital to be raised as far as possible from savings among the members and neighbours,
- (10) Punctual repayment of loans.

The searching enquiries by the Maclagan Committee brought to light a number of glaring defects which hampered the movement in its further development. The chief defects that were pointed out were:

- (1) The illiteracy and ignorance of the masses created a number of serious difficulties in the way of management, supervision and formation of the societies.
- (2) The members of the management committee acted in a selfish spirit inasmuch as they misappropriated the bulk of the loans by means of *benami* loans, and were found guilty of criminal negligence of duty, of mismanagement and fraud.
- (3) Nepotism in advancing loans to the near relations and friends of the committee of management. Punctuality was not rigidly enforced and this delinquency coupled with apathy stood in the way of other members getting adequate credit.
- (4) The very notion that co-operation is a Government-born activity or the societies are "Sarkars' Banks" militated against the success of the movement. "When we think of co-operation in India we do not call to memory the humanitarian and philanthropic Raiffeisen but the mercenary Registrar of the Co-operative Societies."
- (5) Much delay is caused in granting loans to the needy cultivators and this helps to drive them to the moneylenders.

The Committee very wisely warned against the starting of new societies by remarking that the pace of movement should not be unduly quickened from outside. It emphasized that the urge towards co-operation should be spontaneous as far as possible and pointed to the necessity of guarding against the dangers of granting credit too easily. It further emphasized the need for thorough audit and supervision in order to prevent bad management and embezzlement and to inspire confidence in the investing public. These very sound and valuable recommendations were honoured more often in their neglect than in their

execution. The period between 1904 and the publication of the MacLagan Committee Report in 1915 may be taken as the period of initial effort and planning.⁸

THE FOURTH STAGE OF THE MOVEMENT

On the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, co-operation became a provincial subject and was administered by the Provincial Governments. This Act gave the option of retaining or modifying the existing Act of 1912 to the Provincial Governments. Some Provinces exercised the option given to them of enacting their own Provincial Acts and, consequently they passed their own Provincial Acts, e.g., Bombay gave the lead by passing the Co-operative Societies Act of 1925. This was followed by Madras in 1932 and Bihar and Orissa in 1935, Coorg in 1937 and Bengal in 1941. The other Provinces have been following the Central Act of 1912. Their Act of 1919 gave great stimulus to the movement. Its success was measured more by its quantity than by its quality, but all seemed to be going on very well during those early prosperous days. The economic prosperity between 1920 and 1929 facilitated expansion and there was a rapid increase in the number of societies. But side by side with this expansion there were also some disquieting features, e.g., a steady increase in overdues. These led to the institution by various Provinces of Co-operative Committees of Enquiry to enquire into the working of movement. The Central Provinces led the way with such an enquiry in 1922, and Bihar and Orissa in 1923. The Okden Committee in U.P., the Townsend Committee in Madras, the Calvert Committee in Burma made similar enquiries. The rapid growth of the movement between 1919 and 1930 is characterised by Mr. Ramdas Pantalu as the period of "unplanned expansion."⁹ During this period co-operation received sufficient encouragement under the popular ministers. This will be clear from the following table:

Year	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital (Rs. 000)
1914-15	17327	824469	122292
1916-17	23036	1048425	311225
1921-22	52182	1974290	311225
1923-24	61106	2313567	405297
1925-26	80182	3058625	576039
1927-28	96091	3070173	767087
1929-30	104187	4181904	895178

Unfortunately with the first onslaught of the depression the fall in prices aggravated the situation and recoveries became difficult. The movement came to grief first in Burma and then suffered seriously in prestige in Bihar, Bengal and many other provinces. Since then efforts are being directed more to the rehabilitation, reconstruction and reorganisation of

existing societies than to further rapid expansion. The co-operative movement in India is passing through a phase of rectification and consolidation, cautious expansion and experiment.¹⁰

When the Reserve Bank of India was established in 1935 it was asked to submit a report to the Government of India on the improvements of the machinery for dealing with agricultural finance and to maintain a special department for the study of all questions relating to agricultural credit. The introduction of the Provincial Autonomy in 1937 was followed by legislation for the regulation of money. The depression in the early thirties of this century and the collapse of the movement in some provinces as a result of it, led to the appointment of special experts and Enquiry Committees in different provinces to examine the position of the co-operative movement and the fundamentals of co-operative structure with a view to reconstruction and in some cases permanent reorganisation. The most important Committees appointed and reports submitted were:

- i. Report of the Co-operative Enquiry Committee, Travancore (1935), under G. K. Devdhar as chairman.
- ii. Report of Committee on Co-operation in Mysore (1935) under K. S. Iyer as chairman.
- iii. Report on Co-operative Societies and Banks in Gwalior (1937) under V. G. Kale as chairman.
- iv. Report on Agricultural Indebtedness in Nizam's Dominion (1937) under S. M. Bharucha as chairman.
- v. Report on the Reorganisation of Co-operative movement in Bombay (1937) under Messrs. V. L. Mehta and M. D. Bhansali as chairman.
- vi. Report on Enquiry in conditions of Co-operative movement in Orissa (1938) under K. Deivasikhamani as chairman.
- vii. Report of Berar Co-operative Enquiry Committee (1939) under P. K. Gole as chairman.
- viii. Report of the Board of Experts for Co-operative Rehabilitation (1939) under V. Ramdas Pantalu as chairman.
- ix. Report on the Co-operative movement in the Punjab (1939) under F. W. Wace as chairman.
- x. Report of the Committee on Co-operation in Madras (1940) under T. Vijay Raghavacharya as chairman.

During the period the development of co-operation is given as below:

Year	No. of societies (000)	Membership (in lakhs)	Working capital (in crores of Rs.)
1931-35	105.71	43.22	94.61
1936-40	116.96	50.77	104.68
1941-45	149.89	72.18	124.35

(To be continued)

8. R. Pantalu : *Year Book and Directory of India Co-operation*, p. 1.

9. R. Pantalu : *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

10. Reserve Bank : *Review of the Co-operative Movement in India*, (1941), p. 4.

THE EDUCATIONAL PATTERN IN PRE-BRITISH INDIA

By S. S. ROY CHOUDHURY, B.A.,

National Archives of India, New Delhi

LONG before the British came into this country, India possessed a sound system of education which catered for the educational needs of the people. The characteristics of this system were extreme simplicity, wide diffusion and practical realism. In an age of predominantly money economy, it is difficult to envisage a time when educational benefits were available at insignificant costs, more in kind than in cash. Social awareness of responsibility to the adolescent school-going population was marked. While education was almost totally financed by public and private endowments and charity, outside interference was reduced to the minimum. The records of the East India Company are replete with references to the gratuitous instruction provided and the refusal of teachers to accept any remuneration.¹ Local initiative and resources were also fully utilized.

Education has been a traditional feature in the Indian economy²; but on the advent of the British it was in its declining years. Though differing in details, the educational system possessed to a remarkable degree features common in all India. An accurate picture of this system is, unfortunately, not available due to paucity of materials. Indian sources are scanty and scattered in a number of literary compositions. Information gleaned from them would, however, furnish us with a rough idea of how the people tended their educational requirements. The launching of Christian missionary educational projects in Bengal from the 18th century onwards focussed attention on the existing state of indigenous education and a number of missionary accounts are with us. Moreover, from 1813 onwards an annual amount of one lakh, subsequently augmented, was available from the Company's revenues for the cause of education. The Company was forced to think out ways and means of spending the money. Mr. W. Adam³ was appointed in 1835 to undertake a survey of the existing state of

indigenous education. Adam's reports, submitted between 1835 and 1838, constitute a veritable mine of information. They, however, unmistakably reveal indigenous education on the way to progressive dissolution.

In the primary stage, instructions were imparted in the three R's and elementary literary compositions; writing of petitions and letters, book-keeping and the like. It attained eminent success in turning out good clerks as is testified to by the almost unanimous verdict passed on Indian clerks by the foreigners. Specialised instructions in advanced literature, humanities, and sciences were provided by the many *tols* or *mādrasas* which were interspersed throughout the country. In higher education intimate personal relations subsisted between students and teachers. Higher education was free and the ideal of self-sufficiency was stressed. Financial motives were almost wholly absent and the commercialization of education was undreamt of. Knowledge for its own sake was the ideal of the scholars and the proverbial simplicity of the teachers is quite well-known. The ultimate value of higher education lay in the estimation in which society looked upon the studies of the sacred Shastras. But big educational institutions typified by Nalanda belonged to the forgotten past. Mostly, the schools were run on the personal reputation and discipline of single teachers specialized in particular branches of knowledge. But the abstract and other-worldly nature of their interests and pursuits made them entirely unfit for original speculation and research; their influence on the students and the society in general was not strong and constructive. Concern with the hair-splitting subtleties and niceties of grammar, logic and philosophy deprived them of intellectual freedom and vigour.⁴ Not surprisingly, they failed to take up cudgels on behalf of national culture and national traditions when assailed by the West.

Official and non-official comments and observations on this system are available in plenty. Thus, the Court of Directors in its letter⁵ to the Governor-General in-

1. "A prejudice appears to exist among the Hindoos at that City (Benaras) against the office of Professor considered as an office or even as a service; and the most learned Pandits have consequently invariably refused the situation although the salary attached to it is liberal."—(Extracts from Lord Minto's *Minute* of March, 1811).

2. "Education is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day, there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars. The immense literature which this long period has produced is thoroughly penetrated with the scholastic spirit; and the same spirit has left a deep impression on the social conditions of the people among whom that literature was produced."—(F. W. Thomas: *The History and Prospects of British Education in India*. Quoted in *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 1).

3. Mr. William Adam came as a missionary to India. He was a prominent educationist, journalist and linguist. He was thoroughly

versed in Indian languages and literatures. The reports he submitted to the Government have been edited by Mr. A. N. Bose and published by the Calcutta University.

4. Rammohun Roy cites an instance: "For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *khad*, signifying to eat; *khadati*, he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word *khadati*, taken as a whole, convey the meaning he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word. As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the eat, how much in the s? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly or by them taken jointly?"—(Rammohun Roy's *Letter to Lord Amherst*, December 11, 1823—*Selections from Educational Records*, p. 100).

5. *Selections from Educational Records*, p. 23.

Council refers to "that distinguished feature of internal polity, by which the instruction of the people is provided for by a certain charge upon the produce of the soil, and by other endowments in favour of village teachers, who are thereby rendered public servants of the community." It also refers to the adoption of the Indian method of instruction in England by Dr. Bell.⁶

"Which is now become the mode by which education is conducted in our national establishments, from a conviction of the facility it affords in the acquisition of language by simplifying the process of instruction. This venerable and benevolent institution of the Hindoos is represented to have withstood the shocks of revolution and to its operation is ascribed the general intelligence of the natives as scribes and accountants."

Further,

"Judged by a comparison with any corresponding character in this country, we understand that these village teachers are held in great veneration throughout India."

Mr. Keir Hardie wrote in his work on India:

"Max Muller on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then, 80,000 native schools in Bengal or one for every 400 of the population."

Ludlow⁷ reports that

"In every Hindoo village school which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write and cypher."

Adam says:

"... that these (village schools) are the institutions closely interwoven as they are with the habits and the customs of the country. . . ."

Schools were very simple in organisation, methods of study, equipment and personnel. There was no educational authority to lay down uniform standards in regard to qualifications of teachers, syllabuses, periods of study and such cognate matters. Neither was there any uniform system of examinations. But usually, the Pandit Mahashaya, as the teacher was called, was a man in his middle years, with a stern look and strict discipline, which he enforced by a liberal use of the cane. He established his school either on his own initiative or under the auspices of "princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals, under the

native governments." (Hamilton). In the latter case, his expenses both personal and school were met by his patrons. Thus philanthropy, public and private, perquisites and fees went into the finances of the average school.

Ordinarily, the school consisted of only a bare room. The students brought pieces of carpet or matting, books and writing accessories. Classes in the modern sense were not there. The school assembled in the early hours of the morning or late in afternoon, leaving noon-time free for rest and sleep. All students at different stages of progress read together and the teachers taught on an individual basis, varying his progress according to individual capacity. The general course ranged from 4 to 6 years. In the absence of common educational standards, conditions were bound to differ greatly from place to place, often from village to village. With all these, there was, on the whole, a certain uniformity of the ideas about education which people entertained in widely separated parts of the country.

A new-comer started his auspicious life of studentship by a prayer at the altar of Goddess Saraswati or God Ganesha as in Western India. He was initiated into the mysteries of the alphabet by writing on the ground with a piece of stick for a few days. He, then, went up to the palm-leaf stage, writing difficult parts of the alphabet, like joining vowels to the consonants, forming compound letters, syllables and words. He also learnt by heart the tables of numeration, money, weight and measures and the correct mode of writing the proper names.

A year after, the novice wrote on plantain leaf with lamp-black ink. The subjects of study during this stage were the simplest forms of letter writing, composition distinguishing the written from the spoken, simple arithmetic, simple mensuration of land and accounts, both agricultural and commercial. The method of study was to read aloud the different tables, "the forms of keeping debit and credit accounts, calculation of the value of daily or monthly rates."⁸

The student now came to the stage of paper. Advanced accounts, arithmetic, composition of letters of all kinds: business, grants, leases and petitions. He was now eligible for the grant of a certificate if the pathsala could only grant it.

The punishment meted out to defaulting scholars took various forms. The scholars on their part also played various tricks on their teachers. A number of them are quoted here from the *Calcutta Review*, No. IV, p. 334:

"A boy is made to bend forward with his face toward the ground; a heavy brick is then placed on his back, and another on his neck; and should he let either of them fall, within the prescribed period of half an hour or so, he is punished with the cane."

6. Dr. Andrew Bell introduced the system of mutual tuition in England. Mr. A. D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, wrote in his report in 1823: "The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools and the methods by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced and at the same time confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable and well deserve the imitation it has received in England." Strangely enough, compare this with the verdict passed upon it in the following words: "It was officially condemned in 1839 as a vicious system leading to disastrous results; and has been condemned by most educational authorities since."—(*Selections from Educational Records*, foot-note, p. 23).

7. Quoted in Maj. E. D. Bose's book, *History of Education under the East India Company*.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Adam's Report on the State of Education, p. 7.

10. Adam's Report, p. 144.

"A boy is made to sit on the floor in an exceedingly constrained position, with one leg turned up behind his neck.

"A boy is made to hang for a few minutes, with his head downwards, from the branch of a neighbouring tree.

"His hands and feet are bound with cords, to these members so bound a rope is fastened, and the boy is then hoisted up by means of a pulley attached to the beams or rafters of the school.

"The boy who first comes to school in the morning receives one stroke of the cane on the palm of the hand, the next receives two strokes, and so each in succession, as he arrives, receives a number of strokes equal to the number of boys that preceded him, the first being the privileged administrator of them all."

On the tricks played on the Guru Mahashaya :

"In preparing his *hookah*, it is a common trick, for the boys to mix the tobacco with chillies and other pungent ingredients; . . . or, beneath the mat on which he sits, may be strewn thorns and sharp prickles, . . . or at night, he is waylaid by his pupils, who, from their concealed position in a tree, or thicket, or behind a wall, pelt him well with pebbles, bricks or stones; or, once more, they rehearse doggerel songs, in which they implore the gods, and more particularly Kali, to remove him by death—vowing, in the event of the prayer being heard, to present offerings of sugar and coconuts."

The scholars had a number of ways of evading the school, one of them was,

" . . . in making good their escape, they often wade or swim through tanks, or along the current of running drains, with a large earthen pot over their heads, so that the suspicion of passers-by, or of those in pursuit, is not even excited . . ."

or another amusing way,

" . . . the runaway actually remained for three days on the top of a coconut tree, vigorously hurling the coconuts, as missiles, at the heads of all who attempted to ascend for the purpose of securing him."

Higher education was mainly concerned with gaining mastery over the Vedic texts and other sacred lore. The primary purpose of higher education was religious as learning in the Shastras ranked high in social estimation. So every encouragement was bestowed and inducement offered to learn as well as to teach. Social assistance, both public and private, was never lacking and deserving students found full opportunity to pursue higher studies.

As in primary schools, land and occasionally suitable buildings thereon were received in gift by the teachers from the land-owners, kings and others religiously inclined. Often the expenses of residential accommodation both for teachers and students were provided out of charity, sometimes in the form of landed gifts or in that of regular monetary assistance. After the completion of the buildings, "the teacher invites a number of respectable Brahmins and give them some presents. Occasionally the teacher instructs his own junior relations and establishes his reputation

by occasional public disputations."¹¹ The students learnt their lessons in turn from their teachers in the morning while in the evening and at night they revised what they had learnt before.

Adam classifies schools of higher learning into three categories.¹² Doubtlessly, this classification is general and quite a large number of the schools fell into one or other of these :

1. Schools where grammar, general literature, rhetoric and occasionally the great mythological poems and law were taught.
2. Schools where chiefly law and occasionally mythological poems were taught.
3. Schools where solely logic was taught.

There were standard books on each subject, supplemented by commentaries.

In the first kind of schools, the teachers asked the students to commit to memory their lessons and after that they explained the meaning of difficult passages. It took two to six years to complete the grammar course and when Panini was taught, even ten years. After gaining a working knowledge of grammar, the student concurrently proceeded with law, philosophy or literary texts along with the remainder of grammar.

In the other kind of school, the pupils were divided according to their progress. In the presence of the teacher, the best reader read aloud to the class and the other students asked for and got explanations from the teachers. Law and logic studies were exceptionally difficult and students used to go from one teacher to another getting the best out of them. It took six to ten years to complete the legal and logical course. The following quotation from Mr. Ward would give an idea :¹³

"Amongst one hundred thousand Brahmins, there may be 1,000 who learn the grammar of the Sanskrit, of whom four or five may read some parts of Alankara Shastras. Four hundred of this thousand may read some of the Smritis (or law works); but not more than any part of the Tantras. Three hundred may study Nyaya, but only five or six the Mimamsa, the Sankhya, the Vedanta, the Patanjali, the Vaisheshikas or the Veda. Ten per cent in this number of Brahmins may become learned in the astronomical Shastras, while ten more understand them imperfectly. Fifty of this thousand may read the Bhagavada and some of the Puranas."

The immediate impression gathered from the above is its extreme simplicity. Absence of detailed rules and regulations, minimum expenses, simplicity of materials used, tended to make it cheap and simple. Of course, mere simplicity is not capable of balancing deficiency which indubitably existed in other respects, like absence of proper standards of teaching, the extreme narrowness of the subjects taught, little encouragement to originality and the like. A partial explanation of this may be found in the economic history of the times.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Adam comments on the character and ability of the teachers in a disparaging tone.¹⁴ Doubtless, at the time he inspected the schools, they were already on their way to dissolution due to operation of wider socio-economic factors. Even so, the fact that Adam planned to carry out his educational reforms through the instrumentality of these teachers only prove that their fundamental core was sound. In the course of his extensive field of investigations he found enough materials to lend support to this faith. But it must be borne in mind that at that time healthy influences had been corrupted and disruption had set in the political and economic order. The traditional foundations of society had been rudely shaken. With all patronage withdrawn, and insecure conditions rendering normal life impossible, the teachers did not have sufficient incentive for quality improvement. Thus, deterioration in educational standards indicated by the type of teachers is only an index of the prevailing social conditions. However, the stern discipline, exemplary punishment and rigorous courses of study had their parallel in the grammar schools of England.

Schools with buildings and equipment, possessing a corporate personality and inspiring a sense of loyalty in the *alma mater* were wholly unknown. Nalanda was buried deep in oblivion physically as well as in the memories of the people. Primary schools invariably and higher schools mostly were one-man affairs with little roots in inherited traditions. Donations, in the form of land, cash or in kind, from patrons were generally made to individuals who bequeathed them to their lineal descendants. The latter often used them for purposes other than originally meant.

Apart from a number of well-known text-books, with some commentaries, school books were not in wide use.¹⁵ Printing did not come to affect such a revolution as it did in the case of education in Europe. The masters stocked into their brains all that they had to impart to their pupils by way of instructions, and urged their pupils to do the same. Originality in methods and subjects of study was not encouraged. Fantastic stories are told of the feats of memory performed by many of the scholars and teachers alike, like the Naiyayik Raghunatha. For convenience of memory, poetry found greater favour and subjects of study were versified, which accounts for the absence of prose literature in Bengali.

The methods of instruction have been commended.¹⁶

"Hand, eye and the ear are employed; the memory is a good deal exercised, the judgment is not wholly neglected; and the religious sentiment is early and perseveringly cherished, however, *'mis-directed'*,* . . . well adapted to quality for the actual business of native society, i.e., 'for the village zemindar, the village accountant and the village shop-keeper.'" (Lord Moira).¹⁷

But the system suffered from grave shortcomings. Adam says :

" . . . popular mind is necessarily cabined, cribbed and confined within the smallest possible range of ideas and those of the most limited local and temporary interest."¹⁸

On the whole, education was confined to the higher strata of society. It was considered neither desirable nor necessary to impart education to the artisans, manual labourers and peasants. But the tendency to provide some sort of schooling to their young ones of both sexes was very widely prevalent among all classes of people. Discrimination in schools on grounds of caste and religion was uncommon.

Female education did not go beyond the primary stage.¹⁹ The idea of the equality of the sexes was strange to the morals of those times. The respective spheres of men and women were considered to be different. Generally, a working knowledge of the three R's and conversance with the poetical and mythological literature constituted the hallmark of women's education. In well-to-do families, however, domestic education was fairly common. Many women attained eminence in poetry. Also, many rose equal to the occasion when entrusted with responsibility in the management of estates, etc.

The status of Bengali was far below that of Sanskrit and even of Persian. The one was the language of the learned and the other that of the Court. Knowledge of Persian was quite common among the people of the higher and middle classes, both Hindus and Muslims, particularly in the urban areas. Bengali poets had to depend for their patronage on the favour of the fair sex and the unlettered masses. Local entertainments were frequent and constituted the only means of mass education. They took such forms such as public recitation of poems, often in competition among the poets (*kavi-gans*), dramas (*jatras*), public sermons (*kathakatas*), etc. In the 19th century, Bengali literature was braced up with the stimulating contact

* Underlined by me.

17. *Minute on Judicial Administration of the Presidency of Fort William*, 1815.

18. *Adam's Report*, p. 147.

19. "To the women of Brahmins and women in general they are unknown, because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers. . . . The prohibition against women learning to read is, probably from various causes, much less attended to in some districts than in others, and it is possible that in every district a few females may be found in the reading schools."—Extracts from *Fort St. George Revenue Consultations*, 2nd July, 1822.

14. "The teacher in virtue of his character or in the way of advice or reproof exercised no moral influence on the character of the pupils. For the sake of pay, he performs a menial service in the spirit of a menial." *Ibid*, p. 9.

15. Monstuart Elphinstone speaking of Deccan in 1819, says : "Books are scarce and the common ones probably ill-chosen but there exist in the Hindu languages many tales and fables that would be generally read and that would circulate sound morals. There must be religious books tending more directly to the same end."

16. *Adam's Report*, p. 147.

with the Christian missionaries. The Serampur missionaries were responsible for the early development of Bengali prose literature, and the earliest Bengali journals also owe their origin to them. After the missionaries introduced printing in Bengali, education became much more varied and widespread.

—:O:—

THE DEPUTY MINISTERS—THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., O.E.S.

THE answer given by Prof. D. N. Banerjee to the question raised by Sri Mitra (Vide *The Modern Review*, April, 1953) is quite interesting and informative, but the reasoning is not fully conclusive. I agree with Prof. Banerjee that there is no constitutional bar to the appointment of Deputy Ministers, but I cannot agree with him that there can be an 'Inner Cabinet' different from the 'Council of Ministers' whose membership is denied to some of the ministers. Nor do I feel certain that the British analogy he has brought in is quite relevant here. I also contend that the present practice of appointing Parliamentary Secretaries is not quite constitutional.

First, the British analogy. It is a habit with many of us to bring in the British analogy whenever we discuss any constitutional question in India. It is all right if it is brought in merely to make a point clearer for our understanding, but it cannot be used for a conclusive argument to say that because there is a certain practice or convention in vogue in England a similar thing in this country is either justified or constitutional. It is true that our constitution is deliberately based on the British model—I am not disputing that point at all here—but the basic fact that ours is a *written constitution* makes all the difference. A written constitution limits the structure to a definite shape, and while, just like any unwritten one, it can also grow and adapt itself to changing needs and circumstances, it cannot grow beyond the original basis unlike the British one, which has no such limitations. In other words, we can say that nothing of a new constitutional practice or institution can grow which is prohibited by any provisions of the written constitution. Putting it positively, we can freely adopt any new practice and convention we like unless it is explicitly prohibited by the Constitution. We must also understand the meaning of 'prohibition' here. It means that such a constitutional prohibition should be effective, which means that it could be enforced. We can put it as an axiom that a written constitution allows what it does not prohibit.

So the best approach to the question of the Deputy Ministers is in this way: Is it prohibited by the Constitution and is that prohibition enforceable? The answer to the first question is that it is not prohibited

by the Constitution and so we can easily agree with Prof. Banerjee that there is no constitutional bar to their appointment, as a matter of fact to any other kind of ministers as long as they are called 'Ministers,' to the Council of Ministers created by Arts. 74 and 163. That all the members of that Council need not be of the same status is borne out by the fact that the Constitution itself recognises two kinds of Ministers—the Prime/Chief Minister and other Ministers. The 'other Ministers' in Arts. 75 and 164 may be Ministers or Deputy Ministers, not because the Constitution explicitly permits them but because it does not prohibit any such classification and also because the Executive wants it and the Legislature to which the Executive is responsible agrees to it.

But there is another question. Can there be an 'Inner Cabinet' apart from the 'Council of Ministers' to which membership is denied to some of the Ministers, Deputy or otherwise? I cannot agree with Prof. Banerjee that there could be, because the Constitution certainly prohibits it. The argument is as follows:

The Constitution creates only a 'Council of Ministers' to aid and advise the President|Governor under Art. 74|Art. 163, and, therefore, when any Minister or Deputy Minister has to be appointed he can be appointed only as a Member of this 'Council' and the Minister concerned is also administered an oath only as a member of this 'Council.' Therefore, if the President|Governor is to be 'aided and advised' by any other body, other than the full Council of Ministers, like an 'Inner Cabinet' which excludes membership to some of the members of the 'Council,' then such a body is 'unconstitutional.' This (the inner Cabinet) is not the body contemplated by the Constitution and appointed by the President|Governor to advise him. The status of the Inner Cabinet is, therefore, only that of a Committee of the Council of Ministers but its decisions are not the decisions of the latter full Council and therefore should be ratified once again in the full meeting of the Council. Nor can the full Council abrogate its functions and power and delegate them to the Cabinet just as the Parliament cannot delegate its law-making function to the Select Committees. So any decision of the

Council of Ministers reaching the Governor for his signature should go in the name of the Council but not in the name of the Inner Cabinet. This point comes out more prominently when we come to the operation of Arts. 78(C) and 167(C) when the President/Governor sends back individual decisions of his Ministers for the consideration of the Council of Ministers. Such a matter should be discussed by the *Council of Ministers* of which every Minister is a Member, but not by the Inner Cabinet. The Constitution, I submit, is quite clear on that point.

But the question: Can this view be upheld and enforced? If it cannot be enforced, then the constitutional provision is as good as dead. It can be enforced in three ways. Firstly, the President/Governor might refuse to recognise any 'Inner Cabinet' insisting that he should be advised only by the 'Council of Ministers' he has appointed. But such a course itself is unimaginable and probably will be looked upon as 'unconstitutional' in a Constitution that is based on the British model. We cannot expect the President/Governor to enforce it, though we need not rule out the possibility altogether. The Lower House can enforce it by refusing to pay the salary and allowances, but this also is unthinkable in a system of government dominated by political parties and executive lead. So this 'political' enforcement is out of the question.

The only alternative left is legal enforcement. Can the Courts insist that the President/Governor should take his advice only from the 'Council of Ministers' but not from the 'Inner Cabinet'? No, obviously not. There are many reasons. Firstly, the President/Governor need not always take advice from the full Council. Art. 78(C)/167(C) implies that it is not necessary unless he himself wants. The deciding point, however, is Art. 74(2)/163(3) whereby the Courts have been expressly forbidden to enquire into any advice, if given at all. So it is beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts to insist that the 'Inner Cabinet' is not the same as the 'Council.'

There is, however, a remote possibility. Suppose a particular executive order of the President/Governor comes in dispute before the Courts, and suppose it was proved then that it was one where the President/Governor referred it back to the Council under Art. 78(C)/167(C), then the Courts could possibly rule that as the constitutional requirement has not been fulfilled, it is not a properly constituted order of the President/Governor! But it is a very very remote possibility. We can conclude, therefore, that this point is enforceable neither politically nor legally.

So we have to accept the point that there can be an 'Inner Cabinet,' not because it is allowed by the Constitution, nor not prohibited by it, but because there is no means of enforcing the contrary

point of view either politically or legally. Several such breaches of the Constitution have already occurred because of the same reason.*

I may add one more important point. It is not very necessary that we should worry ourselves with legal quibbles when such questions of the working of the Constitution are concerned. After all, the Constitution is intended to facilitate good government but not obstruct it, and, as long as new practices do not break the constitution, but help carry on a good administration, we should actually welcome them. The appointment of Deputy Ministers is one such thing.

The last point now is about the practice of appointing Parliamentary Secretaries at the Centre. These holders of office are not appointed by the President to the Council of Ministers nor do they take an oath of office before him; nor consequently hold office 'during the pleasure of the President.' Thus they are in a way 'extra-presidential jobs' and they should be discouraged as it places the mantle of appointing Ministers on the Prime Ministers evidently not contemplated by the Constitution. In fact, according to the Constitution, there cannot be a Minister of any kind or designation unless he is appointed by the President to the Council and administered the oath accordingly. This view can also be upheld in a Court whenever an executive order passed or signed by one of the Parliamentary Secretaries comes up for review before the Courts. Another point. When the Prime Minister or any Minister having Parliamentary Secretaries discusses and conveys top-secrets of the State, they may indeed be deemed to have broken the oath of office and secrecy taken before the President!

* Take, for instance, the election of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as the Vice-President of India. The Constitution clearly says (Art. 66 i) that the Vice-President "shall be elected by the Members of both Houses of Parliament assembled at a joint meeting . . ." (Italics mine). Dr. Radhakrishnan was not elected by this way at all, but still nothing has happened and no legal action is taken by anybody, though India today has an 'unconstitutionally elected Vice-President.' That is because all people concerned agree on his appointment. (Probably trouble might arise when he acts as President on any future occasion and then his election is questioned in a Court of Law). Or take the nomination of C. R. to the Madras State Council and then his appointment as the Chief Minister. The Governor himself said that he did not consult his Cabinet when he nominated C. R. to the Council, though Art. 163 implies that the Governor shall have to take the aid and advice of his Ministers in all matters unless the Constitution asks him expressly to act in his discretion; and the Constitution does not give the Governor express discretionary power while nominating to the Council. Lastly, take a third case (though I am subject to correction here on the facts of the case). Dr. K. N. Katju was appointed as Minister in the Centre while he was Governor of West Bengal and in his place Dr. Mookerjee was appointed by the President. Now a Governor's post falls vacant by death, resignation, dismissal or end of five-year period. Now which of these, resignation or dismissal happened at that time was not known to the public. Probably none and I hold that Dr. Mookerjee assumed charge of an office that never fell vacant!

SCIENCE AND AGRICULTURE

By J. N. CHAKRAVARTY, I.A.S.,
Retired Director of Agriculture

SCIENTIFIC agriculture is an expression used (or abused) by many people without a correct appreciation of its significance. Since the reorganisation of the Department of Agriculture by Lord Curzon, half a century ago, a large section have derided it as an exotic gadget superfluous for India. The Indian cultivator has agriculture bred in his bones for generations and needed no teaching from outside. It is true that the Indian cultivator has few peers in craftsmanship within his limitations. It is equally true that he has no conception of the vast strides made in agriculture in Western countries by the application of scientific principles. A smaller but increasingly growing section is depending on science for raising Indian agriculture from its present stagnation, for solving India's food problem. Agricultural research has been subjected to severe and sometimes undeserved criticism for its failure to achieve this object. Those conversant with facts fully recognise that research has made no mean contribution towards increasing India's agricultural knowledge. But it is only when the results of the laboratory are transferred to the fields of cultivators that scientific agriculture will have achieved its objective, and it is here that past efforts have failed. Although a few progressive cultivators have adopted the teachings of science and reaped a rich harvest, the Indian peasantry, by and large, have gone their traditional way. The remarks of Sir John Russel, a foremost British scientist, are almost as true today as they were, when made fifteen years ago.

"The new selections and the varieties which represent the highest achievements of Indian agricultural science are used to a very small extent. The ryots continue largely unaffected by the enormous efforts made on their behalf. In India, the stage has been reached when the machinery for gaining more knowledge is working better than the machinery for utilising it."

It is necessary to study and remove the obstacles which have stood in the way of the cultivators in adopting these methods. This is due neither wholly to ignorance nor to mere love of tradition. There are more fundamental reasons. Mass poverty, mass illiteracy, insanitary conditions, bureaucratic ineptitude, want of co-ordination, zamindari system and fragmentation of land have all played their part in the perpetuation of tradition and stagnation. It is proposed to study only the last two factors in this article.

It cannot be stressed too strongly that agriculture is not only a science but an art, that success depends

on practice, that agriculture is a way of life. If agriculture is to be improved all the rural problems which have stood in the way must be attacked simultaneously; the whole life of the peasants must be raised to a higher level; improvement cannot be piecemeal. In the past the various rural uplift schemes worked in separate compartments and failed in almost every sphere. What is essential is that an integrated development programme, embracing all spheres of rural life, of which agriculture will form the corner-stone, should be implemented.

It is essential that in implementing such schemes, local co-operation should be sought to the maximum extent possible. It is only through an association of the government machinery and local leadership that such schemes can achieve their objective. It is here that the old bureaucratic methods met with their most grievous failure. The Planning Commission have considered this problem in detail and have recommended that all Development Departments should be co-ordinated and work as an integrated whole. They have also recommended that local committees and other existing institutions should be utilised to the maximum extent possible. Both these recommendations are of utmost importance in the successful implementation of the Five-Year Agricultural Plan.

In a democratic State, the Minister of Agriculture should be a fit person to effect such co-ordination and integration. What is really wanted is a dynamic urge rather than a soulless machine. The Development Community Projects, if properly implemented (and this is a big if) would go a long way in effecting such co-ordination and providing such urge.

Zamindari system is on the verge of extinction. But fragmentation, dividing the ryot's already small holdings into tiny plots scattered over different parts of the village persists. This results in considerable wastage of labour and prevents the adoption of even simple mechanisation, not to speak of tractors. It also makes it difficult for individual peasants to adopt various devices for saving his crops from insects and other pests which require comparatively large areas for effective results. Effective methods of irrigation can only be provided by government or arranged by cultivators through co-operative efforts for large areas. In the absence of either, the cultivator has to depend on the fickle rainfall which do not always come at the right moment. The Western countries have solved this problem by adopting capitalistic large-scale farming.

This would throw out a considerable section of the Indian peasantry from the land and is impossible of adoption. The Communist countries have adopted the system of collective farming. This involves expropriation of individual ownership of land consolidating the whole village area in one unit and work in it as a single farm. This also involves compulsory labour and each family is paid not according to the land contributed but to the needs of each family. Both methods are repugnant to Indian ideas of democracy. The Indian peasantry is deeply attached to its land and any attempt at expropriation might conceivably lead to a revolution. The Planning Commission after careful consideration of the technical as well as the psychological factors have recommended the adoption of what it has called the Co-operative Village Management. The essence of this scheme is as follows:

A committee of Panchayet should be formed in each village, individual cultivators would surrender the management of their land to this committee, retaining, however, their right of ownership. The whole village area would then be pooled together and managed by the committee as a single unit. Labour would be voluntary and paid for. The profits after meeting the expenses will be divided according to the areas of land contributed.

This would enable the introduction of rationalisation, irrigation and many other improved scientific methods, without involving expropriation of land and compulsory labour. The system will not be as simple in actual working as it reads on paper. It will be a difficult task to induce the peasant rooted to his land to surrender even his right of management. Sense of civic responsibility even among the educated community is very frequently lacking. To work for the co-operative farm as zealously as for their own plots will not come easily to the peasant; the spirit of evasion will continue for a long time. Results will take some time to come and convince the doubters. It will not be possible to make any payment according to the fertility of individual plots and some will nourish a grievance that they are being deprived of their legitimate dues. The managing committee must be not only technically efficient but, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. Election does not always ensure this.

Collectivisation and rationalisation though effecting economy and increased productivity will throw a proportion of agricultural labour out of employment. It will be necessary to absorb them in industrial activities. This will necessitate the creation of small industries. Local cottage industries would be most suitable for such purposes and would cause the least economic disturbance. Rural electrification schemes will be of considerable help in starting such industries.

All these must be recognised and steps taken from inception to surmount them. It is here that local co-operation and leadership are of overwhelming importance. It will require statesmanship and leadership of the highest order to kindle enthusiasm and enlist co-operation which will overcome these obstacles. Two of the five years have already passed and with the exception of a few sporadic efforts most of the agricultural programme continue to be mostly mere extensions of the Grow More Food schemes.

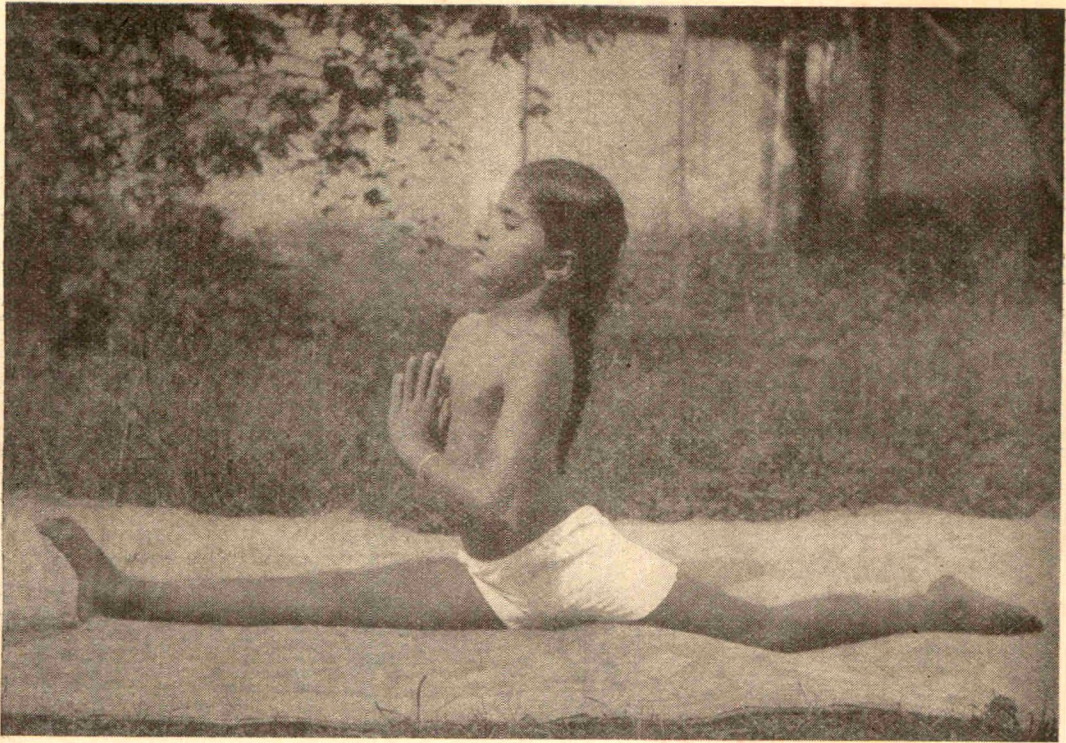
A start has been made in the Uttar Pradesh in the form of what is called Co-operative Collective Farms. These are very similar to what is recommended by the Planning Commission. The societies have been formed under the Co-operative Societies Act and the executive elected accordingly. It has not yet been possible to induce all the cultivators of a village to join these societies, but the authorities hope to effect this with patience. Thirty-two such societies have been formed with a membership of 1338, a capital of Rs. 251,377. The total acreage of the farms is 14,683. A number of Agricultural Co-operative Societies have also been registered in West Bengal under the same Act. Many of them are in the nature of Better Farming Societies with limited spheres of co-operation in farming. In a few cases small areas have been allotted for joint management. A few, numbering 9, however, have been formed on principle of collective farms, with a membership of 1580, share capital of Rs. 176,340 and a farm acreage of 4117. Most of these have been formed by refugees from East Pakistan with lands and loans granted by government. The results of their working have yet to be seen. In no case have a majority of villagers surrendered their land for joint management.

It is doubtful if co-operative societies under old rigid rules are suitable for efficient management of collective farms. A more active and flexible management is required both in the technical and psychological spheres.

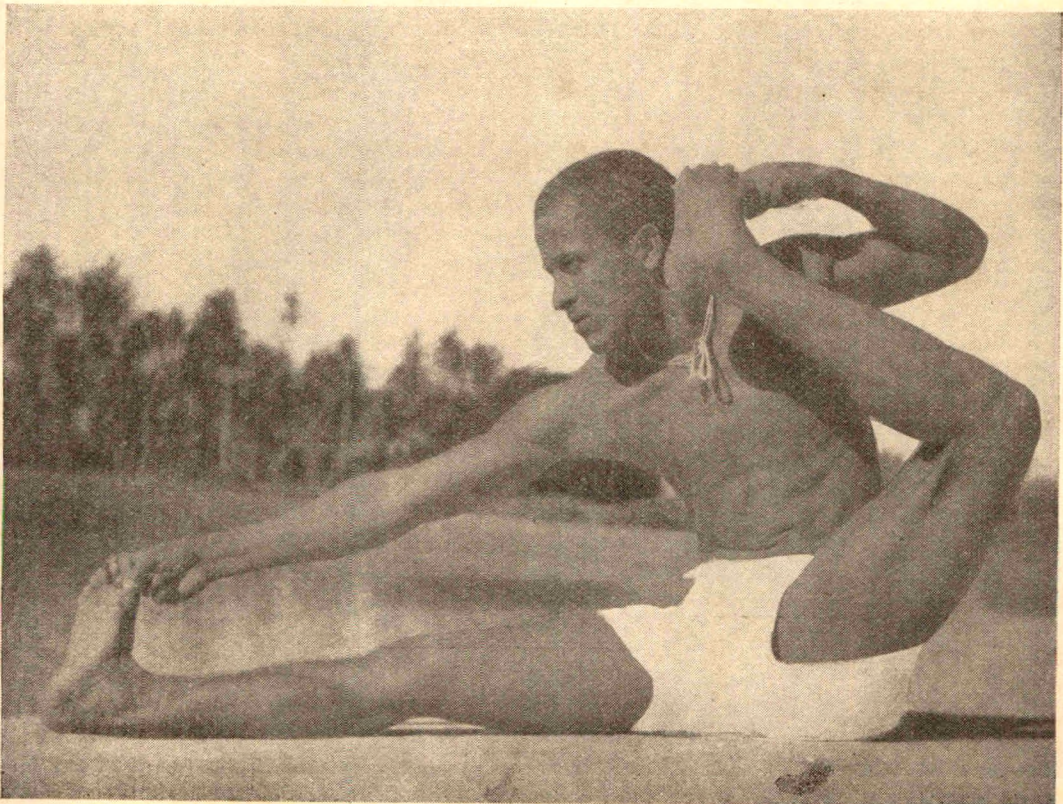
It is unfortunate that this part of the Five-Year Plan has not received the publicity and attention it deserves. It is on this pivot that the future agricultural progress of the country will largely depend. It is hoped that government will take more active steps to implement the programme. Piecemeal schemes will be of just as little avail as they have been in the past. They will not solve India's food problem.

The fundamental obstacles confronting the cultivators must be removed. It is only then that science can play its legitimate part in dragging India's agriculture out of present stagnation, that Indian agriculture can attain the highest level in the world.

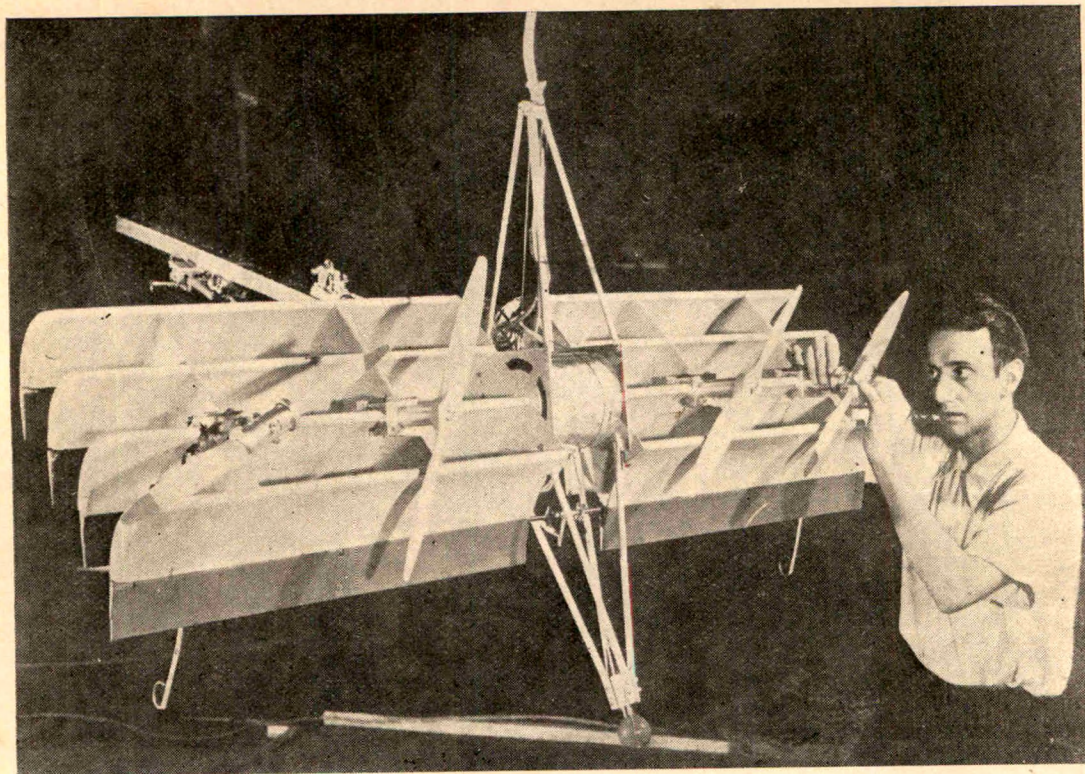
YOGA



Hanumanasan, a posture for prayer



Akarsha-dhanurasana another difficult posture



This odd-looking machine is an experimental model aircraft which can fly vertically. It was tested recently at Langley Field, Virginia, by the U. S. National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics. Here, an employee of the committee adjusts a propeller on the model



Soviet tanks move through the streets of East Berlin to repress the civilian outbreaks against Communist police state rule

WHAT IS TO HAPPEN TO THE PALESTINE REFUGEES?

By KARL LOEWY

THE small diversion, which the American Secretary of State, Dulles, made during his flight to Beyrouth over the constructions for the Yamuk Dam, has not been without effect on the Middle East Policy. With the return of the State Secretary to Washington, the impression becomes stronger that there the settlement of the problem of the Palestine Refugees is viewed as the primary condition for the realisation of the Jewish-Arab Peace.

While the views about the Refugee Problem, contorted by party lust and hatred, become indefinable shadows in the noisy world of daily politics, they are still further obscured by information based on very superficial knowledge, or no knowledge at all, of the facts. The way to a solution will be found only when at last an effort will be made to leave politics out of the game, to free oneself from the sentiments of a humanity which feels no responsibility, and to view the whole matter as one of the important issues for the development of the Middle East—just as significant as the question of oil.

Already, the question of who is responsible for the creation of a Palestine Refugee Problem, proves that its meaning far outreaches local significance. When examining the problem justly, one realises, that the guilt is a collective one. Shortsightedness and hysteria have led to hurried transactions, which are reaping bitter vengeance to-day. The whole evil could have been avoided, if Jews and Arabs had refused to use the panic of the Arab populace as a means for war. The Jews thought that with pressure, they would be able to force them to leave the country, in order to make room for their own immigrants, while a considerable number of the Arab leaders are still of the opinion that in their Refugees they have the nucleus for an army of the War of Vengeance.

Both calculations, have in the course of years been proved not only to be incorrect but also very dangerous. In all probability, the Arabs, who fled from Israel, would have been able to contribute just as much to the amelioration of the country's food-difficulties, as their compatriots who remained in Israel, had there existed a land-policy with a wide range of vision, and if they had had fair treatment as a minority. However, the missing of this opportunity in the heat of the battle for the country, was not the greatest sin committed against the Refugees. It was far worse, that through long-drawn-out treaties they were pushed from the world of peoples' politics into the depths of a badly-run Welfare Organisation. As all those responsible were afraid of taking any decisive action, the Refugee Problem has, in the course of five years, developed into a stagnant mire, with miasma far outreaching in their effects the immediate locality.

How little has been done even in theory to settle this question, is proved by the uncertainty, which exists, about the number of those who were made homeless.

For obvious reasons, one party minimises the number, while the other party exaggerates it. A Jewish estimation of 300,000 is just as ridiculous, as an Arab one of 1 million. The true figure would probably be somewhere in the middle, taking 554,000 as minimum, and 616,000 as maximum.

The reports about the economic and moral situation of the Refugees are equally contradictory. They enjoy as little popularity in their new countries, as do their fellow-sufferers all over the world. As the years have gone by, these people, who were once a necessary evil, have become a burden, because, up to now, nobody has managed to establish them as a productive element in their new surroundings.

Views also differ very much concerning the question of whether or not enough has been done for the provision of food and accommodation for the Refugees. The Egyptian Publicist, Ali el Dali, whose position is close to the left wing of the military circle around General Naguib, has tried to prove in the organ of this group *Al Tahir* that the Refugees in the Egyptian Gaza District do not by any means suffer hunger, but at the cost of various Welfare Organisations lead quite a decent life.

According to a report by the World Health Organisation and the Food and Agricultural Organisation of UNO, the representatives of which spent two weeks in the Spring of 1952 inspecting the Refugee Camps in the Lebanon, Syria, the Gaza District and in Jordan, the standard of the food was in many cases better than that of the countries' own inhabitants.

Indeed, the sufferings of the Refugees do not lie so much in the sphere of the physiological as the social psychological. They are threatened by the danger of slowly rotting away in idleness. Their greatest lack is the lack of regular physical work, to which the Palestine Fellach is accustomed from youth.

A young American, who has visited the Camps in various countries, points to the dangers of this condition. The stream of life seems to have passed the inhabitants of the Camps. Years of useless hoping, lack of work, and the everlasting dependance on others for the most elementary necessities of life, have broken their energy. They brood away senselessly and have become mere pawns, who, possessing no will of their own, let themselves be pushed about on the political chessboard of the Middle East.

The first essential condition for changing them into a useful element will have to be their gradual re-education for productive work. With kindness, and when necessary, with well-meaning discipline, it will have to be made clear to them, that only through their own efforts will they be able once more to build up an independent existence. Simultaneously with these preparations, the Refugees will have to be told, that from being Welfare-receivers, they must once more become people with a pride in their work, which was never

absent in Palestine peasants and landworkers in normal times. Education and technical development will have to reach their purpose by building up an apparatus under combined leadership, which will take in hand the organising of the supervision of Refugees from Egypt to Iraq.

Although the majority of Refugees are to be found in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, the kernel of the Refugee Problem lies in Jordan, not only because most of the Refugees live there—their number being estimated at 350,000—but also for political, psychological and technical reasons. Quite contrary to the fear expressed by Israel, of collecting unruly neighbours near her border, just, there is to be found a district, which is more suited for the pacifying of the Refugees than any other in the whole of the Middle East. Between Israel and Jordan, there is a portion of land, which could accommodate a far larger number of people than is reckoned with at the time. This district is along the river Jordan and its tributaries. It had once been chosen as a home for exiles from other countries—that time for the Jews who were driven out of Europe by Hitler. While looking for a stretch of land suitable to accommodate new immigrants—their numbers being calculated at about 3 million,—without infringing upon the living space of 1,800,000 Jews and Arabs, who were then living in Palestine, this district was noticed by the American erosion specialist, Henry Clay Lowdermilk, while measuring Palestine from the air. Lowdermilk induced the American Zionist, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, to raise the funds for supporting a technical commission for the study of the economic possibilities of this district. This Commission after working for 2½ years on this project, discovered that by utilising the difference in altitude of 300 metres between the Mediterranean near Haifa and the Dead Sea, at a cost of 250 million dollars, the area in the bend of the Jordan, which could be watered, could be increased from 100,000 acres by another 606,000. With the hydro-electric power thus harnessed, these 3 million people would have been able to procure for themselves, through agriculture as well as through industry, a new economically secure existence. It is symbolical of the spirit which governed the initiators that the finished project should bear the name "Jordan Valley Authority." Even during the partition of Palestine, Lowdermilk's idea was given due consideration. In the Treaty, a clause was set down, stipulating Jewish-Arab co-operation in land cultivation and the supply of water. This work was to be directed by a group, consisting of three Arabs, three Jews and three neutral members, nominated by UNO.

In the sticky atmosphere of the five years' Armistice, this beautiful idea was really pushed into oblivion. The water, in fact, became the main bone of contention, which several times, brought the neighbouring states near the edge of a war. The efforts to produce more order, have developed into chaos, which became worse every year, because the Jews and the Arabs, as well as the Armistice Commission of the UNO, treated the problem

from political points of view. As a result, all neighbours concentrated their efforts on securing for themselves as much of the water-installations as possible, by dint of their superiority in military power. Up to now, therefore, nobody has derived any real benefit from the blessings of the Jordan, whereas, with understanding and good-will, all participants could profit greatly for their economic development. But, up to now, Israel has merely tried to sink the mirror of the Huleh-Sea, while Syria has cut off the water of the Yamuk, flowing into Israel, and Jordan, supported by UNWRA, has demanded help for the construction of the Yamuk River Dam. According to calculations made by technicians, 300,000 people would in this way be settled. However, the great idea of the Lowdermilk plan would come to nothing, because the huge portion of 90% of the water-supply would be allotted to Jordan, and 10% to Syria, while Israel would receive nothing. Obviously, new differences must arise out of this solution. There will be peace and good-will in this question concerning the water from the Jordan, only, when the idea of the Jordan Valley Authority is once more taken up in its original form.

Meanwhile, Israel has declared her readiness to resume negotiations about a water agreement with Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon. Also, Washington is willing to give money for the financing of a combined Jewish-Arab undertaking on water. Of far greater importance it would be, however, if anywhere in this world a man could be found, able to perform the diplomatic task of making the Jordan Valley Authority work, as did Harry Hopkins for the Roosevelt Tennessee Valley Authority.

The attempt to operate the Jordan Valley Authority as originally laid down, would confront all those taking part, with big, hitherto unknown difficulties. In the Middle East, for half a century, the struggle of all against all, was considered as the expression of the greatest political wisdom. The statesmen of those countries, benefiting from the Jordan should strike this method off completely from their thoughts, and they should make a consideration for the needs of others of the law in all their dealings. The training for this kind of political thinking is not easy, but one day it will be worth all the trouble. As prize for the effort, the possibility of quickly finding suitable work for hundreds of thousands of idle hands and the liberation from the eternal obsession that only the merciless extermination of one's neighbour can increase one's own living-space, await us. The greatest reward would be the fact that groups of people, who until then had existed in enmity, would, with the question of the water as a unifying element, and the combined blessings of their cultural activities, live amicably together again in a part of the world, which after hopeless ruination and division, pregnant with threatening danger, would once more enter into the history of the East as a living force.

COTTAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

It is very good that cottage and small industries are receiving increasing attention from the thinking section of the population. This is because it is being realised that unless the *eighty-five* per cent of the population represented by the primary producers prosper, the country cannot attain the objective of a truly welfare and democratic state, and the people as a whole become prosperous and progressive in the full sense of the latter term. As early as July, 1949, the present writer submitted a printed memorandum (Appendix), first to the Fiscal Commission, and later, revised and slightly modified, to the Planning Commission. He also had about 550 copies of it circulated among competent individuals and associations all over India, and thus tried in his humble way to influence thought. In the December (1950) number of *The Modern Review* in "Railway Goods Tariff and Cottage and Small Industries" he discussed, among other things, how discriminatory railway freight rates were, on the one side, hampering and discouraging growth and development of these industries, and on the other, promoting and encouraging their rivals and competitors, namely, large-scale factory products, indigenous and foreign. In the December 15, 1950, number of *The Eastern Economist*, he laid emphasis on the need for regional self-sufficiency.

In the very nature of things, the treatment of the freight rate question in the issue of this magazine was critical, and not constructive. Hence the necessity of reopening the issue. The overall consideration of the welfare of the 85 per cent together with the needs of democratic approach has been kept in view all the while. The scale of rates charged by the Indian Railways for carriage of commercial goods and parcels should be based on, first, *uniform mileage rate* to replace existing discriminatory rates between consignments booked for long distances and short distances, making it possible for the product to spread out even as wavelets proceed shoreward unhampered when a stone is cast into the middle of a pond. And, secondly, *distance covered being the same, freight chargeable should be directly proportional to intrinsic value of the consignment* according to the formula $V/W \times B$, where V=total value of the consignment, W=total weight, and B=common basic rate for all classes of goods or parcels, as the case may be. This is expected to be more equitable than the current arbitrary rates. Obviously, the consigner will have to produce the invoice before the despatching authorities.

The question of credit should receive some consideration in connection with the development of this sector of our national economy. Here also there has been discriminatory treatment. The Scheduled Banks provide credit for large-scale industries and commerce, backed by the credit facilities provided by

the Reserve Bank of India. And the credit-making power of the latter rests on the guarantee of the State, which, in its turn, is based on the total national income for the year. In the last analysis, therefore, it is the credit of the State which finances all Indian industrial and commercial concerns. Of the national income for any one year, almost the entire amount is contributed by the aforesaid 85 per cent, the primary producers, handicraftsmen-cum-agriculturists! That is, it is they who finance and fill the pockets of their rivals! And it is well-known that for lack of credit facilities they have fallen into the grip of moneylenders and *mahajans*.

The third factor to be considered is that whereas the large-scale industries produce, their competitors in many cases, generally operate in the seller's market, the products of the sector concerned have perforce to sell in the buyer's market.

These questions have to be satisfactorily dealt with, not piecemeal but wholesale, before we may see our people smiling. Obviously, these policies will reduce the supply of cheap labour and recruits to brothels.

A reference to the first item in the memorandum referred to in the opening paragraph will show that it has been recognised that in the larger national interests, until we have all the basic and strategic industries we need, all sections of the people will have to make sacrifices. It is certainly not right to throw all the burden on those who are the least able to bear it. Imports of luxury goods at the cost of capital goods should be put under rigorous restrictions. It should be noted in this connection that so long as the existing individualistic capitalist set-up continues, the benefits of the forced sacrifices of the primary producers will be pocketed by an insignificantly small percentage of the population who have not only been guaranteed reasonable profits by a favourable fiscal policy, and the ever alert Tariff Commission, but also, in addition, a majority of them know how to cook books of accounts and fill their pockets to bursting!

APPENDIX

Memorandum on the Reconstruction of India's National Economy

1. Defence and allied industries, such as
 - (a) steel and iron, copper, brass, tin and other metallurgical products,
 - (b) arms, armaments, and ammunition,
 - (c) communications, including
 - (i) Rail transport including locomotives, rolling stock, and accessories,
 - (ii) ship-building,
 - (iii) steam, Diesel, and oil engines,
 - (iv) aircraft and parts,
 - (v) automobiles and cycles,
 - (vi) telegraph, telephone, and wireless transmission equipment,

- (vii) electrical equipment, including generators, storage batteries, and insulators,
 - (d) medical and surgical stores,
 - (e) scientific instruments and appliances,
 - (f) optical goods, and
 - (g) fuels of all kinds, including coal, wood, petrol and combustible oils of all varieties should have first priority; and complete protection from foreign competition irrespective of cost.
2. (A) Cottage and small industries should come next in order for the following reasons:
- (a) India lives in the villages and cottages;
 - (b) prosperity of India is prosperity and happiness of the majority; and
 - (c) that end may be attained by a gradual raising of the purchasing power and the standard of living of our people, rather than its concentration in a few hands.
- (B) India is a sub-continent, rich in potential resources, and teeming millions living in villages and cottages possessing hereditary skill in most handicrafts; she is therefore specially suited for this type of crafts.
- (C) Reasons for decay of old time crafts:
- (a) British policy;
 - (b) lack of intelligent leadership during foreign rule;
 - (c) imitativeness of the new generation of Indian capitalist; and
 - (d) incapacity of the Indian products of the classical school of economics to realise
 - (i) the significance of the true objective of economic effort in terms of happiness and well-being of the majority,
 - (ii) difference between the objective backgrounds of Britain and India, and
 - (iii) the need of emphasis on production for employment, irrespective of the difference in the ruling conditions in the two countries in terms of extent, population, terrain, and natural resources.
- (D) Resuscitation, growth and development of small and cottage industries to be secured by setting-up of statutory "Cottage and Small Scale Industries Boards" at the Centre and Provinces with finance supplied by
- (a) Government, and
 - (b) small investors, preferably craftsmen concerned, to serve the following ends:
 - (i) stocking raw material at the cheapest market,
 - (ii) supplying it to craftsmen without making any profit,
 - (iii) acting as bankers,
 - (iv) selling finished products on commission through retail Sales Depots all over the country, and
- (v) conducting researches into methods and appliances.
- (E) Elimination of favoured treatment hitherto accorded by Railways to large consignees, and to goods carried over long distances in the matter of freight rates to the prejudice of goods booked over short distances, and in small quantities, leading to increased cost of production and marketing, and higher price of commodities of the consumer class, under consideration, relatively to products of large-scale centralised industries.
- (F) This should not be difficult in view of what the Railway Board wrote in their letter No. 2972-T.C. d/30-4-49 to the present writer in answer to the latter's letter of 1-4-49, "Reduction of freight rate if justified, is allowed with a view to helping the development of industries wherever located."
3. Centralised large-scale industries should concern themselves exclusively with such items as are not capable of decentralisation, and where the basic raw material is available in India. Even then these industries should not be localised in and around a few large cities only, but on the other hand, should be scattered more or less, uniformly all over India, as far as possible.
4. Full implementation of the policies adumbrated here will take some time. Meanwhile, export of surplus industrial raw material abroad should be permitted to countries willing to co-operate with India in her industrialisation programme on the basis of reciprocal "most favoured nation treatment."
5. Automatically adjustable sliding scale of protective duties, in keeping with periodical fluctuations in the ratio between the "index numbers" of the exporting country and India, to be imposed
- (a) on all imports from relatively lower "index number" countries with reference to pre-war index number of prices for purposes of equalisation, and
 - (b) to check dumping. (Instance: some brands of English cigarettes sell in India at prices very much lower than what prevail in the land of their origin).
6. Agriculture :
- (a) Intelligent leadership in the several operations, e.g., ploughing, manuring, sowing, and irrigation, etc.
 - (b) suitable amendments to tenancy laws with a view to elimination of superfluous intermediaries between the rent receiver and the tiller of the soil, and
 - (c) setting-up of suitable machinery for assisting the agriculturist in securing
 - (i) finance,

- (ii) good price for produce, and
- (iii) providing technical guidance, very similar to what has been proposed for the benefit of craftsmen, and
- (iv) extension and improvement of the road system with a view to improving communication between villages and markets.

N.B.—The crux of the suggestions are:

- (i) Elimination of middlemen at all stages, as far as possible,
- (ii) reduction of cost of production and marketing, and
- (iii) securing maximum return to the worker.

Under the existing circumstances, both craftsmen and cultivators are at a disadvantage in bargaining for their wares with relatively more resourceful and better educated middlemen.

—:O:—

REORGANISATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

IN the course of a resolution on Social and Economic Programme, the Congress Working Committee, at its meeting held on May 16 last, observed that "the machinery of administration has now to face new problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State." "The Services should, therefore, be reorganised from this point of view." The Planning Commission, in their recommendations for the Five-Year Plan, have also strongly pleaded for a reform in Public Administration. "The pace of development," state the Commission, "will depend largely upon the quality of public administration, the efficiency with which it works and the co-operation which it evokes." During the British regime, the main responsibility of the administrative set-up was the collection of revenue and the maintenance of law and order. The major emphasis now shifts to the development of human and material resources and the elimination of hunger, poverty and unemployment in the country. Although it is not fair to indulge in wholesale and sweeping condemnation of all Government servants, we must admit the naked fact that the Public Services in India have not so far been able to readjust themselves to their new responsibilities and have proved unequal to the great task of re-building the country on sound social and economic foundations.

The nation, during the last five years, has, undoubtedly, accomplished many great tasks; our achievements could be favourably compared with those of any other important country in the world including Russia and America. India has framed a new Constitution. She has re-organised the Governments after holding General elections on an unprecedented scale. We have reorganised the States after liquidating six hundred and odd rulers and princes. The Congress has also tried to reorganise the social and economic system of the country through the preparation of the First Five-Year Plan. The process of re-organising the Congress Organisation itself is well under way. The important task of re-organising the Administrative Services has now to be taken up in all seriousness without further loss of time. As the Planning Commission rightly observe, "Public co-operation and good-will are obtained when there is a belief in the integrity and efficiency of adminis-

tration." The work of successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan is suffering greatly because such a faith in the integrity and efficiency of the Services is sadly lacking.

A number of schemes have been prepared for the proper re-organisation of the administrative machinery both at the Centre and in the States. The late Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyanger had made a number of valuable suggestions; the Estimates Committee also submitted a very useful report on the Reorganisation of the Secretariat. Shri A. D. Gorewala wrote a report on Public Administration at the instance of the Planning Commission and recommended a number of measures for achieving integrity and efficiency in Administrative Services. Many of his recommendations have been incorporated in the Five-Year Plan. Recently, Prof. Appleby, the well-known American expert on Public Administration, has submitted a report to the Government of India regarding the reorganisation of the Services on a more flexible and less rigid basis. The alien rulers had given us a "steel frame" which served their own purposes very well but which is ill-fitted to undertake new and onerous tasks under a free and democratic Government. It has, therefore, to be re-oriented and overhauled to serve effectively the pressing needs and requirements of a Welfare State.

In order to achieve the above objective, it is essential to revise radically the existing rules of service and procedure of work in various Government departments. The Britishers framed the rules with a specific purpose in view. They wanted to maintain and prop up the prestige of their officials by laying down rules and regulations in such a manner that the highest in the land could not touch even the lowest officer of their bureaucracy. If the officers have now to become the real servants of the people, these rules of service will have to be revised thoroughly by the Union as well as State Governments. The Indian Constitution provides for such a revision by the Parliament or the State Legislatures. The Government of Uttar Pradesh has given a lead in this direction. Other States should profit by the experiment of the U.P. Government and take immediate steps to change their standing rules of recruitment, training, promotions

and dismissals relating to the administrative services. These rules should *inter alia* provide for speedy departmental enquiries by competent Tribunals so that the corrupt and the inefficient public servants may be rooted out quickly and effectively. The rules should also be framed in such a manner that the honest and efficient officials may have ample opportunities of proving their worth and merit. It should be made amply clear to the Government servants that it is not only important to be honest but also to have the reputation of being honest. In this process of purification, it may be that a few innocent persons are also liquidated. But such exceptional and hard cases should not deter us from launching a regular campaign against corruption, nepotism and inefficiency in Public Administration. The Ministers also should be prepared to undergo the same process of purification by facing Impartial Tribunals whenever necessary. Everybody in the Government, from the highest to the lowest, should be, like Caesar's wife, above all suspicions and must be ever-ready to vindicate his integrity by submitting to enquiries and cross-examinations.

As the Planning Commission have suggested, all Government servants should be required to furnish returns of movable as well as immovable property acquired by them or their near relations during the preceding year. Under the existing rules, the Government servants are required to submit details only about immovable property of their own; the properties acquired by their near relations do not come into the picture at all. It has

also been recommended that the Central Government should establish a Special Intelligence Department for tracing and investigating offences involving corruption and nepotism in the States. Even the best officers in the States may not be able to rise above certain local considerations in instituting impartial enquiries in their respective regions. The dishonest and the guilty should be given exemplary punishments; they should not only be dismissed from service but also heavily fined and speedily prosecuted. Corruption and dishonesty should be regarded as the worst crimes under the new laws of the land. Without adopting drastic measures in this regard, it will be impossible to rid the existing administrative machinery of its numerous faults and shortcomings.

Corruption is not the sole monopoly of any particular section of society. It is a hydra-headed monster which has to be fought on many fronts. The Public Servant, the businessman, and the public in general have to be tackled simultaneously in uprooting dishonesty from the Indian society. Let all of us read the signs of the times. Let us understand once and for all that the masses can tolerate many economic hardships and difficulties; but they cannot and should not tolerate corruption and inefficiency in the administration. India must forge ahead on the economic front; she must succeed in liquidating hunger, poverty and unemployment within a few years. Anybody who comes in the way of her progress will have to go!

—:O:—

ORIGINAL PERSIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE HYDERABAD STATE AND THEIR VALUE

By PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,
Vivva-Bharati

LEOPOLD VON RANKE, the great German historian, predicted, a century ago, that modern history would be based in future not merely on the account of "contemporary historians, much less on derivative writers but also on the relation of eye-witnesses and the original documents." That prophecy has been justified. The craze is now everywhere for official documents, diaries, and news-reports of the age the history of which requires to be built up.

The 16th century may be roughly defined as the age when modern Indian history began, because apart from Reason which began to sway increasingly the minds of men, the Mughal emperor Akbar put the greatest emphasis on the collection of *intelligence* (*akhbar*) from different parts of the empire and a *waga-nawis* (news-recorder) was appointed to each *subah* of the empire. The distant Subahdars, military chiefs and lesser officials in their turn, hankered for

news about the occurrences in the court, the twists and turns in the emperor's policy and temper, which were regularly supplied to them by their agents at the imperial court. These documents, whenever available, naturally from the most important source material for the reconstruction of history. Fortunately for us, a mass of original documents belonging to the times of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and of the Hyderabad State are preserved in the archives of the State (*Daftar-i-Diwan*), selections from which were published in recent years in the two volumes, (1) *Muntakhab-i-Kaghzat-i-Ahad-i-Shah Jahan*, pp. xi + 260 (Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign); (2) *Daftar-i-Diwan-o-mal-o mulki Sarkar-i-Ala*, pp. 281 (Political and Revenue Documents of the Exalted Government). The volume No. I offers the printed text of the documents written in Shikasta in the original, along with a brief outline of their contents in English, while the volume No. II

points the facsimile of many original letters, e.g., of Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's times of the age of Asaf Jah, Nizam Ali and Mahbub Ali Khan Bahadur, along with the printed texts of *akhbars* of Delhi, of Lakhwaji Dada, of the schedule of prices current in the Hyderabad city, 1210 A.H. and miscellaneous other papers. This volume does neither contain any English summary of the documents, nor any preface in English which is written in Urdu in a style (at the middle) that may not be easily intelligible.

Nevertheless, the importance of these documents for the study of the Mughal and the Deccan history cannot be overestimated. They exemplify and bear out how the Mughal government was a *Kaghz-i-Raj*, to quote Sir Jadunath's words, that is to say, how the administration was run by a huge secretariat staff, by means of a mass of registers, ledgers and voluminous correspondence. These records disclose how the Central Government was privy to the details of administration and how it disciplined the high servants of the State by tightly reining them in. For instance, the least default in the keeping of records in the proper order was punished, (L. No. 119). Submission of daily accounts by officers entrusted with the purchase of commodities for the State, e.g., of salt-petre was insisted upon (L. No. 112), instruction was dictated on such small matters as the grant of daily allowance of 8 and 4 annas respectively to the heir of a deceased Qazi, and a widow, Ayesha *bibi* (Ls. Nos. 87 and 90). Thus a picture, if not in full outline, is obtained here, for the first time, of the astonishing thoroughness and efficiency with which the Mughal government was carried on.

The accounts of Mughal administration written by historians like Sir Jadunath, Ibn Hasan, Professor Sri-ram Sharma and others, being based mostly on manuals, such as *Hedayet-ul-Qawaid* and digests of administrative regulations, such as, *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri*, *Divan Pasaud* and *Mirai-ul-Itilah*, present a study mainly of its theoretical aspects. The documents published in the two volumes cited above, on the other hand, present glimpses into the actual working of the administration. Hence, they complement the many *tomos* on Mughal administration. A still more clear view of the importance of these documents might be obtained, if a few typical illustrations of the various kinds of documents printed herein are given. It was the practice of the Mughal emperors to cause themselves to be weighed on their birthday anniversaries. The ruling princes followed this fashion which is set forth in a *Siyaha huzur*, dated 9th Rajab, 1047 A.H. (17th November, 1637). This was the 20th anniver-

sary of Aurangzeb's birth and the document inventories not merely the presents tendered by the *Mansabdars* but records also the prince's weight which was two maunds and seventeen seers. In the Mughal empire, the property of the deceased servants was escheated to the State which is again described in *Siyaha amuals*. One such (No. 46) puts it on record that 478 rubies and 140 pearls which were the effects of certain deceased persons were estimated by Ranji, the jeweller, at Rs. 2211 and deposited in the Government treasury. Care is taken to note the weight of the respective jewels, perhaps as a safeguard against tampering and their rates of valuation. An *Yaddasht* and an *Arz-o-Chihara* may be cited as specimen illustration of the thoroughness with which minute facts were set down. It is well-known, the Mughal forts served as garrison and depot of military stores. At the end of April, 1642, Daulatabad fort was inspected and the articles found there were classified under different heads and various items noted down under each.

It is interesting to note that not only all articles, such as armour, steel plates and cash coin were listed but *kaknar*, *bhang* and even *supuri* (betel-nut) were recorded, with exact quantities of each in stock. *Arz-o-Chihara* had been in vogue ever since the time of Sultan Alauddin Khilji but the excellence with which the descriptive roll was made is indicated in L. No. 72. A matchlock-man Gangaram is thus described:

"Son of Khanna (who is) son of Mahesh (the word is wrongly printed); Chauhan Rajput, inhabitant of Buxar, wheat-complexioned, with wide forehead, joined eye-brows, sheep-eyed with high nose, shaved beard, black moustachios, slightly auburn, a pimple below the corner of the eye-brow, a scar on both sides of the eye-brow, two moles below the main artery of the throat, one mole underneath the right ear, a thin scar below the left eye, face pock-marked, ears bored, full stature, aged about 35 years."

Could a better registration of the identity marks be made in our times?

The State archive has a rich store of original Persian documents. In the preface, written in Urdu to Vol. II, it is stated that all the parchments of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb's reign, lying sealed up in the Imperial Castle at Aurangabad were also transferred to *Daftar-i-Diwan* which already was the vast store-house of papers of the rulers of the Asaf Jahi dynasty down to the last Nizam, Osman Ali Khan Bahadur. Aspects of the history of the Deccan and of the Mughal rule might be illuminated, if these heaps of records are gradually brought to light under the direction of their present keepers, Raja Trimbak Raj Bahadur and R. M. Joshi.



REMOVING THE BARRIERS TO PEACE

By VERNON BARTLETT *

I was at the party given in honour of Mr. Nehru in the London garden of the High Commissioner for India, and I noticed that almost every guest congratulated the Indian Prime Minister. Why? For the part he has been able to play in bringing us towards peace in Korea.

Mr. Nehru has become one of the most valued and influential statesmen in the British Commonwealth. He has become its leading spokesman on behalf of the poorer and less-developed peoples of the world. And in the case of Korea, he has done much to influence the Chinese Communists in favour of an armistice.

But Mr. Nehru could not have hoped to have as much moderating effect if he spoke only as Prime Minister of his own country. It is because his State is a member of the Commonwealth that he has been able to act as peace-maker.

In the same way, Britain alone or even Britain and France, would not be able to argue very effectively with President Eisenhower that the time has now come to talk with the Russians. But, as a result of the Prime Ministers' Conference in London, Sir Winston Churchill will be able to speak at the projected Three-Power Conference on behalf of the Commonwealth as a whole. Just because the peoples of the Commonwealth are so different, and live in every one of the five continents, their views are likely to be in favour of moderation, of peace.

POLITICAL RAINS

This is going to be extremely important within the next few months, for the hard, dry pattern of world politics is breaking up. The political rains have begun, and there are signs that they may even wash away the barrier with which the Russians have cut themselves off from the non-Communist world ever since the end of the war.

I have been quite exceptionally fortunate, since I am one of the very few Englishmen who have been able to visit Russia during the war and four of the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe after the war had ended. In all of these countries I found the same attempt by the Government to prevent the ordinary decent people from hearing anything about the outside world. They were told the most fantastic stories about life in Britain or America or, for that matter, Britain's colonies.

And suddenly that barrier seems to be crumbling. President Eisenhower and Sir Winston Churchill have often said that, if the Russians were really anxious to live on friendly terms with the rest of the world, they would

do three things. One, they would persuade China to agree to a settlement in Korea. Two, they would sign an Austrian peace treaty, so that the occupying troops could go home and leave Austria free. Three, they would agree to the holding of free elections for the whole of Germany, so that Germany could be united again under one government. Within the last few weeks the Russians have made promising gestures in all these three countries—gestures which are astonishing just because they are so unusual.

Despite earlier uncertainties, efforts towards a settlement in Korea are proceeding. In Austria it is now nearly as easy to cross the border of the Russian-occupied zone as it has been for several years to cross the borders between the British, American and French zones of occupation. This is not the same thing as signing a peace treaty with Austria which would allow all foreign troops there to go home, but it is a step in the right direction.

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA

And in Germany the Russians have also changed their policy. A few weeks ago I was in Berlin, which is divided into Russian, American, British and French sectors. Germans were coming across from the Russian sector at the rate of several thousands a week, and they were for the most part young people—either farmers who had to sell to the Government at absurdly low prices nearly all the food they could grow, or skilled workers from the towns who could not stand conditions under Communism any longer. I talked to dozens of them, and they were clearly the sort of people no country could afford to lose.

But the East German Communist Government, which is entirely under the orders of Moscow, has recently cancelled the heavy taxes and other measures which were driving all these people from their homes. It is even doing all it can to persuade them to go back to Eastern Germany by promising that their land and their jobs will be returned to them.

What all this means, I do not pretend to know. We dare not forget that, while Britain has agreed to the independence of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, to the West Indian Federation, and to so large a degree of self-government in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, Russia has swallowed up three countries that used to be independent—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia—and has forced its own system of government on six more—Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania.

We dare not forget these things, for the Russian change of policy may be no more than an attempt to catch us off our guard, and to divide Britain from America. But it might also mean that the Russians have at last come to the conclusion that neither they nor anybody else could go on indefinitely spending so much

* Authoritative writer and broadcaster on international affairs. Vernon Bartlett joined the London *News Chronicle* in 1934. Before that he travelled widely as foreign correspondent of *The Times* and other British newspapers. A former Member of Parliament and Honorary Consultant to the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, he has written several books on international affairs, including *The World Our Neighbour*, *East of the Iron Curtain* and *Struggle for Africa*.

money on the preparation for war—money which we in Britain would wish to spend on developing the under-developed and poorer parts of the Commonwealth,

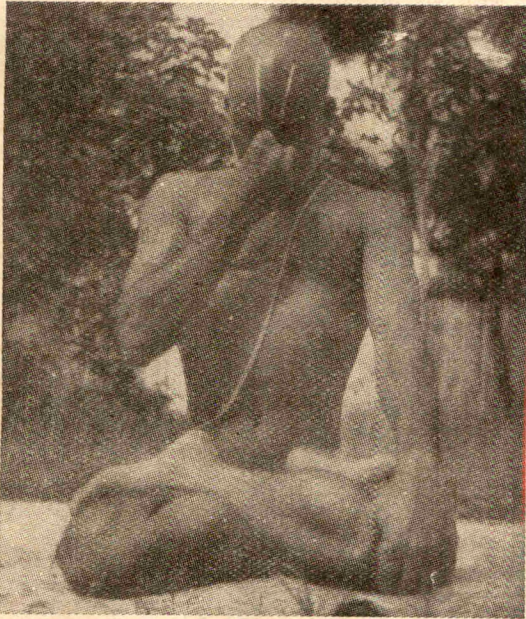
Clearly the combined wisdom of men so unlike each other as Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Nehru will be badly needed in the next few months.

—:O:—

YOGA Philosophy and Science

By DR. S. M. S. CHARI

YOGA represents one of the ancient cultures of India. It is an art discovered a long time ago by our ancient seers for the physical, mental and spiritual development of an individual. It is also a science in so far as its investigations are based on profound introspection and observation on every phase of experience.



Pranayam, the Yoga method of breath-control

The term Yoga primarily and essentially means a psycho-physical discipline through which the spiritual goal or the supreme value in life is realised. It also refers to a system of philosophy which is taken up with the former and which gives it a philosophic basis.

Technically the term Yoga means control of the mind. Thus Patanjali who is the chief exponent of Yoga system defines it as the inhibition of the functions of the mind. It is a particular state of the mind in which all the outward flow of the mental energy is arrested.

Why should the mind be controlled? The explanation consists in the ultimate goal in view, namely, the

realisation of the Self. Indian philosophy recognises three fundamental principles: Matter, Mind and Spirit. Of these, matter and mind are perishable, while spirit or Self is imperishable and eternal. The realisation of the Self is, therefore, considered to be the ultimate goal.

How to realise the Self? The Upanishads teach us that the Self resides in our own body in the inner recesses of our heart. The Self by itself cannot realise or know of itself. It must be known through the help of some other organ. It is only through mind, which is the internal sense organ that the Self is to be realised. Mind



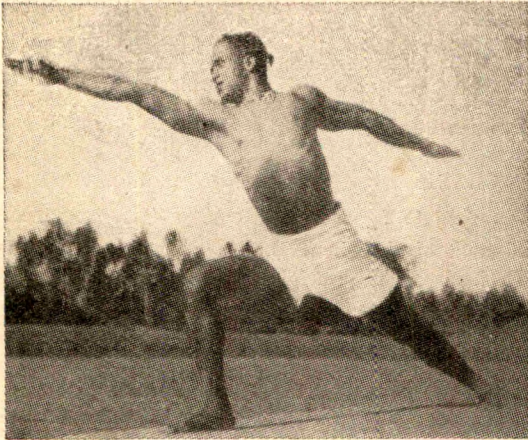
Natarajasan, after the dance of Siva

by its very nature is unsteady. It is like the spirited horse uncontrollable. Unless it is brought under control by arresting all its functions, spiritual realisation is well-nigh impossible.

How to control the mind is the chief problem of Yoga. Various methods have been suggested for this purpose. The most important of these methods is the eight-fold psycho-physical discipline known as Yogangas to which the term Yoga rightly applies. These are (1) certain restraints, such as abstaining from malice towards all living creatures, speaking of the truth, abstaining from stealing, practice of celibacy and disowning of things belonging to others; (2) development of certain positive

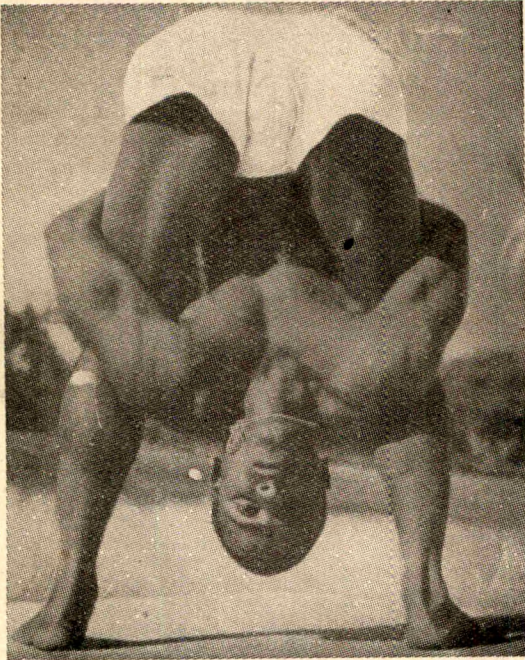
virtues, such as cleanliness of the body and mind, self-contentment, practice of certain austerities, study of the sacred works and devotion to God; (3) practice of certain neuro-muscular or bodily postures (Yogasanas);

It may be observed that Yogasanas with which we are mainly concerned here form only a part of the Yoga practice. It constitutes the physical aspect of the Yoga, while the rest of the schedule is mainly intended for the

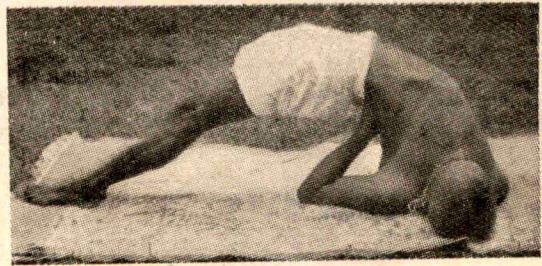


Veerabhadrasana, after the Hindu war-god, Veerabhadra

(4) controlling of breath according to definitely laid down ways (Pranayam); (5) withdrawal of the senses from the objects of the external world; (6) concentration of

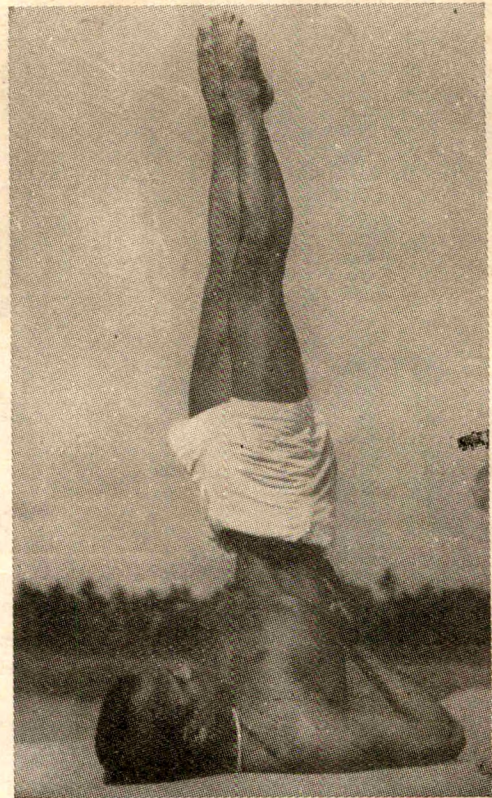


Tittibhasana, another interesting posture mind with a view to shutting out external stimuli; (7) steadfast contemplation; and lastly (8) intimate withdrawal of the Self into itself which is the culmination of the Yoga practice.



A posture for the development of the muscles of the back

mental and spiritual development. Nevertheless *asanas* occupy an important place in the Yoga practice. Mind and body are so interrelated that without the perfection of the latter, the development of the former cannot take



Sarvangasana, beneficial to all parts of the body place. In other words, the purification of the body is an essential requisite for the mental development. The body should be kept free from all diseases. It is for this purpose that the postures are prescribed.

Any pose which is steady and comfortable is called an *asana*. These are countless in number. Every posture is an imitation of the pose of a living being, an animal or bird or even a plant. Since such objects are countless in number, *asanas* are also many. While some works on Yoga mention that there are 84 lakhs of *Asanas*, others recognise that only 84 are important.

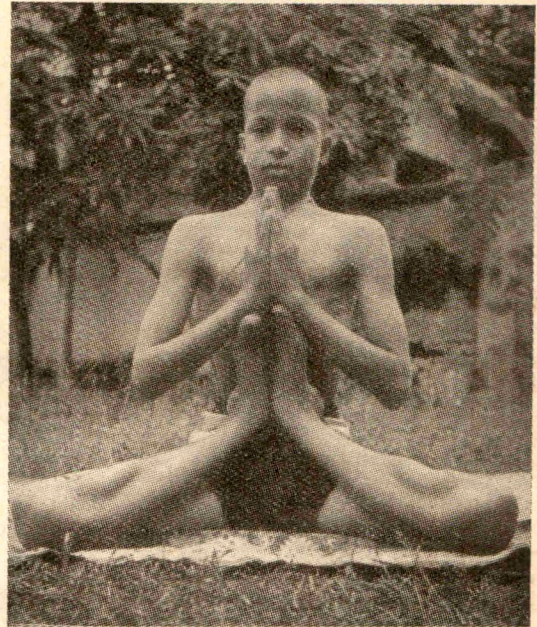


Another variation of Sarvangasan

According to Yogic anatomy, the human body consists of numerous astral nerves which are known as *nadis*, the various sheaths known as *koshas* and plexuses. Only *asanas* can exercise these different aspects of the body and keep them in order. It is claimed by Yogis that diseases which cannot be cured by medicine can be cured by *Yogasanas*. Modern researchers have also proved the therapeutic value of the *asanas*. The postures make the spine supple and the abdominal muscles strong. They give a good internal massage to the digestive organs and make them regain their normal rhythm. They purify the blood and burn out unnecessary and superfluous fat, making the body slim. They keep the nervous system in proper order. Above all they ensure the proper function of the endocrinal glands on which depends

the efficient working of the human body and mind. Yogic *asanas* practised properly will also help to retain eternal youth and enable people to live beyond the usual span of life.

Asanas are not merely physical exercises like gymnastics intended to build up the muscles and the bones of the human body. They have much deeper significance. They have been invented with the object of exercising the mind as well. If the *asanas* are practised properly with the observance of some of the ethical principles com-



A posture for prayer, extremely difficult to learn

bined with the *pranayam* they yield surpassing mental and spiritual powers. It is believed by Yogis that in the centre known as *Muladhara* (one of the Plexuses located in the lower part of the spinal column) lies a spiritual power known as *Kundalini*. It is an energy which lies dormant and when this is awakened it gives extraordinary spiritual powers. Certain *asanas* practised properly with the aid of *pranayams* and a few observances are believed to rouse this sleeping power.

Whatever may be the value of Yoga as a means for spiritual development, its usefulness as a system of physical and mental culture is unquestionable. Regular and methodical practice of the *yogasanas* combined with the *pranayam* system of breathing can always keep the system extremely fit.



HARVESTERS OF THE SEA

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

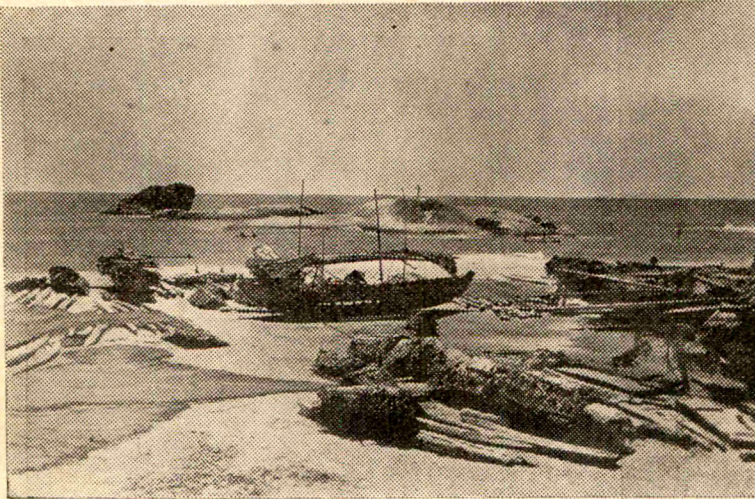
"Ah! what pleasant visions haunt me,
As I gaze upon the sea!
All the old romantic legends
All the dreams come back to me."

THE visitor to Travancore-Cochin's magnificent sea-front easily gets intimate and picturesque glimpses into the life of the fisherfolk who inhabit the coastal

say that they were converted to Christianity by the indefatigable labour of St. Francis Xavier who in the short span of a couple of years founded fifty churches in

Travancore, a fact which testifies to the religious toleration of the Rulers of Travancore. In a letter dated the 2nd September 1544, St. Francis expressed himself thus: "We find this nation of the subjects of the King of Travancore more easy to persuade and better disposed than any other in all that concerns the interests of religion."

There are churches on the coast, idyllically situated in the graceful shadow of extensive coconut and palmyra gardens. The churches at Kumari Muttom at Cape Comorin, Colachel, and Veli at Trivandrum are famous. Imposing and solitary, the spires of these old churches shoot up amidst a landscape of arcadian jollity and exuberance. The religious fervour of the fisherfolk is strong. While at times they resort to their favourite



A familiar beach-scene in Travancore-Cochin. Catamarans, fishing boats and nets are seen on the shore

tract, especially at Cape Comorin, Muttom, Colachel, Vizhingam, Trivandrum and Quilon. The shimmering sapphire sea washes the entire length of Travancore-Cochin on the western side. The coastal tract abounds with vast coconut plantations. The quaint hamlets of the fishermen nestle on the palm-fringed shore. Except for a handful of Muslims and a considerable number of Aryas, Hindu fisherfolk, the fisherfolk who inhabit the sea front are Catholics of the Latin rite. Fishing is their hereditary profession. The fishing industry is their practical monopoly. Thoroughly conservative, they are a sturdy and hardworking race, eminently fitted to earn their living by harvesting the seas.

The fisherfolk who live on the sea-coast are a healthy race and possess remarkable powers of endurance, and it is not unusual to find very old fishermen engaged in hard work in the company of their grand-children.

Legend and history point to their Hindu origin and



Putting out to sea

vendetta fights over various special rights and exclusive privileges to which they tenaciously cling, they are deeply religious and quite peaceful during normal times.

It is solemn and thrilling to watch the entire congregation of fisherfolk offering prayers and to hear their church music soaring above the intermittent roar of the ocean,

nets. The fishing boats resemble the vessels of the old Vikings.

FISHING NETS

For every variety of fish the fishermen use a special kind of net. About a dozen different types of fishing nets are used by the coastal non-Hindu fisherfolk in Travancore-Cochin. The nets are usually made of cotton and their duration of life is between 2 and 4 years. The majority of the fishermen do not own nets; they hire them from their richer neighbours to whom they either give a share of the catch or pay a rent. It is surprising how they remain on the boisterous sea, fishing all night in such frail crafts.

Striplings among the coastal fisherfolk can be seen on the shore catching fish with the aid of long fishing rods. The rods are fifteen to twenty feet long. The hook cleverly concealed in a bait is attached to the bottom end of a string which is tied to the top of the fishing rod.

Standing on the shore the fisherfolk throw the hook into the sea and haul the fish up by raising the rod



Back-water fishing

FISHING BOATS

A familiar sight on the Travancore-Cochin sea-beach is the large number of catamarans and dug-out canoes lying scattered all over the shore. The fisherfolk brave the heavy surf and venture far out into the ocean in the mornings and evenings in pursuit of their livelihood. Sea fishing is accomplished in home-made rafts and boats. The rafts or catamarans come in handy during the monsoon months and at other times when the marine world is boisterous and treacherous. The catamarans consist of three or four or even more pieces of the trunk of the silk cotton tree tied together firmly and smeared liberally with coatings of fish oil at frequent intervals. The boats are open *vallams* (canoes). In the construction of the boats and catamarans, nuts, bolts and nails are seldom used. The pieces of wood or planks are tied or sewn together by strong, specially treated home-made coir yarn. The boats are usually dug-out canoes, varying in size and from ten to twenty feet in length. The smallest boat is intended for two and the largest accommodate a dozen or more men. The larger boats are used for fishing with the aid of



One of the churches on the coast—Catholic Church at Colachel in South Travancore

with full force. Fishing is also done with the aid of small handy nets used by a couple of fishermen. They wade into the water when the tide swells and throw the net into the sea, holding the ends in their hands. In no time they close the net and drag the fish

caught in its folds ashore.

Chinese fishing nets are also used by some of the fishermen who inhabit the coastal regions near Quilon and Ernakulam. They use this picturesque type of net for fishing in the wide back-waters especially in the Ashtamudi and Vembanad lakes, magnificent stretches of saltish water. The Chinese who carried on a brisk trade with Quilon between 618-913 A.D. have left their impress on the fishing industry of Travancore. The Chinese fishing nets are unique. A platform is usually fixed up on the shore in a quiet corner, and the net is thrown therefrom. The fish are attracted into the net with the aid of rows of lights under water. These giant cradle nets worked by a counterpoised weight are still popular.

PUTTING OUT TO SEA

Loaded with nets and ropes and manned by experienced, weather-beaten and dexterous fishermen well versed in the lore of the sea, catamarans and boats are launched into the ocean an hour or two before sunset. It is a thrilling sight to watch the boats rising and falling as they move away over the heaving ocean. With every whirl in the water made by the quick-plying oars there is a flash of silvery light. With but a loin cloth securely tied round the waist and a small umbrella-like headgear made of cadjan, the fisherfolk remain all night in the sea tossed by the waves, and beaten by the winds. Knowing no fear, fatigue, sleep or rest, they continue their fishing operations all through the night impervious to the inclemencies of the weather. They are proof against the cruelties of nature and nothing in the deep blue ocean frightens them. They return to the shore at break of day with their catch.

HAULING THE CATCH

A picturesque sight it is to watch these deep-sea fishers returning with the tide to the shore and with consummate skill and quickness hauling in the catch. The relatives, friends and co-workers of those who have ventured into the sea gather on the shore to help. The nets are dropped in the sea 400 to 600 yards from the shore. Pandemonium starts when the nets full of live fish are dragged ashore. With amazing quickness this is achieved. While hauling the catch ashore the fisherfolk sing loudly. The leader recites the song line by line and the party joins in loud chorus. Two or three hours of continuous labour is required for hauling the catch ashore, and if the sea is rough and the catch particularly heavy double the time will be required. Sightseers also are welcome to participate in this tough work. For this service they are presented with choice

fish from the catch. Flocks of black crows call vociferously announcing the return of the fishers. Bending forward with fluttering wings and depressed tails, their inflated throats and wide open beaks proclaiming the intensity of their feelings, the crows hover over and over the nets and as often as possible swoop down to steal fish. It is astonishing what volume of sound proceeds from so small a body. The chatter of many human voices and the angry growls of pariah dogs add to the din.

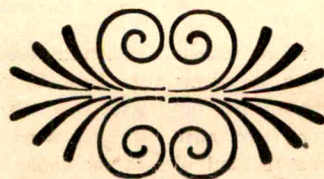
Watch one of those sturdy fishermen who has returned after the day's catch, how he cleans his net and hangs it up to dry. What imperturbability, what self-contentment speaks in every action of his, in his guileless smile, in his rare word! The Travancore-Cochin fishers who inhabit the sea-coast seem to have stepped out of a picture of old times. Their eyes twinkle like the light of sunny days on the waves.

The catch is sorted by the women-folk, who also take the fish to market. A familiar sight on the roads in the coastal towns and villages of Travancore-Cochin is large groups of fisherwomen hurrying to the markets with baskets full of fish-cleverly balanced on their heads.

A portion of the catch is cured by drying it in the sun or by salting. During the summer the fish is dried for use in the rainy season. The dried fish is in great demand during the monsoon months when there is almost a complete cessation of deep sea fishing. A large quantity of dried fish is exported to Ceylon, Burma and India where it finds a ready market. The fisheries of Travancore-Cochin are of considerable importance and there is a steadily growing trade in fish and fish products. Travancore-Cochin produces nearly one-fifth of the total quantity of fish caught in the whole of India.

During the monsoon the fisherfolk attend to the repair of their outfit. They seldom employ the services of carpenters or ropemakers, for they do all the work themselves. Their boys are taught to mend the nets and make ropes even from an early age. They are accomplished swimmers and it is thrilling to watch these boys diving into the rolling waters to seize tiny coins thrown into the sea by the visitors.

Fishing is still a primitive cottage industry in Travancore-Cochin. The local fishermen have remained unchanged notwithstanding changes in civilization and they continue the same old methods of fishing practised by their ancestors. All that can be said is that they have reached the climax of efficiency achievable with their present equipment.



TUNGABHADRA PROJECT MAKES HEADWAY

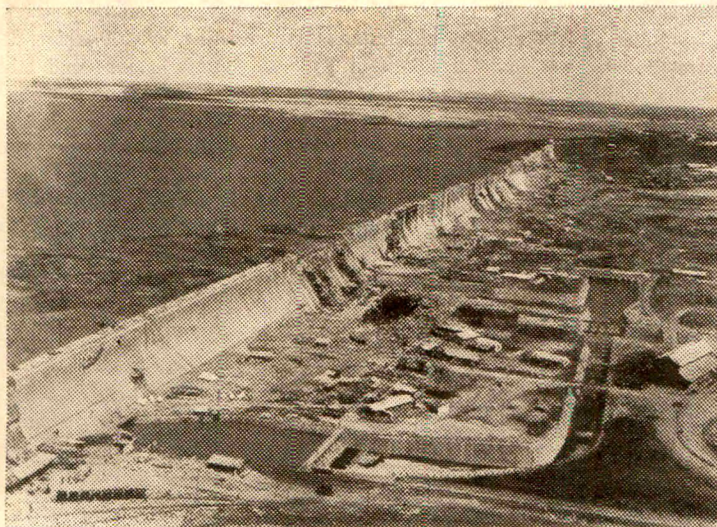
New Power Development Project at Hyderabad

THE first flow of water from the Tungabhadra Dam, one of the major river valley projects in the South is expected to commence on July 1, 1953. Simultaneously, on that day, water will be let out through the two main

Madras Government is Rs. 27.64 crores and that of Hyderabad Rs. 23.54 crores.

The project is being constructed by the Governments of Hyderabad and Madras, each State carrying out the works lying in its own territory. The two Governments have agreed upon a common design for the dam and also on a line of demarcation. A unique feature of the construction of the dam is that it is being built entirely by Indians without any foreign assistance, either technical or financial.

The Hyderabad part of the Tungabhadra project was inaugurated in 1945 but work actually started in 1948. Within about 3½ years, the dam has almost been completed. An important feature of the work on the Hyderabad side, is the concrete lining of the canals which will reduce maintenance cost and eliminate weeds. Most of the main canal and part of the distributary system have been constructed, but full completion will take some more time. At present, a long 3,600 ft. tunnel through which the main canal



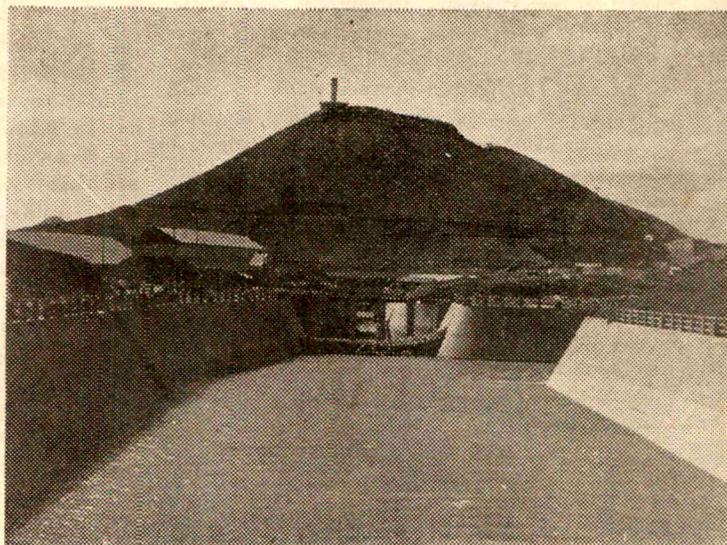
A view of the Tungabhadra Dam from the Madras side of the Project

canals of the Project, one on the Madras and the other on the Hyderabad side.

The Tungabhadra Project is a joint venture of the Government of Madras and Hyderabad and will serve the famine areas of Rayalaseema in Madras and the adjoining areas of Hyderabad. The masonry dam, across

the river Tungabhadra which is a major tributary of the Kistna, is almost nearing completion. The reservoir created by the dam will spread over an area of 133 sq. miles and will have a gross storage capacity of 2.6 million acre-feet. There will be two canals on each side of the river. The right bank canal on the Madras side will be 225 miles long, while the left bank canal on the Hyderabad side will be 127 miles long. Power is proposed to be developed at suitable sites along the canals. The canal system commands an area of a 2 million acres, of which 7 lakh acres are proposed to be brought under irrigation in the first stage.

The joint cost of stage I of the project is estimated at Rs. 51.18 crores, of which the share of the



Sluice Gates of the Tungabhadra Dam

will pass is under construction. Already 2,700 feet have been dug. The tunnel will be 62 feet in width.

STEEL SPANS

Steel spans required for the Dam are being manufactured at a factory specially set up for the purpose

on the Madras side of the Project. The factory which was inaugurated by the Prime Minister in September 1952, has already produced 33 spans each of 60' length, and an equivalent number is expected to be produced within the next year or so. One unique feature of manufacture of spans in this factory is that no bolts, screws and rivets are used, but the joints are welded. The first weld was operated by the Prime Minister on the Inaugural Day. In order to ensure that the joints have been properly welded, they have to be X-ray-tested. The new process is 25 per cent cheaper than the ordinary process of rivetting joints and it is twice as fast as in the case of nuts and screws.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

Elsewhere in the Hyderabad State, in the Nizam Sagar area, a Hydro-electric Power Station which will

generate 15,000 kw. of power is under construction below the head sluices of the Dam. The new Station constitutes the first phase of power development on the Manjira River, a tributary of the river Godavari and will, when completed, convert the Nizam Sagar Dam into a multi-purpose project. Till now, the Dam has been an irrigation project, the largest so far in Hyderabad and the second largest in India, covering 50 sq. miles and capable of irrigating 270,000 acres. It was built at a cost of Rs. 4.26 crores in 1929 and has a storage capacity of 29,700 million cubic feet.

The work on the Hydro-electric Power Station started at the end of 1951 and considerable progress has so far been made. The project will cost Rs. 1.60 crores. The power generated will be transmitted to the Thermal Station at Hyderabad and will be utilised mainly for that city.—*PIB*

—:O:—

THE MIRROR OF THE AGES

Deeds of Selling Oneself

By JOGENDRANATH GUPTA

IN the various provinces in India slave-trade was regularly carried on. It is really interesting to trace its origin from very ancient times. In the Vedas, Samhitas and in the Jataks, there are several stories relating to slaves; there are directions about how to behave with them, how to treat them, and how to punish them for offences committed by them. I am not going to relate here in detail the history of slave trade and the selling of oneself for reasons of poverty. The subject is, however, briefly discussed below.

During the first quarter of the sixteenth century "the Portuguese first drank of the waters of the Ganges." It was in 1517 that D. Joao de Silveria, the Portuguese commander of an expedition, came to Bengal. As to the Portuguese in Eastern Bengal in the seventeenth century no amount of strong words would be adequate enough to describe their misdeeds and cruelties. As Bernier says :

"They had reached the very acme of evil-doing and at one time even a priest named Frei Vicente acted as their leader. With small and light half-galleys called *gelleanes* they did nothing but sweep the sea on this side; and entering all rivers, canals and arms of the Ganges, and passing between the islands of Lower Bengal—often even penetrating as far as forty or fifty leagues into the interior—they surprised and plundered the villages and harried the poor gentries and other inhabitants of this quarter at their assemblies, their markets, their festivals and weddings seizing as slaves both men and women, small and great, perpetuating strange cruelties and burning all that they lay in their path. It is owing to

this that at the present day are seen so many lovely but deserted isles at the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, but now infested only by savage beasts, principally tigers."

The practices referred to here by Bernier are correct but he ascribes them all to Feringhis while the fact is that the main offenders were Maghs. In Rennel's map of Bengal published in 1794, the note, "this part of the country has been deserted on account of ravages of the Maghs," is written across the portion of the Sundarbans, south of Backarganj. Bernier continuing says that the Feringhis sold some of their slaves in Goa, Ceylon, St. Thame and to the Portuguese of Hooghly, and some of them were converted to Christianity and were trained in theft, murder and rapine.

The Portuguese and the Maghs were responsible to some extent for slave-trade in Bengal. The Portuguese and Magh pirates destroyed many flourishing villages and towns of lower Bengal. The ruins of villages and towns are marked by De Barros and Vanden Broucke in their maps. Spread over today by thick jungles they prove the truth of it.

THE DEED OF SELLING

Now let us speak about slavery in Bengal, specially in Eastern Bengal. We find from the legal deeds of selling oneself that slavery prevailed in Bengal from olden times, although it is very difficult to ascertain the date of its origin with any accuracy. It is very interesting to note that it prevailed to a greater extent in the

Eastern and Northern districts of Bengal, a circumstance which is perhaps attributable to the frequent occurrence of destitution and distress occasioned by sudden inundations to which that part of the country was liable.

Male slaves were distinguished by the name of Bhandaree by the Hindus, and by that of Gholam among the Mussalmans, and female slaves were called Dassee by the latter, and Bhandaree by the former. Almost all the female domestics in Hindu and Mussalman families were slaves. In Mussalman houses they acted as cooks, but in the Hindu household they were never employed in that capacity, the only articles of diet they were allowed to prepare being Chera (Choorah) Kotee, etc. Male slaves were employed as agricultural labourers, and did various kinds of work about the farm, such as ploughing, weeding, reaping, fishing, cutting wood and grass, etc. They also acted as domestic servants in Hindu families, carrying water from the river, preparing hookah and *pan* and cleaning cooking utensils.

A Bhandaree or Gholam is frequently the husband of six or eight female slaves in the neighbourhood, but most of his marriages were fictitious and intended by the proprietors of the female slaves to secure them for themselves. These marriages frequently occurred among the Mussalman proprietors of the slaves. The marriage of a slave was conducted in the same way as that of a poor ryot. The expense was defrayed by the owner of the serf, but in fictitious marriages, the proprietors of the female slaves paid the costs of the ceremony, and also bestowed a small sum on the bridegroom.

HOW THE SLAVES WERE TREATED

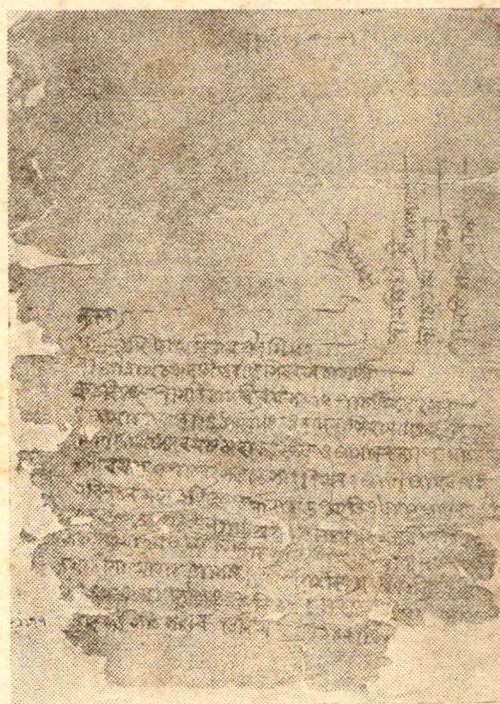
In a majority of instances, slaves were treated with kindness and leniency by their masters. The work extracted from them was seldom oppressive, and generally even less than what a hired servant would be required to perform. In most cases they partook of the diet taken by the family, and were allowed the common luxuries of betel-nut and tobacco. Many of those born in bondage in the houses of the wealthier classes were taught to read and write along with the children of the family.

The sale of persons in slavery was not so common now, it was alleged, as it had been in former times, although it was admitted, that it was still carried on to a considerable extent.

Formerly, slaves were sold along with the landed property, and the transfer was generally ratified by separate deeds of sale. The maximum price of a male slave in the middle of the nineteenth century was estimated at rupees one hundred and fifty and that of a female one, rupees 100. The latter was always sold at an early age and avowedly to attend on the daughters of the purchasers. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the slaves both male and female, even with a family consisting of four or five members, such as father, mother and children, were sold for rupees thirty or thirty-five and even for the sum of rupees ten, twelve or fifteen

only for whole life. Many of the girls, however, were infamously disposed of to prostitutes in the towns.

Most of the slaves of the Eastern part of Bengal were aware of the protection held out to them by the Government, and instances frequently occurred of individuals claiming it from the Magistrates. Many of them who had been thus liberated were scattered all over the country. In several villages in the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and in other places in Bengal they formed small communities which served as rallying points or places of refuge for those who had obtained their freedom or who chose to desert their masters.



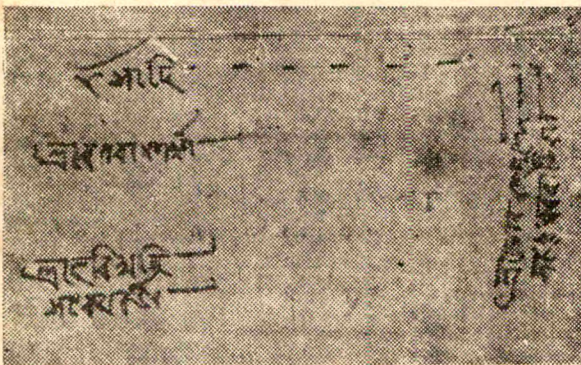
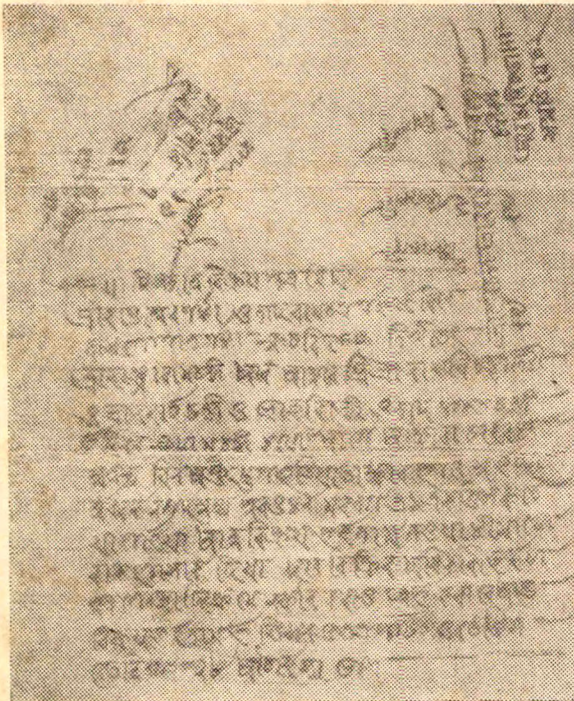
Document No. 1

Slaves in general were distinguished by the appellation of "Sing," but those who could read and write after their liberation assumed the rank of *kayets*. Many slaves of these districts of E. Bengal worked for only a certain number of months or days in the year, and were allowed wages when they worked beyond this period. It is mentioned in the records of the district for the year 1777, that the slaves of the zamindar of Toraff in Mymensingh rose in a body and murdered the whole family.

On going through the documents relating to slavery in Bengal I am of opinion that the poor people sold themselves to slavery for the following reasons:

Firstly, persons out of employment and unable to work on account of sickness or unable to maintain their family sold themselves. *Secondly*, destitute widows and children, who from physical infirmities or disease (*e.g.*, the lame, the blind and the lepers) who were incapacitated from earning their livelihood also sold themselves.

Persons thus selling themselves originally belonged chiefly to the classes of servants, boatmen and various artisans in the towns and villages. When they were sick and unable to do work, they usually borrowed money by pawning their gold and silver ornaments, articles of dress or copper and brass utensils. During the eighteenth century and in the middle of the nineteenth



Document No. 2

century persons who were engaged in the towns and villages as pawn-brokers charged the borrower at a rate of interest which varied from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent per month. In 1770, the common rate was Rupees 5-2 per cent per month, but it afterwards fell to Rupees 3-8. The borrowers owing to such high rates of interest could not pay back the debt in due time and thus they were obliged to sell themselves into slavery.

Another class of poor persons and destitute widows and orphans earned a sort of precarious livelihood in the country, the former by spinning, weeding and reaping and the latter by tending cattle, picking safflower in the town. Widows usually found employment in the castes to which their husbands belonged. Many of them were admitted into Hindu families as cooks, while others eked out a subsistence by selling vegetables and fruits which they collected in the jungles and jheels. Among the Mussalmans, widows were employed to husk grain and grind wheat. When they were unable to get any work of such a nature as already stated, they sold themselves along with their husbands and children to some wealthy people. The poor people comprising the lame, the blind and the diseased, of whom lepers formed a large proportion, found a subsistence by begging in the markets and in the streets. During Moghul administration a provision was made from the *khabra* or corn lands, for the support of these classes of poor people, and it was continued until very lately. *Lungarkhana* is a continuation of this practice.

There were also other causes, such as seasons of plenty and seasons of scarcity. Of seasons of extraordinary plenty in Eastern Bengal there are several instances on record, and in all of them, the lowest price of grain appeared to have been 8 maunds or 640 pounds per rupee. This was the rate at which rice was sold in 1689, when Nawab Shaista Khan, in order to commemorate so remarkable an event, built up the western gate of the city of Dacca, then capital of Bengal, with an injunction that it should not be opened until rice became equally cheap, and which is said in consequence to have remained shut until the return of a plentiful harvest enabled Jesswant Ray, the deputy of Serferaz Khan, to reopen it in 1739. The years 1772, 1795, 1796, and 1797 were mentioned as having been years of great abundance.

The famines of 1769, 1770, and 1784-1787-1788 occurred in Bengal, owing to inundations which caused the destruction of crops. The number of Pergannahs and Talooks that suffered from inundations amounted to one hundred and twenty.

The distress of the inhabitants, Mr. Day remarks, "exceeds all description. Were the damage simply confined to the loss of their crops, it might in a short time be surmounted, but their cattle and property are gone and the ryots driven to the necessity of seeking shelter in different parts, so that the country is in a great measure deserted, and scarcely a cultivated spot to be seen."

Famine and inundation were the usual circumstances compelling the poor people to sell themselves and become slaves to the rich people.

I have in my collection a good number of documents relating to slavery in Bengal. I give here the translations of some documents from which the readers will be able to form a clear idea about the causes of selling oneself to the rich people.

No.1. This is a document for the sale of myself to Sri Jaganath Chakraborty *alias* Shivaram Chatterjee—along with my wife, son and daughter: Jadavi (wife) aged 35, son aged 12, and daughter aged only 5. Having been made destitute by famine in the year 1177 B.S. we sell ourselves to you in return for Rs. 54 and you will have to maintain us and you may, if you so desire, sell us or give us away.

In this document one Jadavi Dasi aged thirty five years sell herself with her son Chhitai De aged twelve years and her daughter Sreemati Jashidas. Owing to the great famine of the year 1177 B.S. (1770 A.D.) they are unable to earn a livelihood and are selling themselves to one Jaganath Chakraborty, who will provide them with food, dress and other necessities and will be by this document able to sell or to give any of them away as he desired. This deed was executed in the year of 1177 B.S. 14th day of Kartic.

No. 2. This is a deed for sale of myself, my wife and my son and daughter in return for Rs. 31 to Bangeswar Sarma *alias* Ramchandra Sarma, etc.

This (No.2) document is also to that effect. From this document we see that one Bamcharan Changa with his wife and two sons, these four people are selling themselves to one Bangeswar Sarma, son of Ramchandra Sarma, getting thirty-one rupees in all, of which 19 were Arcot rupees.

This deed of selling was executed during the time of Nawab Alivardi who was the ruler of Bengal from April 1740 A.D. as an independent Subedar of Bengal till his death in the month of April 1756 A.D., a year before the battle of Plassey.

No. 3 executed in 1734 A.D. is a deed of self-selling document executed by one Basiram Chong who with his wife Srimati Kuari Chong sold themselves to one Govinda Prasad Sarkar for Rs. 10 only. The terms of the document were the same as in No. 1. Date of this document is 523 Portuguese san, dated 27 days of Falgoon equivalent to B.S. 1141 (1734 A.D.) during the time of Nawab Sujah Khan Subedar of Bengal. "I can buy back my freedom if I can provide 10 maunds of lead and 10 mds. of copper."

We find in the proceedings of the meetings of the twenty-eighth session of the Historical Congress, Jaipur, December, 1951, page 214 :

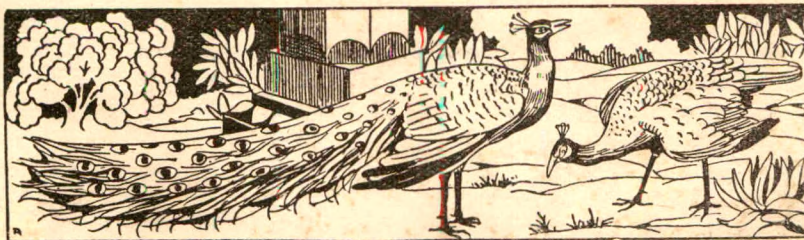


Document No. 3

"That Riza Khan pleads for the cause of the slave—

"There are draft rules framed by Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan, Naib Dewan of Bengal for the consideration of Lord Cornwallis on 15th August 1789."

It is not necessary to produce more documents here to prove the self-selling slave-trade in Bengal during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which continued till the middle of the nineteenth century.



WORDSWORTH AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

BY DR. AMARESH DATTA, M.A. Ph.D.

With reference to the French Revolution, Wordsworth seems to be the most superficially understood of all the poets of the Romantic Age. General tendency is to regard him as a reactionary and a rabid one, for he is at once a child of the Revolution and a stubborn enemy to it. Those who hold this view have called him as a poet an apostle of nature and in the same breath dubbed him politically a Royalist. To call him so is to take away immediately the gift so respectfully applauded and virtually to call him an escapist,—the escape being one from life into nature. For Wordsworth as a mere poet of nature is liable to be exposed to adverse criticism and as a Royalist is in direct conflict with the ideal of the Revolution.

If Wordsworth could remain completely indifferent to the Revolution from the very beginning of his career, say like Keats, his poems would have been read differently and they would have yielded an altogether different meaning. But his typical Wordsworthian approach to this great event of his times has given his critics an opportunity to mould him Procrustes-like on their respective casts just to prove their contention about him. To those for whom Shelley and Byron in England have been the high priests of the Revolution, Wordsworth is no better than a renegade, a turncoat, a traitor :

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat.

They, the critics of this school, it may seem, judged Wordsworth according to their notions about Shelley and Byron ; the more they grew enthusiastic about the younger poets, the more critical they became of the older, whence it may appear that Wordsworth to them could not be a poet of the Revolution simply because he did not write like Shelley or Byron. Yet there is no denying the fact that these professed exponents of the Revolution approached it from two different angles of vision. If the difference in their respective attitudes does not go against the either and does not make one the less revolutionary than the other, why then the Wordsworthian approach, even though it is fundamentally different, should stamp him for ever as one unresponsive to the demand of the age ? I am not speaking of the natural and spontaneous reaction against the Revolution to which, when it degenerated into a reign of terror, Wordsworth along with many other early enthusiasts was a party in his later years. I am speaking of the enthusiasm of his early youth when to be young was very heaven and its later developments. In the context of the French Revolution he remained a revolutionary only with a difference. The same perhaps would have been the

case with Shelley and Byron if they had lived longer and allowed their wild enthusiasm to mellow into mature and sober judgment. Wordsworth's being a Royalist does not disqualify him as a poet of man—for to judge a poet by his political faith is more often than not misleading. Instances are many of poets becoming greater by disobeying their long-cherished and professed religious or political faith. So Wordsworth's being a Royalist, from the point of view of his poetry, is as insignificant as Dante's being a stern moralist, Spenser's a devout Puritan or Milton's a Christian of the orthodox school.

Many all over Europe saw the inauguration of a new era in the ideal of the Revolution, indeed a new sense of values and a new attitude towards life. And in their respective fields of activities all of them fought their battles against the old order with the watchwords of the Revolution as their slogans to expedite the age of, what they called, justice and equality. But even to the same ideal the approaches were different. The destructive aspects of the Revolution rather than its constructive purpose appealed more not only to the revolutionaries themselves but also to the men of imagination. Liberty, equality and fraternity—of these three, the first was the battle-cry of almost all the poet-fighters and if they preached the doctrine of equality and fraternity at all, they did it in the abstract. Thus for Shelley, unrestricted liberty to destroy everything that existed was an introduction to the new world, which for its unreality never came near any human plane. In fact, what he preached was anarchy at its best with love—and that too, vague and unjustified—as its unerring guiding light. The characters drawn by him, therefore, are always as villains, oppressors and tyrants and as heroes, impossible idealists. Evidently what he lacked as a poet was a sense of reality and judgment, but Ariel as he was, of the air airy, this ever stands as a tribute to the magic of his poetry. Byron was also all for liberty, his heroic death may even be regarded as a sacrifice for the cause of freedom, but both in his life and works, he maintained the aloofness and indifference of superiority—with much empty swagger though real gusto. What he did for Greece and what he wrote about in *Childe Harold*, was actuated by a faith in idealism which he could muster only on rare occasions. The real Byron, in his grim satirical raptures was in no way less wanton than a Danton or a Robespierre ; in his poems also have been guillotined some of the innocent kings and barons and lords of his times. Instead of preaching the ideals of equality and fraternity either in the abstract or in any concrete form, he advocated in so many words the need for blatant

cynicism. Thus as a poet, he not only lacked poetic insight but also misunderstood human nature. Yet this belligerent anti-realism made him the 'beau ideal' of his age. Wordsworth brought about a healthy sense of reality—a judgment tempered with balance and equanimity; liberty for him was not another name for anarchy; equality and fraternity were ideals he strove to apply to life—and yet he was disposed of as a reactionary, a turncoat and even as an escapist. A dazzling brilliance blinded our eyes to the truth that was unadorned yet profound, simple yet deep.

Not that Wordsworth, in his first enthusiasm for the Revolution, was unlike his younger contemporaries. However grave, sober and philosophic he looked in his later years, in his boyhood and early youth he was extremely sensitive and of violent moods. His baptism to the ideal of the Revolution not only resulted in a desire to risk his life for a noble cause and a clandestine love affair in France; but it also inspired him to compose poems on the homicidal glory of the Revolution. He too was attracted by its destructive aspect and some time after his return from France he started paraphrasing the satires of Juvenal applying them to the abuses which he found in higher societies. But ere long the circumstances changed very rapidly for him. The excesses of the Revolution itself that culminated in the execution of Louis XVI, the rise of Napoleon, the war between his beloved native land and the land of his ideals, and above all the tyranny and the betrayal of the creed of universal freedom and brotherhood by the revolutionaries themselves, perplexed him, as he says in the *Prelude*, with 'contrarities'; yet to quote Sir Walter Raleigh, 'he faced the fact and against him the fact did not prevail.' True it is, at the outset, the disillusionment was too shocking but that also forced him only to renounce his faith in the revolutionaries, not in any sense, in the ideal of the Revolution itself; for, this great event of his times raised some moral questions that for him were some of the basic problems of human life and nature, and in his poetry he turned them round and round to suggest an answer for them. In fact, had he not been in some way or other involved in the Revolution, his poems would not perhaps have that deep human appeal which characterises them now. Evidently it is not an escape, it is a conquest over a staggering fact, not a sentimental submission to it. Nor is it a desertion of one ideal for another, it is an evaluation of the same ideal in the light of reality and human good. In fact, the Revolution had been and always remained the greatest influence on him, because pre-Revolution Wordsworth (1770-1787) was either a recluse or a solitary wanderer amidst the beauties of nature or a moony romanticism, absorbed in nursery tales, *Jack the Giant-Killer*, *Robin Hood*, *Arabian Nights* and the like. It is therefore not unreasonable to maintain that he would ultimately turn out to be a mere nature poet of description, had this early Wordsworth grown up without any attention to the Revolution. Man

also, perhaps, would not have been the protagonist in his drama of Nature.

The first poem of any consequence by Wordsworth in his early years is 'An evening walk.' Though it was composed by pre-Revolution Wordsworth between 1787-89, it was published in 1793 thoroughly revised and modified and naturally bearing some influence of the Revolution. In an earlier poem composed in 1786, addressing his friends, the poet says:

Oh! leave me to myself nor let me feel
The officious touch that makes me droop again

but now in his 'Evening Walk,' he sees a female beggar in distress and his love for nature awakes in him a conscious love of mankind, which gradually spreads from man to the animal creation. Then follows 'Guilt and Sorrow'—in which the poet is keenly alive to the misery and wrong that oppress mankind everywhere:

For want how many men and children die,
How many at Oppression's portal placed
How many by inhuman toil debased
Abject, obscure and brute, to earth incline
Unrespited, forlorn of every spark divine.
How weak the solace of such fond thoughts afford
When with untimely stroke the virtuous bleed
Say, rulers of the nations, from the sword
Can aught but murder, pain and tears proceed?
Oh, what can war but endless war still breed?

Here is passion for justice, a wide humanitarianism, a call for a new order, a change both spiritual and social. In one of the poems of this period, the poet believes that 'True knowledge leads to love,' and the pre-Revolution Wordsworth emerges a new power 'shaking his invincible locks' from his absorption in a false supernaturalism, with a new faith in human nature and in the essential goodness of man.

Hence, in all the poems of this period we find human life in some form or other asserting itself against and fitting harmoniously with the background of nature. By now the process of assimilation (of the ideal of the Revolution) has already begun and it is gradually taking the form of a love for and faith in the instinctive and untainted growth of life under the benign influence of Nature. The poet turns to his childhood and the 'Poems referring to the Period of Childhood' glow with the light of this new revelation. 'The Poems founded on the Affections' follow, and we find the poet melting in love and sympathy. 'The Forsaken,' 'The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman,' 'The Affliction of Margaret,' 'Maternal Grief,' 'The Childless Father,' 'The Emigrant Mother,' 'Michael'—are some of the poems of this period which amply illustrate the growing love that was the final outcome of his experience in France. The revolutionaries in a frenzied way indulged in an orgy of murder for the establishment of a happy world for the downtrodden and the oppressed! But who except Wordsworth among the poets, unceasingly vindicated the freedom of soul of the obscure and the oppressed, the leechgatherers and the shepherds? The revolutionaries in their wild

excitement lost sight of the ultimate aim—the ideal. Wordsworth not only vindicates its cause and justifies its purpose but also suggests, as far as it is possible for a poet to do so, the way to realise it in life.

However, chronologically as we have proceeded so far, we now come upon the 'Poems of the Fancy' and 'of the Imagination' in which man and nature play their respective rôles and an interpenetrative affinity is established between them. Here his love for humanity has been extended to animal and vegetable creation. The poet now sings of 'joy in widest commonality spread' and if of sorrow, then only of

Sorrow that is not sorrow but delight
And miserable love that is not pain.

In the meantime, *The Lyrical Ballads* has been published and in its preface, the poet has not only decided "to choose incidents and situations from common life" but also to use the language really used by men. By now he has been so much inspired by his love for the common man that he does not even hesitate to represent him in his own accent and language, even though he realises the impracticability of such a theory. This may even appear to be the poet's unconscious and indirect vindication of the ideal of the revolution. Let not the poet sit in his ivory tower and hurl messages of equality and justice; let him come down to the common man, share his joys and sorrows and express them in his poems. Not this alone, let the poet also teach man how to live and be happy, how to be conscious of the glory that is man.

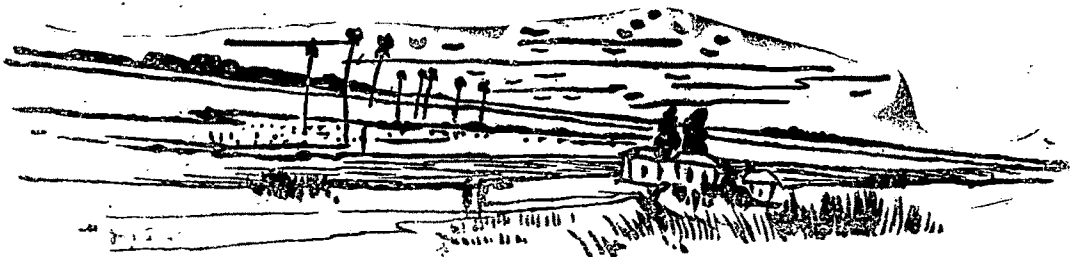
Wordsworth therefore sometimes grows didactic, not of course in any vulgar sense of the term, and he turns his guiding light in the encircling gloom. The Revolution was a class struggle, but Wordsworth would not admit the dictatorship of any kind and classlessness will not solve the problem if there is no change in our attitude towards life. This change, Wordsworth would affirm, will come through an unshaken belief in nature, and her ennobling influence on human life. And he would exhort the pilgrims of life to shun the artificiality of material progress. To the critics of a particular school it may smack of escapism; but it is, at least for Wordsworth, an acceptance of a better life, a striving after a realizable ideal and if it is an escape, who among poets worth the name is not an escapist? Again, critics holding Leftist views may contend that Wordsworth wrote for and main-

tained his belief in the capitalist system of society as may be evident from his poems dedicated to national independence and liberty, ecclesiastical sonnets and sonnets upon punishment of Death. But in objection to this, he it noted that Wordsworth wrote from a human plane, not from any class-consciousness, and tried to invoke in man 'the seer blest' who is capable of prevailing upon external circumstances. Armed with the love for humanity and belief in the soul-making power of nature, Wordsworth would say, we can steer a safe course through all the dark tangles of life. His first reaction to the plethora of emotional outbursts in the reign of terror, of course urged him in his early Godwinian enthusiasm to trust in the absolute power of Reason to inaugurate an earthly paradise, but gradually he saw and judged things for himself till at last he believed himself to be one of the

Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak
A lasting inspiration, sanctified
By reason, blest by faith; what we have loved
Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
On which he dwells, about this frame of things
(Which 'mid all revolution in the hopes
And fears of men doth still remain unchanged)
In beauty exalted, as it is itself
Of quality and fabric more divine.

A poet particularly if he is, like Wordsworth, an unequal writer and as such best appreciated in a judicious selection, is to be judged by his best, if we want the best out of him. Even though his later mysticism may be explained as a natural culmination of his thought process, and even if his unbecoming aberrations may be explained away in relation to his circumstances, the essential Wordsworth seems to be faltering in his later years when the ideal of the Revolution to him has turned into a distant and dying echo—a thought in the failing memory. But so long as he remained conscious of the ideal of the Revolution, it did not cease to inspire him.

If then we regard him as an upholder of the ideal of the Revolution, let us call him a Royalist simply because he accepted against his inclination the Poet Laureateship of England at the end of his life; an escapist, only because he strove for something better and truer and more abiding; a lost leader, merely because he stood for the sublimated and not the coarse and vulgar form of the ideal of the Revolution.



MUSIC IN EDUCATION

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

So far music has received scant attention at the average Indian school, where it is considered to be a subject of secondary importance, and as such it has been relegated to the position of an extra-curricular activity. Usually the demands of the heavy school syllabus make it hard for pupils to devote enough time and attention to the study and culture of music. A knowledge of music is looked upon as an additional qualification and accomplishment of boys and girls. They seldom find it possible to attain a high level of technical skill and perfection. Unless children are taught music in schools, their talents and aptitudes can hardly be assessed. Even when their musical tastes and talents are discovered, very often they fail to secure ample opportunities of developing them. Sometimes it is really difficult for the heads of schools to allot time as well as specialist teachers for a few pupils, who happen to have a special gift for music. The Calcutta University took a big step forward, when it accorded to music the status of a separate subject of study for the Matriculation course, and included it in the school curriculum, as an optional subject. But at the present moment there are very few teachers qualified to teach music up to the Matriculation or School Final Examination standard, even, in efficient schools. The appointment of a specialist teacher for a few pupils, who are likely to take up music at the School Final or Matriculation Examination is very often considered to be sheer waste of money. As a result of this, even such students as have special musical talents can be afforded very little facilities for specialising in the subject. Hence the need of setting-up an adequate number of music schools throughout the country. At these special schools of music, the services of music experts may be made available to the students of music with the minimum of expenditure, private tuition being very expensive and beyond the means of the average pupil. In the event of there being a sufficient number of music schools in the country, such boys and girls as have special tastes and aptitudes as well as talents may go in for a specialised course. This will open up new avenues of employment for students. It is a pity that music schools are few and far between in India at the present time.

An important place should be assigned to music in the school curriculum, too, it being an excellent medium through which the emotions and sentiments of children can find an outlet. In the present-day system of education in India, very little efforts are made to meet the social and emotional needs of pupils. The development of their personality and the 'education of the whole man' are seldom aimed at. Music constitutes an important means of self-expression, both in team and individual work, it being the vehicle of children's inmost feelings—their emotions and sentiments, which seek an outlet in some form of outward expression. Thus music makes for the development of their personality and individuality. Tagore with the deep imaginative insight and breadth of vision of a true educationist realised the enormous edu-

cational importance of music as a creative activity. Music was therefore placed at the forefront of the educational programme, chalked out by him. Thanks to the pioneer work of Tagore, the eminent educationists of the day are fully alive to the importance of music as an essential creative activity. The immense value of such creative activities as music, drama, art and handiwork needs to be borne in upon the average parent, who is keener on a good schooling for his children than on anything else, and is loth to let the latter spend enough time on music at the sacrifice of other school subjects. It is gratifying to note, however, that music occupies an important place in the scheme of education envisaged in the new junior basic curriculum, which is likely to replace the former primary curriculum in the near future in West Bengal. It is a move in the right direction. Music should form an important part of elementary education, which has been termed Primary education in India. It is a great pity that at the primary stage of education, music, instead of receiving the serious attention that it deserves, has been utterly neglected. The teaching of music as an important creative activity is essential both at the primary and pre-primary stages of education during the formative period of children's life. At the nursery and kindergarten schools, music should be regarded as a subject of primary importance. Attempts should be made to engender and inculcate a love of music among the children of impressionable age at the earliest stage of their education. During the early years of their childhood their musical ears, too, should be trained. They should be made to listen to plenty of good music, so as to create a taste for music. The absence of qualified music teachers may be partly compensated by the radio and gramophone, which may be of great help in training the musical ears of children and in creating a taste for music.

The dearth of qualified music teachers constitutes a serious handicap in introducing music in schools. So the crux of the problem is how to secure an adequate number of qualified teachers of music. But no solution of the problem can be arrived at until and unless teachers are trained in sufficient numbers for the purpose. Ampler training facilities should also be provided, so as to attract a bigger number of trainees. More training centres, too, should be opened, both in the rural and urban areas of the country in order to cope with the growing demand for such institutions. More attractive salaries should be offered to qualified teachers of music and the conditions of their service should also be much better than what they are at present. Provision should be made for a full course as well as a short-course training and refresher courses at the training centres. Some stipends should also be awarded to the trainees by way of monetary help, so that they may be able to meet part of their expenditure during the period of their training. It is high time that the question of training music teachers was taken up seriously. Music should be made one of the com-

pulsory subjects of study in the training courses to be provided for the primary school teachers. The trainees should not be awarded the certificate or diploma in teaching unless they pass in music too, at the Final Examination. In the Senior Vernacular training course, also, music may be made an optional subject that the trainees may take up at the examination. In West Bengal, a few teachers' training centres have been opened for the purpose of training music teachers. But these institutions, which owe their inception and existence to private enterprise have not been formally recognised by the Government. So far no uniformity of the standard and the courses has been achieved. A few music schools receive small subsidies from the State by way of maintenance grants, which are much too insufficient for the purpose. Attempts should be made to co-ordinate the activities of the different institutions and to affiliate them to a common body or a Central institution, like the school of Music, Lucknow, now known as Bhatkhande Sangit Vidya Pith. This will help to bring about and maintain a certain uniformity of the standard. Sporadic efforts on the part of individual institutions need to be systematised and organised into a definite pattern.

The question of training music teachers naturally leads to that of the syllabus which should be a well-thought-out and well-graded one. The failure to evolve a uniform syllabus is mainly due to lack of co-ordination of the activities of different institutions, which follow their own syllabuses. The drawing up of the syllabus may well be entrusted to a board to be constituted for the purpose, with renowned musicians as well as veteran music teachers of the country. Rabindra Sangeet, which forms a class by itself, should occupy a prominent place in any music syllabus that may be drawn up for West Bengal. Tagore's invaluable contribution to Bengali music cannot be ignored by any means. Bengal can justly be proud of its vast wealth of musical literature in the shape of Rabindra Sangeet, the emotional content and appeal of which are as rich and varied as possible. Tagore's hymns and devotional songs seem to have been profoundly influenced by the teachings of the Upanishads, as well as the songs of the Baul poets, belonging to a popular mendicant religious sect of Bengal. The poems, composed by the poet on the occasion of different season-festivals and set to music, are truly indicative of the variety of his moods and the infinitely varied ways in which nature appealed to him and touched a responsive chord in his heart. The joys and sorrows of a nation, its hopes and aspirations as well as its ideals and traditions, both social and religious—are enshrined in the musical literature of the country. So the history of the music of a country is inseparably bound up with that of its culture. The composition of the national and patriotic songs of Bengal synchronises with the various phases of its national movement to which those owe their origin. These songs testify to the storm and stress of the tremendous emotional ferment and

turmoil the country was passing through at the time. The course in music should, also, include folk songs and classical music, which form a distinctive feature of Indian music.

The immense advantages derived from the musical training imparted to children are manifold. Instruction in the elements of music seems to be essential, inasmuch as it constitutes a good training-ground for their moral character also. In and through music they are trained in self-confidence, self-control and courage. The musical demonstrations call for a good deal of self-confidence and courage on the part of the pupils. Their attempts at self-expression must needs be characterised by a certain amount of spontaneity and naturalness. So the demonstrations have to be free from affectation and constraint. This renders the shaking off of nervousness, shyness and self-consciousness absolutely necessary. Through the musical exercises, children are trained in the powers of concentration too. The constant drill in the accurate reproduction of the required sets of notes involves a good deal of conscious effort on their part. Strict conformity to the rules of musical measure and time helps to foster a discipline of behaviour among the pupils. Musical training thus develops the quickness of their perception and response as well as a keen sense of pitch. They learn to perceive quickly how far they have been able to catch and reproduce the tunes correctly—how far their voices can be pitched without any detriment to the effect. By means of musical training, children are made to learn how to take praise and blame in the right spirit. A spirit of healthy and constructive criticism is thereby inculcated among them. This exercises a tremendous influence on the formation of their character. Musical training is an education in itself, and is conducive to the mental and physical health of children. The immense joy which they feel from the creation of good music, as also by listening to it, promotes the healthy development of their body and mind. A good deal of exercise of their lungs and vocal organs is also involved in singing. Dancing is a very good form of physical exercise and is a training in the rhythmic movements of the body. Music thus stimulates and trains the rhythmic sense of children. A training of the rhythmic sense is essential for the proper appraisal of the aesthetic values. Children thereby learn how to appreciate the beauty of rhythm in sound, form and movement. The aesthetic training provided by music is of immense help in developing their aesthetic sense and tastes. The impressionable minds of children cannot be impervious to the beauty of harmony and melody—the charm of rhythm in sound, form and movement. The effects of the stimulus may differ in the case of individual children. But the effects are sure and certain. Children can thus be taught the need of perfect harmony and concord in human relationships also. The cultural value of music as a fine art should not be underestimated. "Art for art's sake." From that point of view also, music has an enormous importance of its own. This alone

justifies the study and culture of music. Good music serves to elevate our mind and spirit. The national songs of Bengal played a very important role in the national and political upheaval of the country. "Bande Mataram" became the watchword of her struggle for freedom. Innumerable heroes of the time braved death and untold sufferings with those words on their lips, which acted as an incantation or a magic spell, so to say. The national songs of Bengal were a fountain-head of eternal inspiration to the martyrs of the country, who sacrificed their lives at the altar of their motherland. The troops, bound for the battlefield, are made to march to the strains of martial music. Their minds, obsessed by the fear of imminent danger and peril, are thus diverted from the horrors of death and destruction, by means of music, which inspires them with courage and confidence. Numerous martial songs were composed in every country for the purpose. Religious training can also be imparted to children by means of music. If they are constantly made to listen to and sing devotional songs, they are sure to imbibe their spirit. Bengali music abounds in spiritual songs like Kirtan, Bhajan, Shyama Sangeet of Ramprasad, and the hymns composed by Tagore. The singing of devotional songs is likely to beget a spirit of reverence for the Deity or the Divine Being. The object of religious instruction can be achieved far better by means of religious songs than by the actual preaching of the moral precepts, readings from the scriptures, saying prayers and performing religious rites. Thus a musical training should form the basis and corner-stone of children's future education as well as character-building.

Now that India's long-cherished dream of freedom has been realised, its cultural level should, also, be raised, by all means. No nation can be really great unless its cultural and intellectual advancement is

brought about. Its intellectual and cultural achievements are a true measure of its greatness and civilization. The development of its arts, sciences and letters should, therefore, be commensurate with its economic progress. We pride ourselves upon the glorious heritage of our past. But we seem to be too much enamoured of the past to think of new ventures to be undertaken in future. Our cultural life will tend to be static and stagnant, if we cease to strive for greater achievements in every sphere of life and activities, from day to day. So the spirit of intellectual adventure should always be cultivated by the educationists of the country, who should embark upon new ventures and experiments in the field of education and culture. They should keep abreast of all the latest developments and experiments in education. In India the study and culture of music has not yet received the impetus that it should be given. The attention of the educated public should be focussed on the study and teaching of music. With this end in view music festivals may be organised from time to time on an All-India and international basis, so that a free and friendly exchange of thoughts and ideas may take place among the musicians of different countries. Such functions will, also, act as a forum for the discussion of problems relating to musical education as well as for the appreciation and interpretation of different schools of music. Children's general interest in music needs to be stimulated too, so as to make them music-conscious. The immense educational value of music should, also, be brought home to their parents and guardians. Inter-class, inter-house, inter-school and inter-provincial competitions in music should be arranged from time to time, with a view to rousing a healthy spirit of group competition among the school children.

—:O:—

THE LATE SRI N. GOPALASWAMY IYENGAR

A Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO

THE passing away of Sri N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar after completing the Biblical age of three scores and ten marks the end of an epoch of successful administrators with ability and integrity who turned out to be top-ranking statesmen at the fag end of their career. Contrary to common experience, Mr. Iyengar did not lose his individuality or initiative in service. He was ever fresh and vigorous. As the nephew of Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and the brother of Rangaswamy Iyengar—the former the proprietor and latter the editor of the *Hindu*, the excellently edited daily from Madras—he inherited a tradition of sincere convictions, sustained service and sound patriotism.

When Mr. Iyengar was appointed as the Prime Minister of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1937 after his retirement as the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue in Madras, most of us thought that it was the fitting end to his long and successful official career.

But few realised that it was the beginning of a distinguished career on a larger plane. The Kashmir Durbar was advised to introduce certain reforms by the Glancy Commission which was appointed as a result of a long-drawn-out struggle. Sri Gopalaswamy quickly came to grips with the various problems and proved himself to be the man of the hour. Necessary reforms were introduced. He faced every crisis with tact and grit and his administrative skill stood him in good stead. He proved himself to be a man of few words and all action. At the same time he was not indifferent to progressive movements in British India. When Mahatma Gandhi enunciated the Basic Education Scheme, Kashmir was the first Indian State to participate in it wholeheartedly, by deputing its Director of Public Instruction to work on the Basic Education Committee which was presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain.

During his tenure as the Premier of Kashmir he was unassuming and direct in his dealings. When Mr. Sheikh Abdullah, the present Chief Minister of the State, was announced before him as the lion of Kashmir he was reputed to have replied that his proper place was in the wilderness. After his retirement from the Kashmir State service, he thought of entering public life. Slowly but surely he made his voice heard in the counsels of the country. His work on the Sapru Committee which tried to solve the deadlock during the Second World War is well-known and appreciated. His entry into the Council of the State as an elected member provided him a forum to express his views from time to time on the pressing problems of the day. His exposition was marked by dignity, clarity and forcefulness. His elucidation of paramountcy under the new dispensation (i.e., in the light of the Cabinet delegation's proposals) surprised our constitutional Pandits. In spite of his evading publicity, his calibre and capacity were widely recognised. His appointment as chairman of the Committee set up to recommend ways and means to expedite Indianisation of the army was a clear recognition of his ability. Though he kept aloof from local politics and controversies, on important issues he did not hesitate to give his opinions clearly and categorically. His criticism of the Textile policy pursued by the Prakasam Ministry in Madras was regarded as thorough and convincing.

In the fitness of things he was called upon to serve as a member of the Experts Committee set up by the Congress Working Committee for the purpose of preparing material for the Constituent Assembly. The Congress High Command did the right thing in getting him elected to the Constituent Assembly. He justified the choice. He supported the resolution relating to the declaration of the objectives of the Constituent Assembly, moved by Pandit Nehru in terms that were definite and convincing. His explanation regarding the derivation of the sovereignty from the people proved to be useful and interesting. He ably supported his thesis with the observations contained in the reports submitted by the Reforms Enquiry Committees in premier States like Hyderabad and Mysore. He stormed the citadel of the princely order and their advisers. Even a shrewd tactician like Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer failed to dislodge him from his position. As a member of the Drafting Committee he was responsible for evolving the Indian Constitution in its present form.

Since he enjoyed the confidence of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, his services were in constant demand after the dawn of freedom. His first appointment was as Minister without portfolio in September 1947. Those were the days when the ruthless raiders from Pakistan entered into Kashmir and ravished that beautiful State. Naturally Mr. Iyengar was entrusted with the Kashmir problem soon after it acceded to India. He was made the Leader of the Indian Delegation to the Security

Council in 1948 when the Kashmir dispute came up for discussion. Though he politely bored many by his manuscript eloquence at Lake Success, he must have impressed the few that cared for facts and figures. Sir Md. Zafrulla Khan, the spokesman for Pakistan, stole many marches over him by sensational eloquence, and earnest advocacy. Thinking public felt that a Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee or Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer could have presented India's case in a better form designed to yield quicker and desirable results. But the powers-that-be were in no mood to select the proper person for the job. Mr. Iyengar steadily tackled the Kashmir issue during the successive stages up to the end of the mutual discussions at Geneva in August 1952, under the auspices of Dr. Frank Graham, the mediator appointed by the UNO. The final judgment on his efforts to tackle this thorny tangle must be left to history and the coming generation.

The Railway portfolio was entrusted to him in 1948 and he acquitted himself reasonably well in that capacity. He was responsible for the present regrouping of the various Railway zones. The benefits of this reorganisation remain to be seen. When Sardar Patel passed away in 1950 the Department of States automatically came under his care. After the General Elections in 1952, he became the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party and the Minister for Defence. His role as the Leader of the House in the Council of States quite suited him. His appointment as the Defence Minister, a position which was hitherto held by a qualified General or a member of the martial race was a glaring departure. The entrusting of this portfolio to a vegetarian timid Brahmin from Tamilnad was a shock and a surprise to those that thought on old lines. But it was befitting when the main opposition in the shape of Communism came from the South of Vindhya. We are now free to experiment with the men and material at our disposal in any manner we think fit and proper.

He stuck to his post though he was ailing and badly needed rest, as his repeated requests to be relieved of the responsibilities of the high office were turned down by Prime Minister Nehru. He was thoroughly loyal to his chief till the end. He identified himself so completely with the policy and the programme of the Cabinet that there was no occasion for him to differ at all. It is not for me to say whether he played the role of a colleague or a courtier in the Cabinet. It was apparent that he was never a competitor for power and was quite content to play the second fiddle. But all are agreed that he was every inch a gentleman of ability and character who could be depended upon under all circumstances. He died in harness full of years and honours. His life and work will be a model to those that seek an even and an honourable career beneficial to themselves and the country.

CASTE AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By LALIT SEN

VIOLENT conflicts between organized human groups with the aim of altering the status quo are a phenomenon as old as man himself. History of man is the history of endless series of revolutions and *coups d'etat*. Never a century passed which did not have a major revolution, profoundly affecting the character and type of contemporary civilization. Thinkers from time immemorial have tried to explain the fundamental factors underlying this phenomenon called 'revolution.'

According to the Marxist school, history is nothing but a process of inevitable class-struggles motivated by the purely material aspiration of capturing the means of production and the state which is the mechanism for class-domination. Class-struggles between the feudal order and the commercial bourgeoisie, between the commercial bourgeoisie and the proletariat are events in a systematic process heading towards a 'classless society.' Revolutions are bound to occur whenever these class-movements take place.

It is a truism that wherever there is a group of human beings, there is stratification. Stratification of society into different social orders is inherent in human psychology. Social mobility in the form of ceaseless class-movements is the fundamental fact behind the dynamic processes of society. These movements have a definite direction of their own. It is a fact that the upper classes have a tendency to degenerate, decay and disappear. The void is filled up by new elements emerging from the people. Thus the direction of class-movements is always upwards. These movements take place through the gradual processes of acculturation and miscegenation, i.e., culture-fusions and blood-mixtures.

It is evident therefore that class-movements need not necessarily take the form of revolutions, as supposed by the Marxists. But revolutions do occur at times. When the social distance between the classes is so wide and rigid that the slow and gradual processes of acculturation and miscegenation become impossibilities, class-movements take place with a violent shock and there is revolution. In other words, when the classes tend to crystallize into castes, revolution may break out any moment.

At this point one very pertinent question arises. How was the Indian caste system successful in preserving its entity for ages without bringing violent revolutions in its wake? It is true that before the rapid infiltration of Western socio-economic patterns, the caste system had tremendous force in India and no such revolution had threatened its existence. Although Marxian thinkers are at pains to prove that India had enough of revolutions which tried to abolish caste barriers, one remains unconvinced. Even stalwarts like Sri Bhupendranath Datta cite individual phenomena, e.g., the advent of Chandragupta Maurya, to prove this theory. It is true, there were many such individual events in the history of India but one must not accept these as group phenomena. Revolution involves group-movements, not the seizure of

power by any individual. The emergence of Buddhism as a classless, sectless order, however, can be cited as a revolutionary movement, but even this ultimately degenerated and the whole social structure again relapsed into the old Brahmanistic order. Moreover, the caste system based on the division of hereditary occupation groups was never non-existent during the Buddhist movement. In Bengal, the large number of converts among the lower castes to Islam, is cited as a revolutionary movement which was motivated by the attraction of Islam as a casteless, sectless order. But this also seems apocryphal, because it was calculated that there are at least fifty groups based on occupations among the Mohammedans of Bengal, and these have very nearly the character of caste. But the main fact behind all these events is that neither of these movements were violent in nature.

Much has been written to explain this case. Foreign thinkers like Prof. R. M. MacIver see the origin of the Indian caste system in conquest. Aryan conquerors absorbed the vanquished original inhabitants into their social system yet maintained distance from them. They were clever people and they gave a cover of anaesthesia in the form of religion over the whole system. In those old days, men were god-fearing and they accepted their lot as the verdict of God against which no hands must be raised. Max Weber is of the same opinion. According to him, caste signifies the enhancement and transformation of social distance into a religious or, more strictly, a magical principle. In other words, according to these thinkers, religion tried to stop the fundamental process of social mobility by giving the social distance between castes a religious or magical sanctity.

It is true that religion was mainly responsible for the absence of revolutions in India, but not in the sense that foreign thinkers like MacIver or Max Weber take it to be. It served as an outlet for social mobility. It acted as a safety valve, so to say. Whenever the social structure was threatened by revolutions due to the rigidity of the caste system which barred social mobility, religion came to her rescue. Religious preachers like Buddha, Jina, Nanak, Kabir preached equality of men irrespective of caste, creed or class in the sense that birth alone does not confer any special distinction on any one. These movements gathered tremendous force and influenced social and political forces for a long time. And then the whole social system again relapsed into the old pattern which was always in the background. Thus religious movements in India did not try to stop social mobility. On the other hand, they helped social mobility acting as safety valves in critical times when there was every chance of revolutions breaking out.

It is a fact that the caste system was never abolished. Whatever great force religious movements might have gathered, caste system based on hereditary occupation groups was always in the background. Realistic thinkers like Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose find the explanation in the

stability and permanency of the economic structure which is the steel-frame of the total caste-pattern.¹

Ancient Hindu thinkers divided every system, physical or social, into four orders based on these three qualities : *Sattwah, Tamah, Rajah*. Every aspect of the Universe was distinctly divided into these four orders. Yet there was co-operation and co-ordination among them. Without this co-operation the whole Universe would have collapsed in a moment. Hindu Sociologists applied this doctrine, logically enough, to human society. Human society, according to them, everywhere on earth, is based on these four orders; viz., Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. They divided the population into different occupation groups, irrespective of their racial origins, and according to the quality of the occupation, these occupation groups were placed in any one of the four broad orders. In order to make the system stable and permanent it was necessary to keep the occupations hereditary. The whole system was bound by an indivisible thread of economic co-operation. This was absolutely necessary in the decentralised village economy of ancient India.

That this economic system brought wealth and prosperity to India is proved by the records left by foreign travellers and the glorious sea-adventures of Indian ships carrying merchandise to all parts of the world. The major portion of the wealth went to the *Sresthis* or businessmen but others also had enough to live on. Slowly and gradually, those who were outside this system, i.e., the aboriginals, who used to live in jungles embraced this caste system which gave them assurance of security and stability. In India political power changed hands in almost kaleidoscopic rapidity. Foreigners came and were dissolved into the vast human sea. Yet the social structure remained intact by absorbing into the caste system all who came and placing them into different orders according to their occupations. Foreigners could not bring any better system suited to the decentralised village economy as a substitute. Instead, they accepted the Indian caste system as the most secure and permanent economic system which brings prosperity and assures security of life.

Some recent scientific observations have discovered certain startling facts. Though the rigid caste system barred all inter-marriages and culture-contacts, social mobility in fact was never stopped. It took the same course of acculturation and miscegenation, through which those who belonged to the lower castes gradually and slowly came up to the higher strata, the legal caste structure remaining unhindered.

If we analyse the rituals, observances and various customs of the upper castes, we find some strange things. Marriage customs among the upper caste Hindus consist of two parts. One is the strict following of the rules as laid down in the Vedas. The other part is non-Vedic. In Bengal, this part is known as *Stree Achar*. The

observances of this part have strange similarity with the marriage customs of the lower castes and even of the aboriginals. The Vedic part is the same all over India. But the other part varies with places and is similar to the marriage customs of the aboriginals and the lower castes of those respective places. It is not very probable that the higher castes picked up these customs from those who were in the lower strata of society. What seems nearer to the truth is that the lower castes gradually rose to the upper levels as the upward movement of social mobility progressed. Through the process of acculturation they absorbed all the customs of the upper castes but some social fossils, in the form of old customs, still lingered.

Caste mobility takes the following stages. Firstly, the lower castes adopt social practices of the higher castes. Secondly, they adopt new-fangled names which are reminiscent of noble descent. In the third stage, the rising caste endeavours to narrow the gulf with superior orders and widen the barrier against the lower castes. The formation of innumerable sub-castes is the result of this stage.²

Apart from acculturation, caste mobility takes its form also through miscegenation or blood-mixtures. After the Aryan conquest the vanquished inhabitants were generally absorbed into the lowest order, i.e., they were labelled as Sudras, because, it was thought that *Tamah* in them was predominant. As days passed by, aboriginals, who were outside the system, also embraced it and were placed in the lowest order. It is evident therefore, that if a somatic analysis of the various castes is made, there will be wide differences. But scientific observations go to prove the contrary.

Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, Sri B. S. Guha, Sri Bhupendranath Datta, Dr. M. N. Basu and many others took somatic measurements of the various castes in different parts of Bengal. Their surveys point out that somatic measurements are no criteria for caste distinction. These observations reveal that some of the so-called lower castes, e.g., Namasudras show striking resemblance with the so-called upper castes. This shows how ceaseless social mobility had had its way through miscegenation.

Thus one must take note of the fact that social mobility in India was never stopped by the rigid caste system of four Varnas. The economic co-operation underlying the whole system marks its difference from the caste system of other countries. In other countries, caste systems are based on antagonism, and not co-operation. Above all, whenever rigid social distance between castes threatened to stop social mobility, and revolutions were in the offing, religion acted as the safety valve. Numerous religious movements which grew on the soil of India served as outlets for social mobility and thus banished revolutions from India and its caste-ridden society.

1. "Caste in India" by Nirmal Kumar Bose, published in *Man in India*, Vol. 31, Nos. 3 and 4.

2. *Social Ecology* by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee.

SHAW—THE SUCCESSOR TO SHAKESPEARE

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B., R.J.S.

STALIN meant steel, straight and firm, so Shaw meant satire, twisted into delicate springs and winding screws. He, with his melodious intonation and athletic articulation, possessed an unrivalled degree of gift of being unpleasant. That is probably the reason why one of his zealous admirers is our Prime Minister.

He enjoyed giving pain to others, for he knew that it would do good to them! He employed the weapon of chastening moral with ridicule, so that this world may become more felicitous. He would operate upon the people with a sharp razor of scientific serenity. His jokes tore to pieces the cloaks of shams. He never used words which would make him loved; he rather loved to be feared. He never hated men, but was filled with scorn for men's follies. He was the tonic of his age, very bitter to the taste, but stimulating, clearing the mind of cants, and the atmosphere of fog. Unexpectedly we were rather dazzled by the brilliance of his wit and exhilarated by the drive of his thoughts.

Scores of men have tried to portray Shaw, and they all admitted their failure and concluded that let Shaw speak for himself. Once he was asked as to what opinion he formed for himself. His proximate answer was, "G.B.S. is a humbug." There is a considerable amount of this or that sort of talk scattered up and down his plays, his essays, and his speeches. A few illustrations will reveal how he started free from all convictions, and how he saw an immense unexploited field. His appeal was the appeal from might to right, from expediency to eternal justice, and from the defeat of truth of today to its sure victory of tomorrow.

"What can we look for," he asked a fashionable audience in London, "from a society based on such loathsome habits except the muddle we are in; waste and disorder everywhere; religion an organised hypocrisy; justice based on revenge which we call punishment; science based on vivisection, empire based on violence."

"I haven't a penny in the world," said a beggar to him one night. "Neither have I," retorted the delightful Shaw with cheerful comradeship, "I am not ashamed, I boast of it. I did not throw myself into the struggle for life. I threw my mother into it."

Everybody believed in everything what Shaw said, even if he said the Sun went round the earth. He once made some startling statements.

"Greatness," he stated, "is only one of the sensations of littleness." "Every man over 40," he propounded, "is a scoundrel." "A woman invented man for the sole purpose of impregnating her." "When

astronomers tell me," he asserted, "that a star is so far-off that its light takes a thousand years to reach us the magnitude of the lie seems to be inartistic."

Shaw wrote in one of his letters:

"Has any ape ever torn the glands from a living men to graft them upon another ape? Vaccination and anti-toxin inoculation have given to men neither the virtues of the cow, nor the qualities of the horse." "Man remains," he further adds, "what he has always been, the cruellest of all the animals, and the most elaborately and fiendishly selfish."

"He is a fool," to a big gathering he talks, "that marries, but greater that does not marry a fool." "The only way to get rid of a temptation," he points out, "is to yield to it." "We live in an age when unnecessary things are our only necessities." He reveals that "Home is the girl's prison, and the woman's workhouse, and that the vilest abortionist is he who attempts to mould a child's character."

For democracy his idea was that

"A political career is open to any adventurer, and that an adult suffrage is finally so destructive that it ends in a re-action into a despotic idolatry. The mobs are responsible for the election of the futile parliamentary talking shops; the wider the suffrage, the greater the confusion."

He wrote in one of his articles for *The World* :

"The secret of being miserable is to have leisure to bother about whether you are happy or not. The best definition of hell is a perpetual holiday. Whilst I am dressing or undressing, I do all my reading; the book lies open on the table, for I want to be thoroughly used up when I die, as harder I work, the more I live."

No man has punctured so currently the accepted beliefs and discredited more popular ideals than Shaw. In one of his celebrated essays, "A Sunday on the Surrey Hills," one of the funniest in the English language, he alleges :

"A country walk means a walk and a talk. God is there for me as the life-force at its highest level of expression." "Never believe," he goes on discussing, "in a God that you cannot improve upon."

He says that he is an atheist, but believes in the life-force and the evolution appetite.

He had such an enthusiasm for humanity that he would put the poor in jail, because of their poverty and misery.

"The crying need of the nation," Shaw depicts at one place, "is not for better morals, cheaper bread, temperance, liberty, culture, redemption of fallen

sisters and erring brothers; nor the grace, love, and fellowship of trinity, but simply for enough money. Money destroys base people as certainly as it fortifies and dignifies noble people." "Money represents," he goes on with his theme, "health, strength, honour, generosity, and beauty, as undeniably as the want of it represents illness, weakness, disgrace, meanness, and ugliness."

"Flee from sin," says the preacher. "Flee from poverty," says G.B.S.

No political writing goes more ruthlessly to the naked realities. Take for example his treatment of the Irish Question.

"Home Rule means Rome Rule," cried the Nonconfirmist. "England in Ireland is the Pope's Policeman," cried Shaw, stating the Irish case once and for all.

As he would leap to his feet, straight and lithe with that bleak smile, you would feel that there was a man who saw through all your cherished hypocrisy. He

would spray you with acid as if you were an insect, and you would curl up. He would exaggerate, so that you might know the truth. He would shock you, so that you might be shocked at yourself. He denounced love as his asceticism revolted from the sensuality. It would be unfair to call him rustic, simply because he had received no academic qualifications. He vituperated law, because of his passion for justice. The world was a lively place to live in, as somewhere in a remote villa, there lived the powerful, the majestic character. Thomas Hardy was heart-wrung by its agonies. To Meredith, Nature was the joyous companion. Bernard Shaw was the mind looking out with quick and thrilling interest upon the play of life. As we think of him, he looms before us as in statues like some tall tower by the sea.

Alwar

—:O:—

SHIVA-SHAKTI WORSHIP IN KASHMIR

By JALALI

KASHMIR is regarded as the land which is the home of Saivism, which gave birth to and nourished Saivism in its pristine purity. Did Kashmiris profess Saivism from the beginning or it was a later development? We possess an "immense" store of literature on Saivism and the labours of the Government Research Department are embodied in the Saiva-Series, which on the abolition of the Department the present Government distributed free of cost, and several applicants were lucky enough to secure copies of it, though now on the revival of the said Department free supply has been stopped. I am not concerned here with the ingredients of Saivism or Shakta cult nor intend discussing Saiva philosophy as propounded in the valuable repositories thereof. My purpose simply is to show that Saivism is not the first or original religious philosophy adopted by the Kashmiri Brahmins but it took root and flourished in the first thousand years after Christ and with political decadence underwent the same ebb and flow as the cultural existence of its followers.

The annals of Kashmir speak of the birth of the Paradise on Earth as the gift of the Great Consort of Lord Siva, *Mata Sati* (Goddess Parvati). The *Nilamatpurana* and *Sharika Mahatmyam* relate the desiccation of *Satisaras*, by the Devi dropping a pebble on Demon Jalodbhava and killing him. The Hariparbat Hill, the "swelled-pebble" enshrined the image of the Devi, which is still worshipped by the Kashmiris as *Chakreshwar*. When you go up the stone staircase of over 100 steps and enter the sanctum of

Sri Sharika Bhagavati, you behold a rocky image painted with red-lead; and as you seat yourself in front of the sacred Murti, the contour of the *Sri-Chakra* and constituent lines are seen under the thick coat of paint and votaries' garlands of red, pink and yellow, and the loose petals and rice grains of the unfailing worshipper of the Mother. Has this *Chakra* been chiselled on the face of the rock, or as is honestly believed by the devout it is "divine-born," impressed on the very pebble when it fell from Sharika Devi's beak (in the form of *shari*, Kashmiri *haar*, *maina*), and formed itself into the hill with the Devi's image (as secreted in the *Sri-Chakra*)? Whatever it be, and there is no occasion to doubt the divine sanctity, it confirms the belief that the aborigines of Kashmir worshipped the Mother's image; and if the Nagas and Pishachas with their ritualism appeased their deities, *Devi-puja* must have been the principal form of worship. And when the Nagas and Pishachas consented to Man's inhabiting it (Man being more advanced than these two races), the new-comer into the Fairy Land entered into a pact with these original inhabitants and while agreeing to observe certain *tithis*, rituals, offerings, adopted Mother-worship or *Devi-puja* as the main form of worship. With Chandradeva's masterly manoeuvre to have the system of half-yearly exodus stopped and permanent habitation of Man accepted by Nila Nag and the leader of the Pishachas—King Virodhaya and his councillors evolved a code of worship for all the constituent

members of the new race. From the different days of *puja* observed then and transmitted to us—though not religiously followed now in detail—it is obvious that Devi or Mother-worship was the most prominent.

The observance of *Gauri Trateya*, *Velhatruah*, *Navrah*, *Hara Navami*, *Jetha Ashtami*, *Khri Chodah*, *Tripura Chorum*, *Poh Ashtami*, etc., is an indisputable testimony to the fact that apart from ritualistic performances, *Devi-puja* was the only *puja* for the worshipper. He worshipped the Mother as Sharika (at Hariparbat, Srinagar), as Rajnya (or Khirbhawani at Tulmulla Spring, 16 miles from Srinagar), as Jwala (at Khrew village on the top of a hill 14 miles to the east of Srinagar) or as Tripura, Chandi, Shitala, Rupa Bhawani, Hari Kali, Lakshmi, and so on, as evidenced by the several images abounding the Hariparbat Hill or *tirthas* and springs, shrines and abodes, scattered throughout the Valley of Kashmir. And even up to this day, notwithstanding modernism, secularism, and nationalism, hundreds of votaries are seen daily going round the said Sacred Hill, or frequenting the *Khirbhawani* spring on every 8th day of the bright fortnight. The one popular, mystic, esoteric book of hymns, the *Panchastavi*, with its five cantos of Mother-worship is still read and recited and of late it has begun to claim closer attention of the public and reverence of the devotees. It is when Sri Sankaracharya reached Kashmir during his campaign of Revival of Vedantism better known as Brahmanism or Hinduism, he had to surrender his 'Advaita' to the Great Shakti and when he submitted, there flowed from his learned lips the famous *Sundar-Lahri* in praise of the Great Mother, "whose servants and palanquin-bearers, the leaders of the gods, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, together with Parama-Shiva, are lucky to be."

In Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* we read of temples and images of Siva-swamin and Vishnu-swamin or Madhav-swamin, of Viharas and Buddha-temples, which speak of the influx of Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism due to different rulers of Kashmir, who professed a given faith. Some of the kings advocated two faiths and built in the name of both Siva and Vishnu. Some dismantled these Viharas and temples. But we do not come across a single king who did any act desecrating a Devi-abode or Shrine. Did Mother-worship disappear in the interval? No! Outsiders had their own faiths, and the kings who worshipped a certain god-built temples in the name of the said god and propagated his faith. But this did not affect the main faith in the country. With the association of Shiva with Shakhti, as in the well known *sloka** of Sri Sankaracharya, which commences the *Sundar-Lahri*, the Shiva-Shakhti cult began to take root and assume a place of prominence in course of time, and *Shiva Ratri* (which is the 13th day of Dark Falguna and not the 14th day as observed by Hindus in India) celebrates the union of the Positive and Negative Forces of Life, the force of. Shakhti predominating. Now-a-days our daily *puja*, performed in the Thakurdwara, comprehends the Panchayatna *puja*, and at the time of *yajnas* and *havanas*, offerings are made to the Panchayatna deities invariably. This does not in any case mean that *Devi-puja* or Mother-worship has abated. On the other hand, it is gaining more force and is becoming very popular. Public *havanas* in the name of Sri Chandi, Sharika, Rajnya Jwala, are usually performed. Notwithstanding inroads of Vedantism, or advocacy of Siva *puja* and other *pujas*, (for women as well), Mother-worship in one form or another is holding its own and Shiva-Shakti worship is a specialized form thereof.

* शिवः शक्त्या युक्तो . . .

—:O:—

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Devapala and the Pandyas of the South

By K. R. VENKATA RAMAN

I offer some brief remarks on the Velvikudi and the larger Sinnamanur plates discussed in an article on 'Devapala and the Pandyas of the South' by Asoke Chatterjee published in the March number of *The Modern Review*.

Maravarman Rajasimha I Pandya (730-765)² crossed the Kaveri and subjugated Malakongam, which comprised parts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts to the east and south of the hills that separate Trichinopoly

from the adjoining districts of Salem and Coimbatore, and then defeated the Vallabha at Vembai. The Vallabha here is the Western Chalukya King Kirtivarman II, who, on coming to the throne in 744-45, was faced with open rebellion everywhere. His Rashtrakuta feudatory, Dantidurga, who had already taken possession of the country round Ellora, marched south, subjugated the Cholas of Srisailam (Kurnool district) and sweeping on Kanchi forced a treaty of alliance upon Nandivarman II

Pallavamalla, to whom he gave his daughter Reva in marriage. The alliance between the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga and Pallavamalla is the background against which lines 126-133 of the Tamil portion of the Velvikudi grant should be studied. These lines describe the military exploits of Marangari, the Pandya general, who was later exalted to the dignity of the Pandya's *Uttaramantri*. The Pandyan allies, the 'eastern chiefs' (*Purvarajar*²) who possessed 'clamorous battalions' rose up (*elundu*) and put to a disastrous flight (*alindoda*) the Vallabha, who attacked at the head of an army of archers. It is well-known that on the side of the Vallabha was his Ganga feudatory, Sri Purusha. It is obvious that the 'eastern chiefs,' who helped the Pandya general were the Pallava and his Rashtrakuta allies and their vassals. The Pallava was waiting for an opportunity to wreak vengeance on Kirtivarman, who as Yuvaraja in the time of his father Virkramaditya II, had raided Kanchi and carried away a large booty of elephants, gold and jewellery, and now he got what he had been waiting for, and the alliance with the Rashtrakuta and the Pandya gave him additional strength.

Rajasimha's successor was Jatila Parantaka, also called Varaguna I (765-815). In his time the Pandya-Pallava *entente* broke up, and when the Pallava forces advanced beyond Kanchi, Varaguna met them at Pennagadam and turned them back. The Pallava then formed a confederacy with the fugitive chief of Kongu⁴ Kerala and and the Adigaiman Chief of Tagadur.⁵ Varaguna attacked the Adigaiman and put him to flight and annexed Kongu. The frontiers of the Pandyan Kingdom were pushed beyond the Kaveri far into Salem and Coimbatore, and Dantivarman Pallava (795-845), the successor of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, had to reconcile himself to the loss of the southern districts. The next Pallava king Nandivarman III (844-866) partly retrieved Pallava prestige by defeating his Pandya contemporary Srimara Sri Vallabha (815-862) at Tellaru and other battles and following up his success by marching into the heart of the Pandya country. One of these battles was fought at Palayarai (C 845) where Deva, a son of the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarasha I, led the combined Pallava and Rashtrakuta forces to victory.⁶ Undaunted by these

reverses, Srimara rallied his forces and gave battle to the enemy at Kudamukkil (the Tamil form of Kumbakonam; an important city in Tanjore district). The army that suffered defeat at Kumbakonam is mentioned in the Sinnamanur Plates as having comprised the forces of the Ganga,—Pallava, Chola, Kalinga, Magadha and others (*Gangapallava chola kalinga-maghadhadigal*).

By Kalinga is evidently meant the ruler of Vengi, since at that time much of what is known as Kalinga formed part of the Kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas. Gunaga Vikramaditya of Vengi, had by this time overthrown the Boyas of Nellore and extended his territory as far as the Pulicat lake (within thirty miles north of Madras).

Who then was the Magadha? It will be obvious to any student of History in South India that Magadha (Magara or Magadhai) was a small territory to the south-east of modern Mysore State, made up of parts of South Arcot, Salem and probably North Arcot also. Its strategic situation to the west of Tondaimandalam (the home province of the Pallavas), to the north of the Chola country and to the east of Kongu helped it to play a not inconsiderable part in the politics of the South. A branch of the Banas later settled in Magadhai, and their chiefs assumed such titles as *Viramagaithan*, *Magadhaiperumal* and *Magadhai Nadalvan*⁷.

It is a far cry indeed from the Pandyas and Kumbakonam on the Kaveri to the Palas and Magadha in the north.

Exaggerated claims of the extent of kingdoms were indulged in by royal panegyrists all over India. If they claimed for kings in the north that their conquests led them to Setubandha (Ramesvaram), equally fantastic was the claim on the other side that the whole country as far as the Himalayas were brought under the sway of the Tamil King.

One point I have left untouched: Who was the *Dravidanatha* of the Balal pillar inscription? I have my own tentative view on the matter, but forbear from expressing it in print for the excellent reason that I cannot claim as much acquaintance with inscriptional and literary evidences pertaining to the kingdoms of the north as I can for the south.⁸

¹ "Rebala House,"

² 8, Valliammal Road, Madras 7.

³ 1. Pages 212-16.

⁴ 2. Pandyan Chronology has been fixed by Prof. Nilkanta Sastri in his book *The Pandyan Kingdom*, Luzac & Co., London, 1929.

⁵ 3. Notice the plural.

⁶ 4. Kongu comprised parts of Madurai, Trichinopoly and Salem districts and the bulk of Coimbatore district.

⁷ 5. Dharmapuri in Salem.

⁸ 6. E. C. X Cd. 76.

⁷ 7. Magadha was conquered by Hoysala Narasimha II early in the thirteenth century.

⁸ * I have not thought it necessary to give reference in this brief note, but shall be glad to help any scholar, who may care to write to me, to find them out.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

RAMALINGA REDDY SASTYABDAPURTI
(Commemoration Volume), Part II: *Humanities*. Published by the Andhra University, Waltair. Pp. 356. Price not mentioned.

This is a Festschrift presented to the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University by his friends and admirers on the occasion of the completion of his 60th birthday. At the request of the veteran educationist which does honour to his understanding the editors of this volume have given in the Preface a bare sketch of his brilliant career both as a student and in public life. The papers range over a wide variety of topics—Indian history and culture, Indian art and literature, Indian university education, Islamic history, Economics and Politics, Religion and Philosophy. For lack of space it is not possible to notice here any articles other than those coming under the first three heads. Under the first head Dr. R. C. Majumdar combats on good grounds the view of another Indian scholar (Dr. D. C. Ganguli) about the early life of Sasanka, king of Gauda and his alleged crime in assassinating the contemporary king of Thaneshwar. In another paper, Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri rejects the proposed identifications of Lanka of the Ramayana with Central India, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, but his own view is anything but conclusive, for he thinks that the origin of Lanka was legendary, this legend being the source of the same and similar geographical names found in later times. As regards the history of the Deccan and South India, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya reconstructs in the light of contemporary Telugu works as well as the inscriptions of Vijayanagar and the Muslim chronicles the incidents of one of the numerous wars between the Hindu kingdom and the Bahamani Sultanate. In a more important paper, Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar analyses the causes of the collapse of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Quoting the opinions of the foreign observers from the 14th to the 16th centuries he notices two striking features of this kingdom, namely, its "urban concentration" and "the astronomical size of its armies." The former led to the neglect of the country-side, while the latter involved (as the author shows by means of plausible calculations) the withdrawal from economic occupations of one-fifth of its man-power and "the economic sterilization of the entire physically efficient elements of its population." The financial policy of the rulers had the result that half the land-revenue demand was assigned to the nobles for the provision of their levies and their maintenance, only the remaining half going to the State treasury. These rulers, again, forgetting the lesson of the Muslim conquest of Northern India, failed to rise above "the employment of a handful of Europeans to

manage a cumbersome and inefficient artillery arm and of much less dependable Musulman mercenaries." Again, "the accumulation of vast royal hoards, and the conversion of the savings of the nation into gold and jewellery, acted as a permanent incitement to the invader who hungered for loot." "The bulk of the population," according to an acute foreign observer, "lived perilously near the margin, and possessed no capacity to withstand personal or political vicissitudes." Coming to the subject of Indian literature Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai draws an interesting parallel between the services rendered to Tamil literature by the ancient Jaina monks and the modern Christian missionaries. In the branch of Indian art Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee presents a short, but stimulating survey of Andhra art in all its phases and of its influence upon the art of Northern India and he concludes with a vigorous plea for its systematic study under the auspices of the Government Archaeological Surveys as well as the Andhra University. Of interest to Indian educationists is a short paper in which the late Dr. Ganganath Jha condemns the teaching of law in most of our universities as 'a farce,' and he suggests that the universities should confine themselves wholly and exclusively to the training of the scholarly lawyer, while the training of the practical lawyer should be left to the Bar Councils of the High Courts. A more thorough-going reform of Indian university education is suggested by Sardar K. M. Panikkar in a highly thought-provoking paper. Here he shows how the two causes, namely, the contempt for Indian classics dominating Indian universities down to the early years of the First World War under European missionary influence and the cheapness of the degree courses meant originally to fill the junior ranks of the Indian administrative machinery, led to the absence of humanistic interest in the prescribed subjects of study. "The bastard origin of the Indian universities—the result of an irregular and unhappy union between the passionate desire of the missionaries to bring Christ to India through the schools and the indifferent calculation of the administrators for a steady supply of young men not too well educated but with a sufficient knowledge of English for carrying on the work of government, is still writ large on its mis-shapen product." The remedy, the author thinks, lies in the combination of a high standard of intellectual training with a wide study of humanities both Indian and European, resembling with some differences the Greats course at Oxford. The author illustrates his meaning by drawing up a very interesting course of study for three years divided into two public examinations. This only, the author thinks, would produce a real synthesis of culture which is the great *desideratum* in modern Indian education.

U. N. GHOSHAL

EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS (Third Edition, 1952): Published by the United Nations, Department of Public Information, New York. Pp. 388. Price \$1.50.

The United Nations Organisation is about to complete the eighth year of its existence. Time has not yet come to pass any judgment on the record of its activities,—a mixed one of light and shade, of hopes and fears, of achievements and failures. Whether the Organisation fulfils the expectations of its architects, there is no doubt that in one form or another it has come to stay, inasmuch as it is the concrete manifestation of a universal desire for achievement of peace and international security through international co-operation and creating an international forum for discussion and debate on questions of common interest to nations, a clearing-house of ideas and a centre for dissemination of useful information and statistical data. Two successive world wars have brought home to humanity the extreme urgency of such an international organisation and that an effective one, if human civilisation is not to be destroyed by the monster of its own creation. The nations have also come to realise that in the present age it is simply not possible for any nation to live in isolation. If men of the past generation thought nationally those of the present generation have come to think internationally. The United Nations is simply the institutional expression of these feelings, desires and sentiments of people all over the world. There is therefore an increasing demand for authoritative information about the origin, structure, functions, activities and accomplishments of the organisation from both its admirers and critics. For making a proper assessment of its work also it is essential that it must be based on authoritative information. The editors of the Volume under review, the U. N. Department of Public Information have, therefore, done a great service in meeting that demand, by producing this handbook containing full and up-to-date information about the Organisation to serve as a useful reference guide not only for students of international affairs, diplomats and statesmen, but to all intelligent citizens throughout the world. Much of the pessimistic feeling about the future of the Organisation evident in certain quarters is due to lack of full information about the activities of the Organisation in different fields. The publication will go a great way towards disarming misinformed criticism and will enable people to form a correct estimate of its work on the basis of which attempts may be made for removing its defects. The book should have a very wide circulation if it is to serve its purpose.

A. K. GHOSAL

THE TASK OF PEACE-MAKING: Published by the Visva-Bharati Publishing Department, 6/3 Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta 7. Price Rs. 5.

This volume of 181 pages contains reports of meetings held at Santiniketan and Sevagram in December 1949 and January 1950, of the World Pacificist Organization. In the Foreword and in the Introduction, Doctor Rajendraprasad, India's Rashtrapati and Mr. Horace Alexander have both described the genesis of the idea of holding the meeting in India. The summaries of the reports do not tell the readers anything new, except the hopes of a new world where the war-drum would throb no longer. As we write these lines, the makers of wars have been sharpening their wits and swords for a fresh course of blood-letting. This development demonstrates that human nature is

unteachable. Still the value of books like these is undeniable. These sow seeds of doubts in human mind of the validity of the ruling ideas, and after years sprout into decent human conduct. In pp. 89-92, we are given by an unnamed person a resume of the Soviet-American relations, Indo-Pakistan relations, Palestine, South Africa are topics that are but meekly touched. And we miss here the contribution made by cross-examination of speakers by men who have specialized in the philosophy and practice of what has come to be known as Gandhism. The book and the full reports of speeches and the papers should be rendered into the languages of the West which needs most the Pacifist remedy. The get-up of the book is all that is hoped for.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

CHARLES FREER ANDREWS: By Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 10s. 6d. net.

In the short foreword, Mahatma Gandhi writes: "Charlie Andrews was simple like a child, upright as a die and shy to a degree. For the biographers the work has been a work of love. A life such as Andrews' needs no introduction. It is its own introduction."

Andrews' was a household name in India for more than thirty years. He endeared himself to the people of all ranks—the rich as well as the poor, and particularly the poor by his truly 'Christian' activities. The perusal of this narrative running up to more than three hundred pages brings home to the reader at once the secret of his popularity amongst the Indians. Andrews has shown by his life that a true Christian cannot but be a real lover of humanity—a friend of the poor, the oppressed and the depressed. An Englishman to the core, he adopted India as the country of his choice to live in and to work for. Since his arrival in the country in 1904 up till his death in 1940, Charlie Andrews lived, thought and worked for the good of the Indians, here and abroad, not as a member of the ruling race but as one of us Indians, and that was the reason why he was accepted by the populace as one of their kith and kin and not as a foreigner.

The authors have divided the narrative of the eventful life of Charlie Andrews (1871—1940) into five parts under the following appropriate captions: (1) The Englishman; (2) The Twice-born; (3) The Pioneer; (4) The Friend of the Poor; and (5) The Bridge-BUILDER. These captions are very significant. Andrews has been presented before the reader as such, and as we proceed with the book we feel his presence in our midst in those capacities even today. As a student at Cambridge, as a Professor at St. Stephen's College at Delhi, an inmate in the Santiniketan Asram and as a worker for the cause of his fellow men in India and abroad, the life-activities of Charles Freer Andrews have been dealt with in a lucid and elegant style and with sufficient quotations from his writings including letters. Andrews' services for the amelioration of the condition of Indians abroad, who are in most cases labourers, have also been delineated in different chapters in considerable detail.

Some new facts have also been revealed in these chapters. Andrews had no mean share in convincing Lord Hardinge of the justness of the South African cause for which Mahatma Gandhi was struggling so hard. The Government of Lord Hardinge gave its whole weight of support to the Indians there. The Gandhi-Smuts' Agreement of 1914 was possible for this timely support. The abolition of Indentured labour abroad on January 1, 1920 by order of the India

Government was mainly due to continued and arduous endeavours of Charlie for long years behind the screen. He had also a hand in some of the later decisions of the Indian and the British Governments. Andrews had travelled far and wide. Wherever the Indians were in distress—whether in South Africa, East Africa, the Fiji Islands or the British Guiana or in India itself, Andrews found himself there to help and serve them. Each and every moment of his life was devoted to their cause. Labour was his special forte, and it was no wonder that he was closely associated with the All-India Trade Union Congress and guided its deliberations as President in its earlier days. Andrews was a man of considerable merit—and was a poet too. He was not only physically active, but his mind and spirit was solely devoted to our cause. And the result was so many books on Indian questions.

The history of our Freedom movement is going to be written, and such books as this one will supply enough material for the treatment of the struggle of the Indians abroad for national self-respect and political consciousness. In this sphere the activities of Charlie Andrews will remain unsurpassed for years to come. Everybody engaged in the work of the welfare of the Indian people will do well to read the book. The noble example of Andrews will readily quicken the spirit of service and sacrifice, the two things most needed at this hour. We commend this important book to our readers for repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

MEMOIRS OF MY WORKING LIFE: By Sir M. Visvesvaraya. Published by the author, Bangalore, 1951. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 6.

This is a record of the amazing working life of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the distinguished irrigation engineer and an internationally-known authority in his special field. A mere listing of the achievements that stand to the credit of this great engineer would fill space that cannot be spared to us. Sir Visvesvaraya has been associated with almost every irrigation and sanitary project of any note that was carried out in Southern or Western India during the sixty-seven years of his active life. The block system of irrigation and the automatic sluice gates were first introduced by him in this country. Among outstanding monuments to Sir Visvesvaraya's industry and engineering talent are the Sukkur waterworks, the Krishnarajasagara reservoir on the Kaveri, the Aden drainage and waterworks and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati. In the wider national field, his services have been requisitioned by various technical commissions and bodies. His recent work in connection with the Ganga barrage and bridge scheme will be remembered. As Dewan of his native Mysore, his administration, to quote from a tribute paid to him by the Government, "resulted in important and far-reaching developments . . . and has laid the foundations for a prosperous and progressive future for the State. . . ."

Sir Visvesvaraya wounds up his excellent work by giving us, in three brief chapters, his considered views on various problems facing the nation.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

THE MIRACULOUS AND MYSTERIOUS IN VEDIC LITERATURE: By Dr. B. A. Parab, M.A., Ph.D. With a foreword by Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Joint Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. Published by Popular Book Depot, 819 Lamington Road, Bombay 7. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 6-12.

This book divided into twenty short chapters,

besides a bibliography and an index, was originally the author's thesis presented and approved for the Ph.D. degree in Sanskrit of the Bombay University. The learned author shows in this book under review that the supernatural events and the miracles wrought by them described in the hymns of the Rig-Veda and Samhitas are mysterious and miraculous; but not magical. It is evident that the author clearly distinguishes a *mantra* from magic. Oldenberg, Schrader, Macdonell, Keith and other European orientalists discover magic formula instead of *mantra* in the Rig-Veda and wrongly concocts a theory that Vedic religion rises from magic or spell. Dr. P. A. Deshmukh refutes this false theory of the Western scholars passing in his learned work *Religion in the Vedic Literature*. Dr. Parab, the present author, who has entirely devoted the whole book to the refutation of the charge after a thorough study of the Rig-Veda, Atharva Veda and Satapatha Brahmana, as well as a careful examination of all the Rig-Vedic hymns in the light of Sayana's commentary, has undertaken the strenuous task of scrutinising even the various meanings of Vedic words to prove his theory beyond a shade of doubt. As the result of protracted and profound research he has come to the conclusion that a *mantra* originally meant a hymn or a part of a hymn in the Vedic literature; but later it came to mean incantation or magical formula in modern Indian languages and that Rig-Vedic hymns are called *mantras* in the original sense.

The learned author also analyses the Vedic legends of Sasarpari, Chyabana, Ribhu, Kaksivat, Kutsa and a host of others who wrought miracles, through the power of prayer or *mantra-sakti*. In passing, he mentions that the science of rejuvenation, successfully practised by Dr. Vornoff of Austria and his followers by the substitution of monkey glands, was well known to the Vedic Aryans. Sage Chyabana after whom a famous Ayurvedic medicine is named was made young again by Aswins, the divine healers who were twins. The story of Chyabana is narrated not only in the Rig-Veda but also in the Satapatha Brahmana. Kali, Ghosa, Kaksivat and many others were rejuvenated by Aswins and cured of incurable diseases.

All these go to show that the Vedic civilisation was anything but primitive as supposed by some biased scholars of Europe. Dr. Parab refutes their wrong charges by facts and figures in this small book which is a veritable mine of valuable information and a masterpiece of research work. A beauty of this book is that though it deals with a very technical subject it is readable throughout. Hence, both the learned scholars and the general readers will find it equally interesting. Vedic references would have been more forceful with original quotations, instead of figures only. The price of the book seems to be a bit exorbitant considering its size.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

GANGA-LAHARI: By K. V. N. Appa Rao, M.A., Principal S.V.J.V. Sanskrit College Kuvur, West Godavari District (S. India).

SAHITYA-SUDHAKARA: By Pandit K. S. Parameswara Sastry Sahitya-siromani, Irinjalakuda. Price Re. 1.

We have here two modern works in Sanskrit. The first one is a Sanskrit poem in 100 beautiful verses describing the journey of the Ganges from the Hima-

layas down to the Ocean. It is stated that the great river came down on the plain with the sole object of doing good to the land and its people.

The second work which is introduced as an 'easy treatise on Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody' deals in brief with the fundamentals of the subject. Apparently it aims at obviating the difficulties of beginners in starting forthwith with standard works and equipping them with basic principles of the subject-matter. But this does not constitute a new venture. Other attempts on identical lines are known to have been made in more or less recent times. We ourselves had our first lessons in the subject from a very helpful work called the *Kavyadipika* (Calcutta, 1870) compiled by Kanchi-chandra Vandyopadhyaya. It is a pity that this work is not in use and is scarcely known in these days. It is a matter of regret that Sanskrit works, a fairly good number indeed, produced in these days on various subjects and published from time to time in different parts of the country, attract little notice of the people, nay, even of the scholars. There may be doubts as regards the possibility of making these works popular now even by way of prescribing them along with old classics as text-books in examinations as is being done in some quarters. But still we must keep a record of these works as far as possible as an indication of the live force of Sanskrit with its unbroken continuity in the face of all obstacles. We must also assess their value and give proper recognition and encouragement to their authors.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

ART-O-AHITAGNI (Second Edition): By Jamini Kanta Sen. Preface by Dr. Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyay. Published by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya and Sons, 203/1/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 1959 B.S. (1953). Four colour plates. Twenty half-tone blocks. Pp. 224. Rs. 12.

Originally published 31 years ago, this treatise in eleven chapters occupies a unique place in Bengali literature. Though there are various treatises on Poetics and Rhetorics—in Sanskrit and Hindi—there is a lamentable dearth of literature in the Indian language expounding the principles of Plastic Arts. Germany was the first to analyse the canons of Visual Arts and to expound the Philosophy of the Fine Arts, on the footsteps of which France, Italy, and England have followed in putting forth treatises on aesthetics—the Science of Beauty, as demonstrated in painting, sculpture and architecture. Apart from the enigmatic title of the book, Jamini Kanta Sen's treatise "Art and the Altar of Fire," is the first systematic attempt to expound the principles of beauty, after the famous essay of the great Bengali novelist on "Saundaryya-tattva" (1878?), in any Indian Language. Since Mr. Sen's publication (1922) a number of books have appeared in Bengali of which the outstanding contribution was by the late Dr. Abanindranath Tagore in his *Bagiswari Essays* now in course of translation. Though one or two chapters have been devoted to the exposition of the principles of Indian art, Mr. Sen's volume is not confined to the narrow limits of Indian artistic creation but takes a wide sweep bringing under survey the various phases of European art, frequently citing the fundamentals of Far Eastern Art. He was principally inspired to make the survey by various English and French aestheticians, whom he interprets with liberal quotations from their works. As an

intelligent summary of the views of European critics of art the book is a valuable guide to Indian students of Arts to whom the majority of the European treatises are inaccessible.

But it is something more than a mere presentation of the views of others, it is a serious attempt in any Indian language to build up a Philosophy of Art on an extensive foundation in which the Art principles of the East and the West are happily ad-jured with a view to discover universal principles. The scope of the work can be easily gleaned from the significant titles of the chapters: 'Beauty and the Beautiful,' 'The Fare of Emotions,' 'The Sequence of Ideals in the Realm of Vision,' 'The Environment of Art,' 'The Socialistic Centre of Flavour,' 'The Autonomy of the Visual Arts,' 'The Extraordinary Expressions of Super-Forms,' 'The Garland of Visual Forms and Metaphors,' 'Ascribed and Transcendental Forms' and 'The Touch of Eternity.' If the study of the Fine Arts is to be pursued on rational basis, books such as these liberally expounding the basic principles are indispensable for the future growth of Art in India. That there is no similar work in any other Indian language is the challenging position of the language of Rabindranath Tagore which the *rashtra-bhasa* is seeking to oust in a sorry game of narrow-minded politics. Dr. K. Gangopadhyay's Introduction is lucid and illuminating and adds distinctly to the value of the book.

O. C. G.

HINDI

HAMARA DESH: By Bhaskar Rao Vidwans and Rasiklal Parekh. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers, Ltd., Bombay 2. Pp. 68. Price Rs. 4.

An excellent school-project, pertaining to the people, produce, products, minerals, etc., of our country, executed in the shape of eloquent charts which convey pertinent information easily and effectively to the literate child as well as to the illiterate adult. These charts, enlarged to the size of wall-posters, should be displayed on every railway platform, at every street corner, in every village and on the walls of every school, if the sentiment of patriotism is to be strengthened with knowledge of facts and figures. The authors deserve unstinted praise for their work.

G. M.

MARATHI

KABUTAREN: By Gangadhar Gadgil. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pp. 162. Price Rs. 3.

The recent tendency among story-writers to delve deeply into the psychology of characters and give a minor place to plot has penetrated into Marathi literature also. This publication, which is a collection of 12 short stories, is an example. Shri Gadgil, who is a writer of distinction, specialises in this new style. Some of his stories illustrate the extreme of this trend, where his psychological analysis appears to be too clever to be true. But his literary skill is of a high order. The hidden motives of his characters are better revealed, not through the author's interpretative comments, but through their own reveries, dialogues and actions. The author covers a wide field of middle class life, its everyday trials and its occasional romance. On the whole, the stories are entertaining and delightful and display high literary art. The book is attractively printed.

P. J. JACIRDAR

GUJARATI

PRAHLAD NATAK AND SAHANVIRNAN GITO: By Jagatram Dave of Vedachhi Ashram. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 78. Price ten annas

This is the second edition of a play written twenty years ago and staged by the pupils of the Ashram. It had Gandhiji's approval, as a matter of course, as Prahlad was the first and one of the strongest satyagrahis of ancient India. The play is well-written and the twelve songs inspiring the faculty of suffering are so simply written as to appeal to all.

HIND 'BRITAIN' NO NANA VYAVAHAR: By Manibhai B. Desai. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price ten annas.

This is Prof. J. C. Kumarappa's book *Clive to Keynes* translated into Gujarati. Prof. Kumarappa's reputation as an expert of high finance needs no introduction. He has shown clearly how India has been treated economically and its monetary resources drained away during the British regime. Some knowledge of this state of things was required for Gujarati readers and Mr. Manibhai's translation has done so.

YANTROSAME BALAVO: By Chandrashankar Pranshankar Sukla. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 62. Price ten annas.

Prof. L. P. Jacks delivered Hibbert Lectures in 1933 in different places in England. They have been published in book-form, called *The Revolt against Mechanism*. They have been translated here by one who is an adept at it. What is meant to be conveyed

is that we must see that machines remain our servants and do not become our masters. If they do, then they restrict our development.

(1) **KHEDUT POTH:** By Vitthalidas M. Kothari and Naginbhai Shamabhai Sheth. Thick card-board. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2-9.

(2) **LOKASHABI:** Translated by Pandurang Ganesh Deshpande. Thick card-board. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 2.

Both books published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948.

Encouragement to agriculturists and land-tillers is the keynote of the policy of the present administrators of India and therefore anything which helps towards attaining that object is welcome. *Khedul Pothi* is one such hand-book. In four sections, headed, (1) Agriculture—Pure and Simple, (2) Laws and Rules, (3) Cattle-breeding, and (4) Home Industries, such as, manufacture of molasses from palmyra trees, food, hygiene, drugs, cure of diseases without drugs, in fact everything that is useful to a village as a self-sufficient unit is collected here and wherever required experts and village-officers have been consulted. It is a comprehensive *vade mecum*. Acharya Javdekar's book in Marathi on Democracy is translated into Gujarati by Mr. Deshpande who had done so also in respect of a former work of the Acharya on *Present-Day Bharat Democracy*. Its significance, origin and propaganda together with other related matters like Individualism, Nationalism, Socialism, are explained here, together with the administration of State and Self (*Atma Rajya*). A full Index is also provided to add to the usefulness of the book.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

OR

AWAKENED INDIA

(Started by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)

Now in its 58th Year

The premier English monthly, conducted by the Monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, devoted to universal religion and philosophy, culture, education, and art and other topics of national and international interest. It keeps its readers in intimate touch with the cultural side of Indian national life, both ancient and modern.

The journal is popular and is widely circulated all over the world and is esteemed highly as the following opinions will show:

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: "Admire its writings as contributions to pure Indian culture."

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN: I have been a regular reader of *Prabuddha Bharata* and can say that its sanity in dealing with religious doctrine and discipline has been its most impressive characteristic."

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING: I think *Prabuddha Bharata* is one of the most interesting and important magazines that one can find today in any country."

SUBSCRIBERS ARE ENROLLED FROM JANUARY OR JULY

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Kanheri Caves

Anthony Elenjittam writes in the Vaisakha Number of *The Maha Bodhi* :

On Sundays and holidays, many Bombayites, tourists and visitors go to the Krishnagiri Park—now renamed as "National Park"—hardly a mile from Borivli Station, a Bombay suburb in Salsette Island. The round monument, recently built by Bombay Government and dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, is situated on a picturesque hillock of about three hundred feet high. From there one can see the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean in the West and a gracefully undulating chain of hills with valleys and lakes in the East. From the National park with the naked eye one can get a glimpse of the Kanheri Caves which lie at a distance of five miles South-East from Borivli station.

Construction of motorable road from Borivli station up to the Kanheri Caves is also envisaged by the Bombay Government in their scheme for the development of the National Park. But up till now visitors to the Kanheri caves must walk the distance of five miles to and five miles back, and five miles visiting the caves, as an act of pilgrimage, except for the fashionable holidayers who might dare to drive through the rugged and rough pathway and reach almost at the foot of the hills on which are spread out over one hundred caves. For an explorer, student, savant, poet, religious mind, archaeologist, historian and lover of Nature, all the five-mile road is enchanting. He feels refreshed—instead of getting tired—as he begins to get first sights of the majestic, tall caves of the Krishnagiri Park where every cell, every cave, every carving, every pillar, every inscription, every piece of art means a new chapter in the annals of early Buddhism.

As the ruins of Nalanda, Vikramasila, Taxila, Sarnath, Ujjain and other Buddhist centres of learning bespeak of the glory that was Buddhist Hind in the north, as Kanchi, Vallabhi and other centres proclaim the spirit and letter of early Buddhism in South India, so stand out the ruins of the Ajanta and Ellora, Elephanta Caves and Kanheri caves to herald the proud heritage of Buddhist India in the west for all generations to come, a heritage still clothed in rocks and stones, in art and literature, bequeathed not only for India and Greater India in Asia, but also for Mankind at large.

There are over one hundred caves of various sizes scattered in three hillocks. Cave No. 3 is the largest and it is a huge, long, massive, high-roofed hall with a large stupa at the end, with rock-carved two colossal images of Buddha at the entrance and masterly executed pillars and decorated walls. This hall, in the general architecture, grandeur and religious psychology, is very much like the Chaitiya Hall in the Ellora group of caves. Kanheri caves are the remnants of a huge Buddhist monastery in western India that trained Bhikkhus for the consolidation and spreading of Buddha Dharma and culture.

The art of Kanheri caves reveals all the essential traits of the early Buddhist monastic organisation.

Archaeologists have traced the history of the Kanheri caves right back to the first century A.D. The caves are all dug out from solid rock, each cave supplied with water in deep cistern, anti-chamber, cell, raised platform for sitting and sleeping and rock edges for keeping the slender personal belongings of the monks such as books, begging bowl and monastic attire. Each cave is a hermitage of its own. There are common alleys, staircases and pathways leading monks from one cave to the other, from caves to the common halls.

At the top of the hills there are tanks dug out where water is preserved for bathing and washing purposes. Pure, clean drinking water is preserved almost at every other cave throughout. Even today visitors drink fresh, cool water from these cisterns. The eremetical life of the monks was perfect in every respect. Each Bhikkhu had his own individual life in his cave. But he was not an individualist. He formed part and parcel of the larger community. The Bhikkhu was part and parcel of the *Sangha*. Eremetical life of the Bhikkhu in the cave, forest and hills was harmoniously blended with congregational or community living. The isolated life in the cave was not an end in itself; it was but the preparatory ground, the place for charging the spiritual dynamo of the Bhikkhu so that he may be enabled to dispense moral power and spiritual attainment during his ministry in the world outside.

The fine artistic and architectural revelations of the caves show how powerfully organised was Buddhism in early 1st century A.D. It is obvious there might have been very powerful patrons from among the wealthy classes who, after being converted to Buddhism, made all arrangements for the Bhikkhus to work and spread their message. These mansions inside the mountain rocks cannot have been dug by monks themselves. Lay people and rich people did it for the non-possessing Bhikkhus. How sincere and powerful might have been the moral fragrance and missionary zeal given out by the Bhikkhus of those times! Internal evidence goes to prove that the Bhikkhus who used to live and work in Kanheri Caves were the Theravada monks, although immediately during and after emperor Kanishka a great impetus was given for the spread of Mahayana Buddhism.

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES

The relics of those monumental Buddhist institutions that have come down to us in different parts of India still strike us with awe and wonder. The ruins of Kanheri Caves bespeak of a huge monastic institution which could accommodate over a thousand Bhikkhus. Even during the life-time of Buddha the beginnings of Buddhist institutions were laid, though much against the will of Buddha himself. In *Vinaya Pitaka II*, p. 147 we read of how Buddha gave his assent to a merchant of Rajagriha who beseeched the Lord to accept sixty monastic compartment of *viharas* which the merchant built for acquiring merit in lives after death. From Buddhist scriptures it is also clear how Buddha permitted Veluvana as a dwelling for his Bhikkhus for purposes of silent study and preparation, or for use when they

repaired there during the monsoon rains after prolonged months of itinerant ministry. Once the Bhikkhus were permitted to dwell under some roof, leading a collective life, Buddhist devotees and patrons began building monasteries for them, usually in hills, forests and places removed from the ordinary din and bustle of the town or village life. In fact, it is the growth of monastic institutions, even during the life-time of Lord Buddha that compelled him to frame strict rules of conduct for monks—*Patimokkha rules*—lest they grow indolent and revert to a life of luxury and worldliness.

The strict and stringent rules enjoined on the monks enable them to use the munificent gifts of their patrons without having the least trace of attachment to them.

The monasteries and belongings were owned by the Sangha, not by any individual monk, however supereminent in virtue and wisdom he might be. Even Buddha did not consider himself the leader of the Sangha, nor indispensable. Only Dharma is indispensable. Only Dharma is the inextinguishable light. The main bulk of the *Vinaya Pitaka* is devoted to the formation, discipline and culture of monks. It is from such strict discipline that Buddhist monasteries produced such scholars as Nagarjuna, Asanga, Aryadeva and Vasubandhu, dialecticians like Dharmakirti and Dinnaga, missionaries like Bodhidharma and Atisa, writers like Aswaghosa, Kamalasila, Kasyapa Matanga, translators like Jinamitra and Kumarajiva and an innumerable number of Buddhist savants, missionaries, social reformers and servants of suffering humanity. They were all nurtured in such monastic institutions, inside rock caves and behind the forest shades, in those revered and historical spots like Nalanda, Ajanta and Ellora, Vikramasila and Kanheri Caves where the ruins still continue to bespeak of the glory that was Hind when Buddhism was the source of light and life to the people of not only this subcontinent, but spread far and wide, into Burma, Ceylon, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, China, Japan, Tibet, Indonesia, Malaya and other places through the missionary zeal and tireless works of those humble, non-possessing, celibate, studious, meditative monks, trained, disciplined, nurtured and sent from the Sangha of Lord Buddha, from the Buddhist monasteries variously called as *avasas*, *sangharamas*, *viharas* and *parivenas*.

Even today the Kanheri caves stand out as rock records of the history, culture, spirit and civilization of the Buddhist era in this country. The majestic halls, airy caves, carved parapets and open air rock seats, rock-cut staircases, deep cisterns with limpid pure water, rock-excavated baths, well-planned parks and solitary cells, thousands of statues of Buddha in various postures or *mudras* varying in size from three inches to thirty feet, the rock inscriptions and writings, the scenic beauty and the eternal Voice of Silence experienced at the Kanheri caves are matters for pride and spiritual inspiration for all, notably for the children of Indian soil, the birthplace of Buddhism. It is a matter of great regret that while even foreign visitors, savants and religious-minded people from India and abroad stand enthralled at the greatness of the civilization revealed by the Kanheri caves, most of the Indian visitors go there only for holidaying, making noise, cooking inside the caves and throwing dirt and filth around the sacred and historical monuments. Both the Government and the people have a duty to preserve and enhance such priceless treasures of Indian history and the best pearl of Indian civilization.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OIVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.O.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

W. Somerset Maugham

Surendra Kumar Jain writes in *Careers and Courses* :

W. Somerset Maugham is undisputedly the most popular author living at the present time. A dean among novelists, it is a real joy to read his exceedingly fascinating and absorbing books. His masterly handling of the plot and his lucid and simple language are the main factors which go to make his works so popular. Somerset Maugham has always managed to use his personal experiences in his writings, and his works are nothing but the exposition of his observations on human nature.

EARLY LIFE

Son of a lawyer, Somerset Maugham was born in Paris in 1874. He suffered the deepest wound of his life at the tender age of eight when his mother died; his father died when he was ten. This bereavement took him to his uncle who lived at Whit Stable. He was a clergyman. There he studied at the King's School for three years but he was never happy in this school.

After his schooling at the King's School Somerset Maugham decided that he should learn German language and consequently he went to Germany. There, in Heidelberg, he lived with a family for many years. During his stay in Heidelberg he visited many places of importance in Germany and went to Switzerland. He had varied experiences here but the most important event was his attending the lectures of a philosopher named Kuno Fischer. These lectures stimulated his interest in philosophy which miraculously influenced his later life.

At the age of 18, Maugham returned from Germany. Many professions were before him, and he felt confronted with the problem of selecting one. His uncle, who was a clergyman, wanted him to join the Church, but his stammering was a great drawback. Then he was asked to take the job of a civil servant but left it on the advice of a friend of his uncle. Finally, it was decided that he should become a doctor, and in the autumn of 1892 he joined St. Thomas' Hospital.

The course at St. Thomas' Hospital did not interest him. After completing his two years, he became a clerk in the Out-Patient's Department and began to take a keen interest in the work. The course provided for the attendance at certain number of confinements before one could get a certificate. This meant his going to the slums of Lambeth, and here Maugham met what he most wanted, life in the raw. This experience has been most beneficial to him as a writer. Maugham says: "Here I witnessed pretty well every emotion of which man is capable. It appealed to my dramatic instinct and excited the novelist in me."

AS A WRITER—PLAYWRIGHT AND NOVELIST

Somerset Maugham had joined medicine on the insistence of his uncle, but he had not practised up to this day. The ambition to write always dominated his life. He found ample material in the slums of Lambeth, and in 1897, at the age of twenty-three, published his first novel called *Liza of Lambeth*. It was accepted by the first publisher to whom he sent it. It was a careful study of the life in the slums of Lambeth. *Liza of Lambeth* sold very quickly and its second edition was brought out after one month of its publication. This was the beginning of his life as a writer.

Somerset Maugham had little schooling and his English was never very good. He always felt himself at ease while writing dialogues, but whenever there was a chance to describe a scene he found himself in a quandary. His vocabulary was very poor, and due to this defect he took to play-writing. After publishing his *Liza of Lambeth*, Somerset Maugham turned out plays after plays, but it

was not till 1907 that his first play *Lady Frederick* was accepted. It was staged with great success and paved the way for his future success as a dramatist. He has written many plays, the famous among them being: *The Circle*, *The Constant Wife*, *Our Betters*, *Loaves and Fishes*, *Jack Straw*, *Penelope*, *Mrs. Dot*, etc.

After his *Liza of Lambeth*, Somerset Maugham published in 1915 his classic autobiographical novel *Of Human Bondage* which had been four years in preparation. This novel shows his childhood, early life, and his life at Heidelberg. "Though all the incidents as shown in the novel did not happen with me," says Maugham, "but the emotions are my own." This beautiful novel ranks as one of the three major novels of Somerset Maugham. In 1919 he published another novel *The Moon and The Six Pence*, based on the life of Paul Gauguin, a French artist. After this he published many novels, the famous among them being *The Painted Veil*, *Ashenden*, based on his experiences as a secret service agent in World War I, *Cakes and Ale*, *Theatre*, *Up at the Villa*, etc. In 1944, his most famous novel *The Razor's Edge* was published, later on screened with great success.

Besides these novels and plays, he published his collection of short stories, two autobiographical books and some travel books. *First Person Singular* and *Trembling of a Leaf* contain his famous short stories. His two autobiographical books are *The Summing Up* and *A Writer's Note Book*. *The Summing Up* is a good book containing his views on various subjects.

SUCCESS BY CHANCE

It was sheer chance that brought world-wide success to Somerset Maugham. Though he has written numerous plays and novels, it was his short stories which made him world-famous. The story runs like this. Maugham wrote a short story called *Sadie Thompson* and editor after editor refused it. He put it in his desk. One day his friend John Colton was staying with him. He wanted something to read and he gave him *Sadie Thompson*. It stormed Colton's mind and he recognised its value. He asked Maugham to make a play out of it but Maugham did not think it worth while to bother about it. At last the story was staged under the title *Rain* and proved to be a great success. *Rain* is a powerful story describing the efforts of a missionary to show the right path to a young girl considered as a sinner by him, but finally surrendering to the call of flesh. It is a tempestuous drama of sex and religion.

Its importance can be estimated by the decision of the leading dramatic critics of New York who voted it as one of the ten best dramas of the world. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was decided best, and the second best of the world was not *Macbeth* nor *King Lear* but *Rain*.



VORACIOUS READER

Somerset Maugham is never at ease while conversing with people and it is largely due to his stammering. He says, "When I was young and stammered, to talk for long singularly exhausted me, and even now that I have to some extent cured myself, is a strain. It is a relief to me when I can get away and read a book." He is a voracious reader. He reads novels for pleasure and not for instruction, and other things for delight. His voracity in reading can be estimated, from his two months' reading, at the age of 18, which comes to three of Shakespeare's plays, two volumes of Mommsen's *History of Rome*, a large part of Lansons' *Litterature Francaise*, two or three novels, some of the French Classics, a couple of scientific works and a play of Ibsen's. At St. Thomas' Hospital also he went systematically through English, French, Italian and Latin literature. At eighteen he knew all these languages sufficiently well.

He has been the greatest enthusiast of travelling. He never hesitated to do any action due to risk. He visited several important places in Germany and went to Switzerland while he was at Heidelberg, and visited Italy at the age of twenty. He has been nearly all over the world and the country he most likes is Spain. To China he went, to see its old culture. The result of all this travel has been a vast experience to him and two travel books: *On a Chinese Screen* and *My South Sea Islands*.

HIS INTEREST IN PHILOSOPHY

Somerset Maugham was introduced to Philosophy by the lectures of Kuno Fischer. Since then he has read nearly every important author on philosophy. Philosophy to him is the most interesting subject to read. He always

smokes his pipe and reads philosophy for an hour before he starts to write. In spite of the influence of his uncle, who wanted him to believe in God, his studies in philosophy has given him two convictions, directly opposing the principles of Christianity—belief in the transmigration of soul and non-existence of God.

When he was sixteen years old, Maugham read a great deal of Maupassant and was considerably influenced by him. But he has attained the art of prose-writing with arduous labour. He says: "This art does not come by instinct but by arduous study." He studied many prose-writers to improve his style but could get no special benefit from them. He is a great admirer of Voltaire but he has never copied any of the authors he read. He has assigned his own qualities to the art of prose-writing which he describes as Lucidity, Simplicity and Euphony in order of their importance. These three qualities coupled with a masterly handling of plot characterise all his writings.

Maugham has been a keen observer of human nature. He took to writing because of his natural inclination for it, and his observations on human nature. "I have taken an absorbing interest in human nature," he says, "and it has seemed to me that I could best communicate my observations on it by telling tales." He has found 'lack of consistency' to be the most striking element of human nature. He asserts that selfishness and kindness, idealism and sensuality, shyness, disinterestedness, courage, laziness, nervousness, obstinacy, and diffidence, can all exist in a single person and form a plausible harmony. His famous short story *A Friend In Need* is a fascinating one describing the self-contradictory nature of human beings.

Widely appreciated in home & abroad..

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,

Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you,

Yours very truly,

Mrs. A. W. Hunter

3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington.
U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM, and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.

Neem
TOOTH PASTE



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.

CALCUTTA-29

Goa : Fantastic Claims

Asian Opinion writes editorially :

The claim of the Portuguese Government that their colonies have become an integral part of Portugal through long occupation is fantastic to say the least. Israel did not change her status in two thousand years. Brazil, once a part of the Portuguese empire, and colonized during the same period as Goa is independent today. The Dutch who occupied Indonesia in the same century emphasised their occupation but avoided such absurd claims. England too made her exit from India without claiming any rights from occupation. France and Portugal have decided to stick to their colonies with the tenacity that is sapping their own strength. They do not see the writing on the wall and await the fate that overtook Babylon.

Goa, Daman and Diu were occupied by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. As early as 1575, a Bijapur chronicler complained of cruelty in Goa, particularly against the policy of educating the Hindu and Muslim orphans as Christians. From the very beginning the Portuguese emigrants were almost all male. In 1524, three women who had come from Portugal clandestinely, were publicly whipped. Therefore, the Portuguese in Goa are a generation of mixed marriages, that have continued throughout the last four hundred years. The process has been one of Indianization rather than Europeanization. The claim to Goa as a part of Portugal is neither based on facts nor on the traditions of history.

Portugal herself has not been an independent power in the last four hundred years. She became a part of Spain early in the seventeenth century. Napoleon conquered Portugal early in the nineteenth century. The

British Government of India occupied Goa in 1809. Therefore, even if Portugal claims Goa on the basis of her old association, she must take into account the fact of restoration of Goa by the Government of India (1809).

It is absurd and idle to invoke the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, seven hundred years old, for the defence of Goa. The British occupied Salsette and Bassein which had once belonged to Portugal. Such a statement must have been issued by the Portuguese without consulting Great Britain who has no say in the matter. To threaten to seek the help of Great Britain in the unjust occupation of Indian territory is ludicrous.

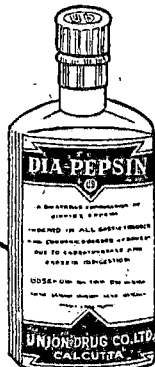
Now that the Portuguese Government have come with their pretensions and have even refused to discuss the question of evacuation, it will not be advisable for the Government of India to put this issue in cold storage. By dashing the hopes of compromise, Portugal has given a new importance to this issue. The closing of our Legation in Lisbon is not an answer to her unreasonable attitude. It must be a prelude to further steps to force Portugal to give up her claims to territories in India. No Government in India can treat this question of foreign pockets lightly and with contradictory statements.

Every time there has been trouble in India or strained relations with her neighbours, Goa has been in the news. Before the Police action in Hyderabad, it was reported time and again that arms and supplies were passing to the State with Goa as the base. When there were strained relations between India and Pakistan, it was rumoured again that Pakistan might use Goa as a base to revictual her ships. It might not have been possible. However, the threat from Goa persists in one form or another.

With the uncompromising attitude of the Portuguese Government India will have to take the matter in her own hands and to act unilaterally. The announcement that we will not permit the foreign pockets, and at the same time, will not take concrete steps to force evacuation, verges on contradiction and self-denial. This policy pursued so far, has failed with ignominious results. It has encouraged the occupying powers to ignore the fundamental principles involved. Since, we have declared ourselves that we seek a solution through peaceful means, they have taken it as a mark of indecision on our part. We may prefer a peaceful solution but we should adopt a definite policy, making it certain to Portugal and France that if they will not leave their possessions in India of their own free will, they will have to leave these territories under threat of force.

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

আয়ুর্বেদ বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈজ্ঞ কবিরাজ প্রাণাচার্য

ডক্টর ত্রিপ্রভাকর চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম.এ, ডি, এস-সি আবিস্কৃত

যক্ষ্মারি

বন্দারোগের বীজাণু-
গুলি ধ্বংস করিয়া
অবিচ্ছিন্ন জ্বর,
কাশ, রক্তবমন,
শ্বসতজ্ব, নৈশবর্শ,

অরুচি, পেটভাঙ্গা, মুসফুসের ক্ষত ও ক্ষয় নিবারণ করিবার এমন ঔষধ
আর বিদ্যায় নাই। বিদেশ হইতে আমদানী যে কোনও ঔষধ অপেক্ষা
অধিকতর ফলপ্রসূ। বহু রোগী আরোগ্যলাভ করিয়াছেন। পত্র লিখিলে
বিস্তৃত ব্যবহাপত্র সম্বলিত বিবরণ-পুস্তিকা পাঠান হয়।

১৭২-এ, বহুবাজার স্ট্রিট, কলিকাতা-১২। ফোন : ৪০৩৯ এভিনিউ।

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Hayim Greenberg

We publish the following obituary news of Hayim Greenberg, one of the most outstanding personalities of the State of Israel, as appeared in the H. Greenberg Memorial Issue of the *Jewish Frontier*, May 1953 :

After months of pain, death has taken Hayim Greenberg from us.

His going is an irreparable loss. Of few men can it be said that no one can fill their place. But of him it is clearly and sharply true. For he was a unique and inimitable combination of deep and brilliant qualities: clear, sharp mind; passionate love of justice; balanced judgment and insight; close acquaintance with European, American, Israel and world history and problems; a wide learning in Jewish lore; a deep knowledge of the philosophic and religious literature of the world. All these things were not mere pigeon-holes in a mind; they were coalesced into an admirable and lovable character. Our friend was admired and loved, not only throughout the American Jewish community and in Israel, but wherever Jews live.

He was especially dear to us for his many years of comradeship and leadership in Labor Zionism. For thirty-five years he served in a host of capacities, too many to list here. It was primarily his voice and his pen that made *The Jewish Frontier* and the *Yiddisher Kemfer* intellectually distinguished and Jewishly rich and creative.

We mourn his going and send our heartfelt sympathy to his wife and son.

We shall miss him in our councils. But his spirit, and the cause he loved, will go on among us.

David Rebelsky gives short biographical notes of Hayim Greenberg :

In the second decade of this century Odessa was the centre of Jewish cultural life in Russia. It was the home of Bialik, Mendele Mocher Seforim, Ravnitzki, Ussishkhin and many others. Prominent literary lights living outside Odessa made regular pilgrimages there. The disturbed early years of the Russian revolution brought to Odessa an additional influx of talents from other cities. Here Hayim Greenberg came in 1915 as a young man. Despite his youth he already possessed much scholarship and general knowledge and had achieved a remarkable synthesis of secular education and Judaic wisdom. Very soon he became a center of intellectual attraction for many who were his seniors in years. Whether a dispute involved Maimonides or Ibsen, Strindberg or Gide, Greenberg was sought as an arbiter.

His main ambitions at that time were along academic lines. Before coming to Odessa he had already served with distinction as instructor at the Kiev Institute of Jewish Science. He was engaged in a scientific study of Sombart's ideas on race, a work which was later published in a prominent Russian periodical. Russian and Hebrew were his chief media of expression at that time; the prominence of Yiddish came later.

At the turn of the decade, when the Bolshevik regime became entrenched, most Jewish political and cultural leaders fled the country. Greenberg, too, departed from Russia. The road of escape to the free world then led across the Dniester River, which separated Soviet Russia from Bessarabia, then a part of Romania. Large masses of Jewish refugees streamed toward Kaminka, a town along the Dniester which served as the main point of crossing the river. The first major stop on the other side was Kishinev, the capital of Bessarabia, which almost overnight became a Jewish cultural center. Hebrew schools mushroomed, an important *Chalutz* center was established, a Yiddish newspaper was set up.

Hayim Greenberg spent some time in Kishinev. Though he remained apart from the turmoil of organizational activity, his presence in the community was sensed, as one is aware of a lighthouse. His public activity at this time consisted of lecturing, and it was during this period that he perfected his Yiddish into an artistic instrument with which he later enchanted audiences throughout America. But my most powerful remembrances are of his Hebrew lectures when his audiences sat spellbound, thirsting for ever more, unwilling to believe that it was over when the lecture ended.

Two problems concerned him deeply during his residence in Kishinev—the fate of Russian Jewry caught in the turmoil of revolution and what would happen to Hebrew culture which had blossomed out almost unexpectedly during the war years when scores of thousands of refugees streamed from war-torn Poland and Lithuania into the Ukraine and Great Russia.

His friends were therefore delighted when Greenberg was called to Berlin to edit the periodical *Haolam*, organ of the World Zionist Movement, and to assume the leadership of the Hebrew cultural movement *Tarbut*. The latter aimed to become the world center of Hebrew culture. Berlin was fast becoming a Jewish cultural center with the arrival of the outstanding leaders from Russia. A number of wealthy patrons also came to this city and generously contributed to the work. Germany seemed on the way to become a true democracy and there was great optimism among the newly arrived cultural leaders. Greenberg was intrigued by the challenge which the situation presented.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4% Per Annum

Branches :

Chairman :

College Sq., Cal.
Bankura.

JAGANNATH KOLAY
M.P.

At this time he met one of the rising luminaries in Zionism, the young Chaim Arlosoroff, who lent his youthful energies to the ambitious projects of *Tarbut*. There were plans to organize instructors, establish schools, provide textbooks, establish a publishing house, organize teachers' seminars and Institutes for kindergarten teachers.

Much money was needed for these projects, but Germany was then in the midst of a runaway inflation and nothing could be accomplished with German Marks. It was then proposed that *Tarbut* send a mission to America. The reasoning behind this plan was simple: It is inconceivable that American Jewry should not understand the importance of establishing a world center for Hebrew culture which had been driven out of Russia and must set up its temporary home in Berlin. In America there are Jewish scholars, Zionists, Hebraists. They would certainly not withhold the few thousand dollars required for this project.

The mission of America consisted of three: Rabbi Joshua Thon, Hayim Greenberg and the writer. The composition of this delegation was motivated by the desire to have different countries represented in order to demonstrate to American Jews that it was not the aim of *Tarbut* to cater to the needs of German Jewry alone, but that a truly world-wide center was being planned. Joshua Thon thus represented Poland, the writer represented the few greater Rumania, and Hayim Greenberg embodied the idea as a whole.

Joshua Thon went first. Greenberg and I delayed our journey because of passport complications. Finally we left Hamburg on the *Mauretania* and arrived in New York on November 10, 1924.

We saw Joshua Thon shortly after we landed in New York and the very first meeting gave us a painful impression of what lay ahead. Thon was angry with American Jews and felt insulted by the treatment he had received. His visits to various cities brought no results. The Hebraists in the country were recent arrivals, still without roots and only with great difficulty and at the cost of great sacrifice could they support the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar*. The Hebrew movement in America itself needed help. Some unfortunate incidents convinced Joshua Thon that American Jewry was still raw and unformed, a "desert generation."

Throughout this report Greenberg was silent. I could see his color changing and an ashen pallor cover his face. He seemed to sense a certain basic truth in what Joshua Thon said. Without much conviction he tried to persuade Joshua Thon to remain a few weeks

longer, to make a last attempt to get something for *Tarbut* in Berlin. But the latter was determined to return to Cracow without delay. A few more meetings were held in New York, Greenberg addressed some audience in other cities, and the *Tarbut* mission ended its work without accomplishing anything.

Hayim Greenberg was then confronted with the choice: to remain in America or to return to Berlin. If he was to remain in America how would he earn his livelihood? How would he preserve the integrity of his individuality? How pursue his main aspirations? On the other hand, there was not much point in returning to Berlin empty-handed. Besides, bad news was coming from Germany. The inflation raged unabated. The future Nazis were becoming arrogant and had already threatened the life of the German Prime Minister, Stresemann, if he, the "Jew" and "traitor to the German nation" were to continue his conciliatory policies. Many well-to-do


Looking into the mirror

THE 46th ANNUAL REPORT of the Hindusthan for 1952 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and strength as also the continued public confidence which have always attended its career.

NEW BUSINESS
Rs. 16,38,79,298

Assurances in Force...	Rs. 86,71,85,040
Total Assets...	" 22,49,83,056
Life & Misc. Fund...	" 19,77,76,287
Premium Income...	" 3,94,22,371
Claims Paid...(1952.)	" 88,82,271

a human institution to meet human needs



DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
HIMALAYA DRUG Co.
251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY.

**HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.**



Hindusthan Buildings, 4, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta -13

German Jews who were sensitive to the political winds went to Paris. Chaim Arlosoroff and other members of *Hapoel Hatzair* went to Israel. Hitler was released from prison and resumed his agitation. German soil was no longer secure for Jews.

Greenberg decided to stay in America. He began to observe the American Jewish community and it appeared strange to him. He then lived on East Fourth Street with relatives. This neighborhood was at that time a veritable Jewish ghetto. Neighboring Second Avenue was crowded with Jewish restaurants and theaters. But the restaurants were "Jewish Style" only and the theaters were being swamped with vaudeville. Four Yiddish dailies were still in existence but Greenberg would raise his eyebrows in amazement when he read them. "Rebelsky," he would say, "you read this please, and tell me what it says. It appears to be Yiddish, yet it is so barbarous. I can't grasp it."

Little by little his observations led him to understand

the depths of the soul of American Jewry. But meantime his material situation deteriorated greatly. Together with his wife, her mother and his son he lived with relatives. But the more considerate his hosts were, the greater was his sense of desperation.

In such a state of mind he suppressed his pride and sense of dignity and made the rounds of the various Zionist offices, hoping that they would take into consideration his stature within the World Zionist movement as former editor of *Haolam* and *Atidenu* and offer him some employment. But American Zionist leaders knew little about him and finally offered him some document to translate from German into Yiddish.

The small and young Zeire Zion organization came to his rescue. Greenberg had never been a party man or party theoretician. All party "programs" were suspect in his eyes. He viewed them as procrustean beds for the ethical needs of his generation. He had the greatest affinity for the Zeire Zion organization because of its

affiliation with the *Hapoel Hatzair* movement. Thus it involved no compromise for him to become editor of the Zeire Zion weekly *Kar'n Folk*.

A short time later his great talents as lecturer won him wide audiences. His first addresses were delivered before Zeire Zion groups. Soon outsiders began to attend and the fame of his name spread rapidly. Greenberg did not give single lectures, only groups. Thus he delivered six lectures on Tolstoy, three on Romain Rolland, three on Gandhi, two on Franz Werfel, three on Hassidism, three on the era of the Second Temple, two on A.D. Gordon, etc. A mere listing of the subjects of his lectures gives an insight into his character and way in life.

But not even the combination of editing *Kar'n Folk* and delivering numerous lectures could then provide the small budget required for the sustenance of his family. Yet it was essential to free him from worries about rent and food if his creative abilities were not to be hampered. The Zeire Zion then undertook to organize an annual "Greenberg Evening." The themes of those occasions and the prominence of the participants soon made them a regular institution.

I particularly remember this occasion in 1926 which once and for all established him as a celebrity. The theme of the symposium was "Jewish Culture in America" and the subtitle on the printed programs read "Whither American Jewry?" Hayim Greenberg was the main speaker. The other participants in the symposium were Chaim Nachman Bialik, Shmarya Levin and Henrietta Szold. The hall which seated more than two thousand people, was filled to capacity and some hundred others patiently stood along the walls for more than three hours. Greenberg was at his best. The years of obscurity in America were behind him.

Distinctive Jewellery

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants

167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET
& BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBINARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

Unesco

A Seminar on Contribution of Modern Language Teaching Toward Education for Living in a World Community will be held by Unesco in Ceylon this summer :

The purpose of education for living in a world community is to develop in every individual the feeling that he belongs to one great human family, without making him lose touch with his own social environment. It is part of the task of Unesco to clarify and help solve the problems presented by such education.

To this end, the Organization held international seminars in 1950 at Macdonald College near Montreal, Canada, and at Brussels. The first was on the teaching of geography, the second on history textbooks. In 1951 a third seminar, on the teaching of history, was held at Sevres near Paris, attended by 62 participants from 31 countries.

Unesco is now preparing a fourth seminar, on the teaching of modern languages in primary and secondary schools and on the role of such teaching in the universities, as a contribution to general training in the humanities. It will be held at Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon, from 2 to 28 August 1953, attended by about 70 experts designated by Unesco's Member States. Professor Theodore Andersson of Yale University will be the Chairman.

It is obvious that children through learning foreign languages become better able to understand peoples other than their own. Nevertheless teaching methods all too often constitute a stumbling block. They cause teachers and pupils to run the risk of losing sight of the final goal: this is to become imbued with the spirit of a foreign language in order to understand the culture and form of thinking which it reflects.

While teaching with the use of active and living materials, the instructor of modern languages has many opportunities to maintain the interest of the child, to stimulate his desire to know and understand. He finds valuable aids in films, filmstrips, gramophone recordings and radio broadcasts.

In addition, international correspondence between pupils in schools guided by teachers, also has its usefulness. It shows the pupil the practical value of learning modern languages. Moreover, mutual correction helps both of the letter-writers. Thus, the exchange of letters tends to become a means of effective cultural exchange. Postcards, excerpts from newspapers and magazines, samples of local artisanry, and documents of all kinds help the letter-writers, whose curiosity is stimulated, to understand the problems of the peoples whose languages they are learning. A teacher, who arranges for correspondence by his pupils with persons in a variety of different regions, is also able to carry out interesting enquiries.

These few comments show both the range of the possible experiments which can be based on the direct method and the multiplicity of the means on which it

rests. If only from the point of view of improvement of teaching, the seminar at Nuwara Eliya will give the participating experts an opportunity for fruitful discussions and profitable exchanges of views.

The psychological aspects of language teaching must not be overlooked either. It would be useful, for instance, to clarify the question of the optimum age for beginning language instruction and to examine what scientific basis there is for beginning the teaching of a second language at a relatively early age in the primary school. Also of interest in this general field are questions of language ability, of tests and measurements and of the effects on the pupil of attempting to learn two or more languages simultaneously. As problems of this kind have often to be dealt with in teacher training establishments, discussions of the psychological aspects of language teaching are likely to be closely linked to the question of the proper selection and training of language teachers.

But the scope of the seminar will be broader than this field of enquiry. It is to be expected that the participants from various Unesco Member States will have the time and opportunity to raise special problems peculiar to their own Member States or whole groups of Member States. Participants from the countries of South Asia and of the Middle East may wish, for instance, to examine the difficulties created by the setting up of new national or regional languages which must be mastered by their citizens together with one or more of the more widely used modern languages, considered necessary for retaining contact with the rest of the civilized world and for participation in international affairs. Another series of problems exists in the case of countries which have more than one official national language.

Let us consider the case of India where the regions are so different from one another that they give the impression at times of being separate political, linguistic and cultural entities. Indeed, the population within some of the provinces is not linguistically homogeneous. For the great majority of the Indian people English always remained a foreign language. But persons in the more educated circles usually speak and write English from the age of 11 or 12. Moreover, English remains an official language; throughout the country, administrative documents are written in English. Thus, Indians who lack an adequate knowledge of English have little chance to become civil servants. Nevertheless, the Government has decided gradually to replace English by Hindi as the federal language of the Republic. And it is to be expected that greater use of Hindi in the schools will bit by bit lead to a lessened use of English.

The problem is more serious in the Indian States of which the regional language is not Hindi. In these States, there are two obligatory languages in addition to English, and necessarily the burden on school programmes is greater. It is easy to imagine the difficulties which Indian educators must face during the transitional period,



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



with English an optional language in the schools for pupils between the ages of 10 and 14, but still a required language in the secondary schools and universities. Nor is India alone among the countries facing such a scholastic dilemma. Many such problems will be discussed at the seminar in Ceylon.

It is also possible that the discussions on the teaching of modern languages will be carried beyond the classroom, to include those mass methods of instruction, suitable for adults as well as children, which have been perfected by modern science. Films and filmstrips, wire-and-tape-recorders, recordings and radio programmes will probably be considered not only as audio-visual aids in the schools but also as means of bringing language instruction to whole communities. The knowledge of such techniques may prove particularly useful in countries which have to deal with a large influx of migrants.

Other fields of enquiry, which those participating in the seminar in Ceylon will wish to explore, are more directly connected with the link between modern language teaching and international understanding. In the recent past great improvements have been achieved in some countries in the teaching about other lands, their peoples and civilizations, using the foreign language itself as the medium of instruction. This special branch, sometimes described as the field of "area studies," undoubtedly falls within the scope of the seminar.

The spread of direct and precise knowledge of modern languages, providing more accurate and objective information about the lives of peoples in other countries, certainly helps the mutual understanding of peoples. Can it be said that the improvement in teaching is a cause of the economic and spiritual evolution of the world toward more active international exchanges? Or can it be considered a result? It seems that there is concomitance, parallelism and reciprocal action between, on the one hand, the need and desire to know and understand foreigners better, and on the other hand, the use of a living and synthetic method of teaching. There is no doubt that the growing internationalization of economics, politics, science and art has led both teachers and students to replace the formalism of analytic pedagogy by active and direct contact with foreign realities. But it is also true that the spread of modern languages through a method that reveals the life of countries and the spirit of peoples has aroused new curiosity and provoked fruitful exchanges of all kinds.

The two contemporary facts—the renovation of methods and the extension and progress of international relations—are both aspects of an evolution which tends to create international interdependence and co-operation in all fields of activity. It is in this spirit that Unesco has organized the seminar in Ceylon this summer.—*Unesco News*.

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S.



(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha :—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha :—Success in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9. Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN" by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence : "Jyotish Samrat Bhawan", 50/2, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours : 7-30 A.M. to 11 A.M. & 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.
 Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 9-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B.B. 3685.
 Central Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.M.
 LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

Biography of Swami Vivekananda Wins Acclaim

New York: A new biography of Swami Vivekananda, philosopher, teacher, disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, and precursor of Mahatma Gandhi, has been published here. The author is Swami Nikhilananda, head of the Ramakrishna Mission in New York and author of several important volumes dealing with the philosophies of the East.

Writing in the book review section of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Joseph Campbell, professor of English at Sarah Lawrence College, calls Vivekananda a "prelude to the modern moment."

Vivekananda's vivid appearance at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, September 11, 1893 (writes Prof. Campbell), marked an epoch in the opening of the modern mind to humanity as a unique species with a single destiny. For this brilliant young yogi, of heroic stature, had come not only to teach but to learn.

"The end of all religions," he taught, "is the realizing of God in the soul."

What he learned and saw in America filled his heart with a great will to rescue the starving masses of India through practical action. He returned to teach service to the poor as a form of worship—and this teaching became, within 30 years, the inspiration of Gandhi.

"Do you love your fellow man?" Vivekananda asked. "Where should you go to seek for God? Are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, gods? . . . It is our privilege to be allowed to be charitable, for only so can we grow."

"The poor man suffers that we may be helped. Let the giver kneel down and give thanks; let the receiver stand up and permit."

Swami Nikhilananda, whose splendid *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* is already well known, to all who are interested in religion (not merely Christianity) in the modern world, and whose recent translations with commentary of the *Bhagavad-Gita* and *Upanishads* have rendered these fundamental Oriental texts available to the Western lay reader, has completed in the present biography of Vivekananda his presentation to America of the principal teachings and prophets of that new India whose soul and mind we must come to know (and fast).

With lucid prose, and with considerable feeling for dramatic and narrative values of the tale, and having had access to a great number of hitherto unpublished letters he has presented in his pages a valuable picture of America in its awkward age, as experienced intensely by an extraordinarily sensitive, intelligent, and completely fresh visitor.

Vivekananda had been one of the young, searching spirits in the circle of India's great teacher of the harmony of religions and universality of the presence of God, Sri Ramakrishna. The rumour reached India of a great parliament of religions to be held in Chicago at the time of the World's Fair. Vivekananda attended, alone and with insufficient funds. He returned to his people a hero, and perhaps the first full citizen of the cosmopolis.

The dialogue of East and West was carried on in full force in his life and within his heart. His biography was a prelude, therefore, to the modern moment. And its theme is that which must be learned: "The seeing of many is the great sin of the world. See all as thyself and love all; let the idea of separateness go."
—*American Reporter*.

Problems of China's Industrialisation Outlined by Li Fu-Chun

Problems of China's Industrialisation were outlined on July 1, to the youth leaders of the country by Li Fu-chun, Vice-Director of the Committee of Financial and Economic Affairs:

Describing the solid basis on which the planned economic construction is being conducted, he said, "Compared with 1949, the total value of industrial and agricultural output last year increased by some 70 per cent and within this total increase, the output of modern industry rose by 177 per cent."

He explained that the basic task in the period of planned construction is to "concentrate on heavy industry, laying the foundations of industrialisation achieving the modernisation of our national defences and ensuring a steady expansion in the Socialist sector in our national economy."

"Keeping this goal in view," he went on, "we shall at the same time develop our agriculture and light industry, systematically promote the co-operative movement in agriculture and handicrafts, stimulate privately-owned industry and commerce, and individual agricultural economy and handicrafts to play their correct role, and on the basis of developed production raise the living and cultural standards of the people."

Li Fu-chun stressed that "only by building up heavy industry, namely, the metallurgical, fuel, electricity and machinery industries, can we establish a mighty economic force and ensure the economic independence of our country, a broad future for light industry and the material and technical pre-requisites for the transformation of our agriculture, the steady development of our national economy and the raising of the living standards of the people."

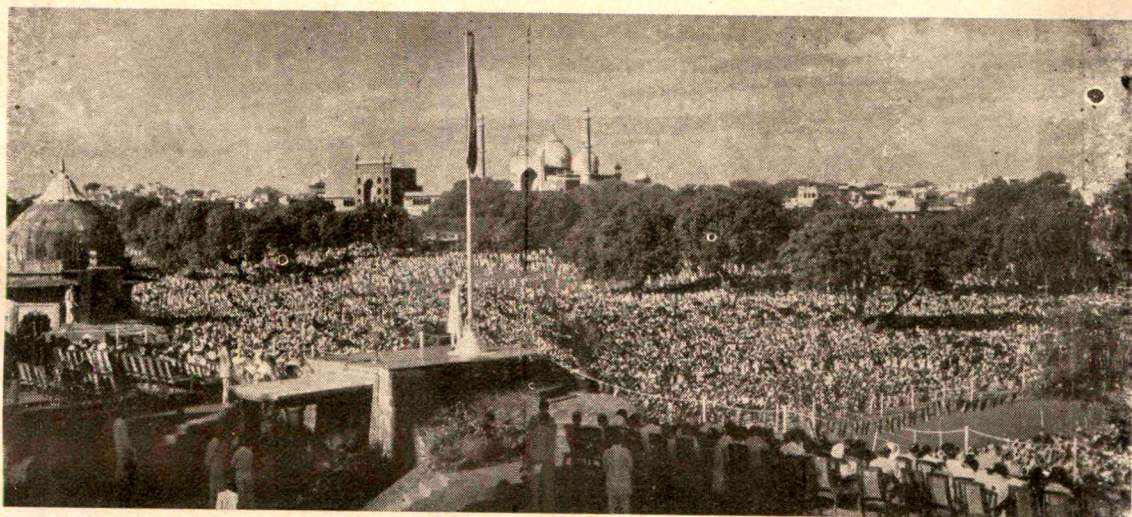
"In the course of our economic development," he emphasised, "we must constantly extend the Socialist sector of our economy. This is basic to our economic development and only thus can we consolidate and develop the people's democratic system and ensure the final victory of Socialism in our country."

Li Fu-chun laid great stress on the importance of consolidating further the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. "This must be the starting point in all our planning and policy. In the long run, it is this that will bring about the gradual industrialisation of our country and the collectivisation of agriculture, and in our immediate programme, it is this that will result in the expansion of our industry and agriculture, the growing circulation of commodities and the strengthening of the economic ties between city and countryside."

It follows from this, he went on, that in the next five years, great attention must be paid to developing agriculture, especially increasing grain output and ensuring sufficient supplies of industrial raw materials.

"And our industry," he added, "must satisfy the needs of the peasants for means of production and consumers goods." After showing the important role of state-owned commercial enterprises and the consumers co-operatives in ensuring price stability and effective supplies of goods, Li Fu-chun listed, among other state-owned enterprises to be developed, the expansion of modern transport and communications—first railways, then highway and water transport.

The aim in all this constructive work, he stressed, is the improvement in the material and cultural life of the working people.—*Hsinhua News*.



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a huge gathering at the Red Fort, Delhi, on August 15, in celebration of the sixth anniversary of India's Independence



In the Exhibition of Indian handicrafts and art objects recently organised by the Indian Embassy in Ankara (Turkey), Mrs. Menderes, wife of the Turkish Prime Minister, is seen with Mrs. Jha, wife of the Indian Ambassador to Turkey



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

CAPTIVE LADY
By Tilak Banerji

THE 'MODERN REVIEW

SEPTEMBER



1953

VOL. LXXXXIV, No. 3

WHOLE No. 561

NOTES

Independence Day

Another Independence Day has come and gone. There have been speeches galore, together with flag-hoisting, official receptions and all such paraphernalia of State and political organisations, speeches by the spokesmen of all parties and political organisations in which all shades of opinion have been reflected.

We have neither the desire nor the space to reproduce those utterances. The reason being the uniform lack of any fresh approach in either direction. The mouthpieces of the party in power have repeated the same lifeless and toneless exhortations to emulate the Father of the Nation *et seq* and the opposition—which is a motley crowd today—have fulminated forth with the same diatribes which they ejaculate on all similar occasions, in season and out of season. In short, Independence Day has become a monotonous formality for all, devoid of all inspiration or of any inducement for a renewal of old pledges in the service of the nation or the country.

While this state of affairs might be regarded as satisfactory for those who are actively engaged in the work of disruption, we find no reason in it for complacency for those who aspire for the progress and well-being of the nationals of our fatherland. On the contrary, there is serious cause for uneasiness.

Amongst the masses the idea that this freedom is false—*Yeh Azadi Jhuti hai*—is slowly gaining ground, whatever might be the reasons for or against such a conclusion. On the streets and the fields, in clubs, schools, colleges and tea-rooms, one finds groups of vociferous disgruntled persons, young and old, male and female, loudly airing their opinions to that effect. This is not a desirable state of affairs, either for the nation or for the country. But curiously enough our heads of State seem to be blissfully unaware of all this.

Let us state here and now, that we do not share this opinion, nor do we believe that any lover of freedom, with fully developed brains, could possibly subscribe to such views. The history of our nation is replete with

instances where men have refused to surrender their inner freedom, even though their body was in fetters, undergoing untold tortures. Maharaja Nandakumar went to the gallows in this very city of Calcutta, near the Square named after the despicable Lord Dalhousie, free in spirit and in mind. And that is why his firm steps and unwavering eye, while mounting the gallows, startled the minions of the infamous East India Company, which had falsely and treacherously condemned him to death. After him there are the instances of tens of thousands of the martyrs to the cause of freedom of the fatherland, who made the supreme sacrifice, staunch of heart and of faith. Their faith was justified, for freedom has come. If we lose this freedom, through ignorance or through want of faith, it would not falsify the *Freedom*. It would merely prove our unworthiness.

It is argued that this freedom, which obtains today throughout this distressed land, is not that freedom for which our martyrs shed their blood while facing desperate odds. May be that that argument is justified. But what then? Those who made the supreme sacrifice paid their dues in full—and perhaps a good deal more—but does that mean that the rest, that is, you and we and they, are to enjoy the untold riches that we imagine freedom should bring forth, as residuary legatees, without giving toil or tears, blood or treasure or making any effort whatsoever to pay the price of liberty?

Seven hundred years of freedom, preserved through ceaseless and tireless efforts at payment, have taught the British that "*Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty.*" And this vigilance does not mean just a continuous watch on the other man's work and gains, it means a conscious and vigorous personal contribution, to the fullest degree, towards progress and national security, through war and peace. How do we stand in comparison?

There is no need to expand this argument any further. This Freedom is false only to him really, in whose inner being the hereditary slave cries out for a new master, in place of the old one, to take off all responsibilities from his shoulder and to give him a sheltered life as a beast of burden or a pet.

Slave Mentality

During the latter days of the British regime, the phrase, "slave mentality" was used a great deal as a term of accusation by our politicians to describe any conservative point of view, in opposition to their own. Today we have a term of accusation, similar in meaning though, differing in terminology, widely used by the disruptionist, the frustrated and the disgruntled, unthinking, arm-chair politician. Today if any one speaks or writes against the current trends in mob psychology, by which is meant going against the dictates of the demagogues, one is openly accused of having been purchased by X or Y or Z, that is, whoever is supposed to have the purchasing power or motive. The accusation is made in order to lower the man's reputation, and it becomes effective with the millions of thoughtless and feckless beings who relish to have another man's good-name besmirched.

Writing in the Urdu daily *Milap* of 24th August, Sri Ranbir deals forcefully with this variety of calumny, which has become a favourite method of blackmail by the venomous anti-national disruptionists of today, who are working solely for either their own gain, or for the gain of their chosen masters, under whose hegemony they would like to bring the whole nation. Needless to say, their principles—or the lack thereof—and allegiance being purchasable commodities, they are only too eager to prove that those who oppose them are equally degraded specimens of humanity.

Sri Ranbir has recently returned from a wide tour, during the course of which he visited many countries including the U.S.A., the British Isles and Western and Central Europe. This was not a mere pleasure trip, but it was more of a one-man mission for the factual realisation of what constitutes political methods, democratic and otherwise, in the West, and the place of politics in the life, progress and security of a nation. He saw for himself that in the democracies no party, however bitter in opposition, would even think of either retarding the progress of a nation's economy or far less try to destroy the assets of the nation, in an attempt to embarrass the party in power. The reason being that they were too conscious of the consequences to indulge in such criminal lunacy. In totalitarian countries, of course, such procedure would mean suicide. Having a fully trained capacity for observation and having his reasoning capacity completely developed, and having seen the great democracies of the West in action, he had decided that the democratic way was the best.

On his return he had occasion to criticize certain methods adopted by certain political parties and had further refused to make his paper the *Milap* into the party organ of any political group. Because of this frank criticism and firm refusal to become a partisan of any group he received a number of letters openly accusing him of having been purchased, either by the U.S.A., or by the British, or, worst of all, by the Congress Government.

Sri Ranbir has completely refuted all these base

accusations and fully vindicated his stand in the editorial referred to. No right thinking man can have any quarrel with him after reading that. Indeed few would fail to endorse his viewpoint, excepting those that are confirmed disruptionists or are of the venomous tribe of self-seekers to whom neither the nation nor its freedom count for anything in their lust for power or personal gain.

But who is to convince the thoughtless or those with immature brains? There can be no doubt that active subversion and corruption of minds is in progress amongst that section of our youth which is now in the educational institutions. Their inexperience and impulsiveness has made it very easy for the disruptionist and the demagogue to lead them astray. Who is there to counteract these evil influences and to convince these poor boys and girls that by thus acting as pawns for these anti-national forces, they are not only retarding the progress of the nation, but are condemning themselves to a life of frustration and failure. News like the following is dismal reading for all who have hopes for our future:

"Lucknow, Aug. 29.—The Lucknow University has been closed indefinitely by the University authorities here tonight following the students' agitation.

Nine students of the Lucknow University including former President and the Secretary of the Lucknow University Students' Union have been expelled from the University by the authorities here today on charges of gross indiscipline.

The students after an emergency meeting this afternoon took out a procession through the University campus terminating in front of the residence of the Vice-Chancellor Acharya Jugal Kishore.

Three students today joined their four companions who have been on hunger strike for the last four days."

Peace, it seems, is in the offing. Even in Indo-China there are chances for the cessation of war, if the following informed bit of comment is worth anything:

"The War in Indo-China may not, as so long feared, be stepped up after a Korean truce. On the contrary, diplomatic circles all over the world are buzzing with talk of an impending peace settlement, because the Kremlin on one side, and the French on the other, seem increasingly ready for a negotiated end of the conflict. Robert Schuman is only one in a series of French political leaders to call for a negotiated peace. Schuman, an astute politician, would never have spoken so bluntly had he not been convinced that the time, and French opinion, were ripe. It is hard to see how a negotiated settlement could be worked out, for the Indo-China situation is, if anything, more complex than that of Korea. But no crisis is ever too hard to solve if there is a strong enough will. That will is taking on more and more momentum."

If, indeed, there be a lull in the storms that assail the world, then there should be time to rectify all these evils. Those that are in power may slumber in their ivory towers, but the course of duty—and security and safety—is clearly indicated to the rest of us.

Happenings in Kashmir

The Kashmir problem has come to the fore as the most involved and crucial of all problems facing India at present. As is usual, enemies and pseudo-friends of India have lost no time in attempting to fish in troubled waters.

It is necessary, therefore, to put on record the sequence of events and the actions and reactions involved therein. We have had to provide considerable space in the editorial for that.

The sensational developments in Kashmir reached their climax with the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, on the night of August 8 and his arrest the following morning. Mirza Afzal Beg, chief supporter of Sheikh Abdullah in the dismissed Cabinet, and thirty others were also arrested under the Public Security Act. The dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah was ordered by the Sadar-i-Riyasat, Karan Singh.

For the last few months there were reports of serious differences existing between Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues *vis-a-vis* united accession to India. Matters came to a head when the Sheikh demanded the resignation of one of his colleagues, Mr. Shamlal Sharaf from the Cabinet and Mr. Sharaf refused to comply. Observers were speculating about the future steps Abdullah would take when the news of his dismissal and arrest startled them.

The Sadar-i-Riyasat's letter to Sheikh Abdullah dismissing his Cabinet recalled the serious differences in the Cabinet and his (Abdullah's) failure to resolve them. It said that the situation had reached an unprecedented crisis with the effect that three of Abdullah's Cabinet colleagues in a memorandum to him had expressed their dissatisfaction at the Prime Minister's actions and policies. That document clearly indicated that the divergence within the Cabinet headed by Abdullah had reached proportions "in which the unity, prosperity and stability of the State are gravely jeopardized." Abdullah had evaded an invitation of the Sadar-i-Riyasat for an emergency meeting of the Cabinet to resolve the differences.

"Under the circumstances," the letter continued, "I, as head of the State, have been forced to the conclusion that the present Cabinet cannot continue in office any longer and, hence, I regret to inform you that I have dismissed the Council of Ministers headed by you. A copy of my Order in this connection is attached herewith."

Earlier on August 7, three of Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet colleagues—Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Mr. Girdharilal Dogra and Shamlal Sharaf—in a memorandum to him, charged him with having consistently refused to acknowledge his responsibilities as Prime Minister by not following the declared policies that formed the basis of the Government.

The memorandum accused Abdullah of having "frequently adopted certain arbitrary measures in complete denial of the right of expression of opinion" of even of his own colleagues in the handling both of external and internal affairs of the State. Abdullah had disregarded well-established Parliamentary practices and had not only disregarded the wishes of his colleagues but had "acted in the Legislative Assembly in a manner which denied the right of freely exercising their opinions to the representatives of the people in regard to the basic policies pursued by the Government." Though differing from Abdullah, his colleagues had refrained from bringing matters to a head and made concessions to his views in the interests of securing harmony and concord in the functioning of the Government. Unfortunately, however, he had misconstrued that spirit of accommodation and had adopted an attitude which was far from democratic and indicated a tendency towards making arbitrary use of his power and position.

The memorandum referred to the "factional tendency" in the Cabinet which led to administrative deterioration resulting in non-implementation of various ameliorative measures suggested by the members of the Cabinet. It said: "Above all there has been a singular failure to exercise vigilance and supervision in the day-to-day functioning of the administration, which has produced corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and wanton wastage of public resources in most spheres of Government activity. All those acts of omission and commission have inevitably created large-scale discontent in various parts of the State."

All along the Government had lacked a sense of uniformity and direction in its plans and programme. The Prime Minister had not only disregarded the opinions of his colleagues regarding the urgent necessity of ameliorating the distress of the people but had even ignored the recommendations of the Wazir Committee, which had been set up by the Government to enquire into a number of grievances of the people.

The memorandum further charged him of having not only deliberately delayed implementation of the Delhi Agreement, of which he himself was the chief architect on behalf of Kashmir, but also having purposefully and openly denounced that in public.

Mr. Afzal Beg, it continued, had persistently been following policies of narrow sectarianism and communalism which had seriously undermined the oneness of the State. These reactionary and harmful policies were being supported by Abdullah. "The result is that," the memorandum said, "unity and the secular character, the two fundamental aspects of our State, stand threatened today."

The Sheikh had rejected all offers for a united effort to restore the morale of the people. Therefore the Ministers had come to the conclusion that the

Cabinet had lost the confidence of the people in its ability to give them a clean, efficient and healthy administration, the memorandum concluded.

Immediately upon dismissing the Abdullah Cabinet the Sadar-i-Riyasat asked Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, who had been Abdullah's Deputy Premier, to form a Cabinet. The Sadar-i-Riyasat's letter inviting Mr. Ghulam Mohammed added that the continuance of the office of the new Cabinet would depend upon its securing a vote of confidence from the Legislative Assembly during its coming session. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed accepted the invitation and assumed the responsibilities of the Prime Minister. In a broadcast on August 9, the new Prime Minister declared: "The compelling necessity of averting a national disaster has impelled me and my colleagues to accept, in a spirit of humility and duty, the responsibility of Government from our erstwhile colleagues with whom we fought shoulder to shoulder for the freedom and honour of the country." The Prime Minister said that the community of ideals and principles had kept them together in the course of their joint struggle. Of late, it became apparent that some of their former colleagues were not only repudiating those vital principles which formed the bed-rock of the democratic movement in the State, but "were attempting to destroy all vestiges of democratic functioning in all spheres of administration and organisation." It was very painful to part ways with former colleagues, continued the Prime Minister; but recent developments had made it clear that a betrayal of Kashmir's interests and traditions had been in the offing which would inevitably have led to grave consequences. The tragedy of 1947 when the raiders from Pakistan had invaded the country was going to be repeated. It was not possible to remain complacent in those circumstances and therefore they had decided to avert the explosive situation at the risk of personal relations.

Bakshi Sahab said: "Certain recent developments have made it possible for disruptive forces to make desperate attempts at the disintegration of the State. The activities and utterances of some of our erstwhile colleagues make it clear that they have been thinking in terms of carving out a portion of the State from the wreckage as an 'independent State.' These moves have naturally the connivance and support of interested foreign powers who have all along been resisting the exercise of the right of the people of the State to freedom and self-determination."

"The present situation threatens to open up explosive possibilities for the future of the people of Jammu and Kashmir unless the designs of these forces and their foreign supporters are foiled in time."

Some elements were working for the merger of Kashmir with India or Pakistan. Other opportunists were dangling the alluring picture of an independent

State. But none of those three alternatives was going to be helpful to the Kashmiris. A merger with Pakistan would result in the dissolution of Kashmir as an entity and the idea of an independent position carried with it the implications of political and economic dependence on foreign charity. The Prime Minister declared: "The slogan of 'independence' is highly misleading and there should be no doubt as to the motive for sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world."

"An 'independent Kashmir' under the influence of an imperialist power will be grave threat to the freedom and independence of the Indian or Pakistani people. In view of the geographical position of the State, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea may be staged here, as a result of armed conflict between interested powers."

It was in the best interest of Kashmir to remain with India, he said: "We have transferred only foreign affairs, defence and communications to the Union of India and the limit of the ancillary and implied powers has been defined in the Delhi Agreement." The interests and honour of Kashmir were quite safe in association with foreign policy of India to which many countries were looking as the way out of the prevailing strife and tension in the world. The defence of Kashmir could not be in safer hands than those of India. It would be difficult to arrange for her proper defence for a small State like Kashmir with her limited resources and complex geographical situation. Moreover, the Indian army did not interfere in the autonomous administration of the State. The "economic help, exemplary conduct and humanitarian work" of the Indian Army "have been appreciated by all sections of our people." In the field of communications also Kashmir gained from her association with India as technological and financial implications of such services put them beyond the means and capacity of administration by local and State authorities.

The Delhi Agreement sought to establish common citizenship between India and Kashmir, governed by a common system of fundamental rights, but subject to the concessions to the State that she might make special provisions in respect of her agrarian and economic reforms. It enabled Kashmiris to "secure an autonomy in our economic policy which is unknown in any other federal State and yet we get all the benefits of the common Indian citizenship," he said. The Agreement did not impose any financial integration on Kashmir.

The democratic movement in Kashmir had indissoluble links with the democratic Government of India. The reactionary communal forces in India were instigated by the same imperialist influences which sought to create the illusion of an 'independent

Kashmir.' Clearly the communal forces in India were now weaker than in 1947.

During the last six years the Government of India had generously aided Kashmir with financial help. They had provided the Government of Kashmir with loans to balance their budgets. Under the Five-Year Plan, thirteen crores of rupees had been allocated for the plans in Kashmir. The Premier said, "We cannot honestly grudge the demand that our system of financial procedures, audit and accounts, must ensure that the available funds are well spent and that checks and balances are introduced to prevent wasteful expenditure."

The Prime Minister said that any communal retrogression in Kashmir would inflict a great blow to the democratic movements in India as well as in Pakistan. "Our aim," he said, "is to unite the people of India and Pakistan under democratic auspices, which can be assured only by the existing relationship of Kashmir with India." Creation of an 'independent Kashmir' would not bring India and Pakistan nearer but would "perpetuate their animosities and give a fillip to the reactionary and communal forces in the entire sub-continent."

The key to the present crisis, however, lay in the deep-rooted economic discontent of the masses of Kashmir. This crisis could not be overcome by the termination of the State's association. Nor could it be avoided by an alignment with a foreign power. Serious shortcomings in the handling of the economy of the State during the past five years had led to some violent dislocations in a number of trades and professions resulting in unemployment and under-employment and heavy fall in the standard of living of the people. The standard of efficiency and ethics of the administration had also deteriorated. People's faith in the Government had become shaken. The new Prime Minister called upon all to unite and support the Government in the economic reconstruction of the State.

"The main foundations of our policy," he said, "has to be built on our solemn resolution to give ourselves a progressive and enlightened constitution as the beacon-light of a democratic government." All sections of the population of the State should be given equal rights. The genuine grievances of people would have to be met and satisfied and greater opportunities of cultural development made available. "Such an approach alone can check-mate designs of reactionary and communal forces who have succeeded in exploiting the genuine grievances of the people for the purpose of dividing up their essential unity," the Premier concluded.

The new Government in Kashmir would seek a vote of confidence from the State's Constituent Assembly which was to meet in the first week of October and after that the Government would immediately move for ratification of Jammu and Kashmir's

accession to India, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed told the special correspondent of the *Leader*. They would then proceed to complete the task of framing the Constitution of Kashmir which would include implementation of the Delhi Agreement.

India's Stand over Kashmir

In a statement on the developments in Kashmir in the House of the People on August 10, the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru recounted the events leading to the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah and said: "We were informed of them, but our advice was neither sought, nor given." He said that the Indian Army personnel had not been involved in any way. The situation had been dealt with by the Jammu and Kashmir police and militia.

In this connection it has to be mentioned that a mischievous and false piece of news was published in the British Press to the effect that the Indian army had taken a part. This message was traced to *Reuter* and *Reuter* stated that the mistake occurred because of a misreading of their cables at the other end! Anyhow the mischief was done.

He emphasized the fact that the Government of India considered the recent developments in Kashmir as an internal matter and did not wish to interfere. The Government of India was interested in having a peaceful and progressive Government in Kashmir backed by the people. Defining India's attitude he said: "On the larger issues, our policy remains what it was and we shall stand by the assurances we have given."

He appealed to all for restraint and forbearance and said: "We must send our full sympathy to the young Sadar-i-Riyasat, to the Government and the people of that State who are facing this crisis, and assure them of all the help that we can give them to bring stability and a progressive administration which will serve the cause of the people of that State."

The Prime Minister said: "The State of Jammu and Kashmir has been to us not merely a piece of territory which acceded to India five and three quarters years ago, but a symbol representing certain ideals and principles for which our national movement always stood and which have been enshrined in our Constitution . . . The association of the State with India . . . had a deeper significance than even the constitutional link that was built up."

The Government of India had all along stood for a policy of a special position of the Kashmir State in the Indian Union. Those who talked of merger or a weaker association of Kashmir with India were opposed to that policy. Recently an unfortunate agitation had sought to undermine this basic position and had created not only confusion but powerful reactions more especially in the valley of Kashmir. Some persons in Kashmir were so much affected by

that agitation that they forgot the community of ideals that had brought Kashmir and India together. Unfortunately Sheikh Abdullah was in turn greatly influenced by the wrong advice given by those people. Certain utterances of Abdullah had reflected that advice and reactionary elements had taken advantage of the resulting confusion and attempted to disrupt the State.

The Government of India, though greatly concerned at these developments, "did not wish to interfere, except with advice, in the internal structure and administration of the State. Advice was frequently given, but unfortunately it did not succeed in bringing about that unity which had been shaken in the course of the past few months."

Some two weeks earlier two Ministers of the Kashmir Cabinet, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and Mirza Afzal Beg had visited New Delhi and had held prolonged consultations with the Indian Government when it had been made clear to them that the Government of India had no desire to interfere in any way in internal matters which should be decided by the Government of the State.

The Government of India, having been informed of the intensification of the differences within the Kashmir Cabinet, had urged that some way should be found for the working of the Cabinet as a team on agreed principles and policies. After that, events moved with great rapidity eventually leading to Abdullah's dismissal, the Prime Minister added.

Indian Reactions

PTI reported from New Delhi on August 9: "The news of the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah last night took political circles here by surprise although a shake-up in the Kashmir Government was regarded as inevitable."

The Communist Party of India in a statement said that the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah and the formation of a new Government in Kashmir "was the culmination of recent developments in Kashmir since Mr. Adlai Stevenson's visit there." The statement said: "Sheikh Abdullah fell in line with American intrigues and came out for an independent Kashmir to be guaranteed by the U.N., i.e., the Americans."

The Praja-Socialist Leader, Acharya Kripalani, expressed the hope that the action of the Sadar-i-Riyasat "will clear the atmosphere and will guarantee to Kashmir an honest, efficient and progressive administration."

Mr. N. C. Chattterji, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a telegram to Premnath Dogra President of the Jammu Praja Parishad, said: "Shyamaprasad's supreme sacrifice, your efforts and our humble contribution today stand justified." In a statement he said that this was the "first right step in the right direction."

"The best news in several years," commented Dr. Lankasundaram. He referred to American influence in Kashmir and said: "We must withdraw the Kashmir question from the U.N." Any suggestion for the trifurcation of Kashmir would have to be resisted, he added.

In the official circles in New Delhi, the news of Sheikh Abdullah's dismissal came as a great relief, reports the *Statesman*.

Foreign Hand in Kashmir Quandary

The hand of a foreign power is clearly visible in the recent developments in Kashmir. Of course, the whole history of the Kashmir problem is a series of manoeuvres to convert that beautiful country into a base of military operations by foreign powers. The fate of India's appeal to the U.N. for a peaceful solution then did not keep anybody in doubt about that. Giving reasons for this unusual interest to a relatively obscure part of the world an acute American observer, Mr. Lawrence K. Rosinger, writes: "The interest of the United States presumably arose in part from Kashmir's strategic location, close to the U.S.S.R. and bordering Afghanistan, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), Tibet, India and Pakistan." This gives the clue to the slogan of an 'independent Kashmir.' The new Prime Minister of Kashmir has also referred to this aspect of the situation. It was intended to make an Asian Switzerland of Kashmir.

A short resume of the recent developments will help to clear that point. A considerable section of the Indian press ascribes the change-over of Sheikh Abdullah to his long confabulations with Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. Democratic leader, in the beginning of May. On July 5, the *New York Times* published a map of the proposed 'independent State of Kashmir' adding that the Secretary of State Dulles approved of it. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed told the *Leader's* special correspondent at Srinagar that too many of the foreigners "especially in the diplomatic field, had been dinning into Sheikh Abdullah's ears the advantages first of joining Pakistan and when that idea did not sell, of making him stand for independence. There was a constant stream of officials and even missionaries who acted as agents. U.N. observers were seen more often in and around Srinagar than at their posts of duty." (*Leader*, 13th August, 1953).

As to the responsibility of the foreigners in the immediate disorder it was officially stated in Srinagar that U.N. observers had been paying money to some malcontents and agitators in order to incite them against the State. Their activities had assumed such serious proportions that the Kashmir Government had given "instructions to seize U.N. jeeps if they were found in quarters where they had no business to be

and apprehend the occupants. The spokesman said that it had come to the knowledge of the Government that 18 observers held a meeting yesterday and later they went round the city." (PTI). The Government had warned that diplomatic immunity granted to U.N. observers would be withdrawn if they continued to take undue interest in the internal affairs of the State.

The *People* of August 15 reports: "It is reported that the American Ambassador and a high official of the British High Commissioner's office in New Delhi, who were due to visit Srinagar, have cancelled their programme in view of the present developments there."

Continuing the report said: "The American Ambassador, unduly energetic, has visited Kashmir twice during the past two months. From Delhi come vague reports of an American dollar loan offered to Kashmir over the head of the Government of India."

The *Leader*, in an editorial on August 11, writes: "In fairness to Sheikh Abdullah it may be stated that he is not solely to blame for his abandonment of the principles of the National Conference. It is significant that the Communists' denunciation of U.S. interference in Kashmir remains unanswered. Evidently Sheikh Abdullah has been misled by people who have their own axes to grind."

The U. S. Ambassador, Mr. George V. Allen, and Maj.-Gen. B. L. De Ridder, Acting U.N. Chief Military observer in Kashmir, have come out with denials of any interference on their respective part. It is to be seen from further developments as to whether their respective personnel are really as innocent as they make out.

Indo-Pakistan Parleys

On August 10 the Pakistani Premier telegraphed to Mr. Nehru requesting an immediate meeting between the two Premiers. Mr. Nehru agreeing, Mr. Mohammed Ali came to New Delhi on August 16 where he was accorded an unprecedented welcome by the residents of Delhi. After prolonged and intense deliberations between the two Prime Ministers a joint communique was issued on August 20 indicating the measure of agreement reached between the two.

The communique said that the two Prime Ministers had discussed the Kashmir question at some length and agreed that the most feasible method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of Kashmir was by fair and impartial plebiscite and decided that a Plebiscite Administrator be appointed before the end of April, 1954. So far no progress had been possible because of lack of agreement in regard to preliminary issues which would henceforward be considered by them directly in order to arrive at agreements in regard to those before April, 1954. The Plebiscite Administrator, on his formal appointment and induction into office by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, would examine the situation and report upon

it and set out proposals for preparations to be made for holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in the State.

The Premiers also discussed evacuee property issue and noted the progress made. "It was hoped that a meeting of the representatives of the two Governments would be held within a month for a further consideration of these problems," the communique said.

In accordance with the agreement reached between the two Prime Ministers at Karachi regarding the exchange of Cooch-Bihar enclaves in East Pakistan with East Bengal enclaves in Cooch Behar, it was decided that a conference of the representatives of East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam and the two Central Governments, should be held in Calcutta very soon to work out the necessary details. "The Conference should also consider travel and trade facilities and other issues, especially relating to East Pakistan, West Bengal and Assam."

"The Prime Ministers deprecated any propaganda or attacks on any country by others in the Press, by radio, or by speeches and statements made by responsible men and women of either country."

Welcoming the communique, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed the Kashmir Premier said that it had their "unqualified support." He was glad that Pakistan had "shown its willingness to abandon the old methods of coercion and intimidation." He was happy that the two Governments had sought to solve the Kashmir dispute without reference to any foreign power. It was heartening that the Prime Ministers had finally dispelled the grave misgivings regarding dismemberment of the State which had been disturbing many Kashmiris.

Addressing a Press Conference in New Delhi the Pakistani Premier stated that his mission had been a 'partial success' and he was returning to Karachi with his "minimum hopes fulfilled." He said the Kashmir dispute would not be withdrawn from the UNO.

It is understood that India did not favour the idea of appointing a Briton or American as a Plebiscite Administrator.

The Pakistan Government informed India later that it considers the recommendations of the Security Council as the basis on which to negotiate on Kashmir, informed sources said in Karachi on August 28. These sources added that this suggestion was made in the memorandum which had been communicated to the Indian Government.

The other points made out in the memorandum were as follows:

(a) Appointment of the United States Adm. Chester Nimitz by the United Nations to act as Administrator of the Plebiscite remained valid and there was no question of naming the representative of a South-East Asian country unless the United Nations first withdrew Nimitz's appointment.

(b) Moslems from Kashmir and Jammu who had migrated to Pakistan should have the right to vote.

(c) The plebiscite should be arranged and carried out under the control of the United Nations.

The Pakistan High Commissioner in India, Mr. Gaznafar Ali Khan, saw Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to present the memorandum containing the Pakistan Government's view on the preliminary issues relating to the proposed plebiscite in Kashmir.

It is believed the Pakistan Government has *inter alia* demanded that right from now there should be complete freedom of the people of Kashmir to express their views in favour of accession to Pakistan, and there should be no "partisan administration" exercising power and control in any part of the State during the period of plebiscite, nor any armed forces, either of India or of Pakistan, in the plebiscite.

Pakistani Reaction to Kashmir Developments

"A Challenge to Pakistan" was the comment of Karachi's *Dawn*.

A *hartal* was declared in Karachi in protest against the action of the Sadar-i-Riyasat dismissing Abdullah. The Pakistani independence day celebrations were cancelled and August 16 was declared "Kashmir day." Karachi's cotton and other markets, cinema houses and the majority of the shops were closed on August 11 in the afternoon after a lot of agitation by demonstrators. In the afternoon on that day a mass public meeting in Karachi presided over by Miss Fatima Jinnah had demanded *jehad* against India and 'police action' by the Pakistan Government in Kashmir. Mr. Khalilur Rahman, former Minister of State for Defence, said that he did not bother about the dismissal of Abdullah but moaned about the "butchery of Muslims in Kashmir." After that meeting a procession went to the residence of the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, who met the crowd waving a Pakistani flag and "gave a pledge that he would do everything possible to liberate the people of Kashmir and secure for them the right of self-determination." (*P.T.I.*)

In his independence day broadcast from Karachi Mr. Mohammed Ali referred to "ties of religion, culture, tradition, economy and geography" between Kashmir and Pakistan and expressed "deepest sympathy to the people of Kashmir in their hour of trial." He said: "We are pledged to secure for the people of Kashmir their inalienable rights of self-determination. We stand by that pledge."

The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, said that the "recent developments and happenings in Indian-occupied Kashmir have come as a rude shock to the people of Pakistan . . ." and they "appear to indicate that India is determined to prevent rather than to promote conditions that would ensure the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite through which the people of Jammu and Kashmir must signify their will to accede to Pakistan or to India."

The Press in Karachi is doing its best to nullify all agreements as the following news indicate:

Karachi, Aug. 28.—So the Ali-Nehru talks and the consequent agreement may be "dead as dodo." That is the impression one forms after going through the fulminations against India—"India's felony" and "Pandit's perfidy"—in Karachi Press.

Karachi is also humming with baseless rumours that under pressure of the old guards who were waiting for a chance to see Ali's mission fail, the Prime Minister had resigned last night.

However, the tone and temper of the Press indicates that some decision has been taken as per last morning's reports about political reactions to the Delhi Agreement.

While the *Times of Karachi* has spared no words to accuse the Pakistan Government of falling into the 'Pandit's trap,' of coming to an agreement which implicitly recognises the Bakshi Government, the *Morning News* blames Mr. Mohammed Ali of complacency and allowing his heart to run away with his head after getting a warm welcome at Delhi. The *Times of Karachi* has summarised the position under the caption "As You Were," maintaining that Pakistan has failed to cash in on the opportunity of marshalling world opinion in her favour when India had not committed anything. It said a great opportunity presented itself in the dismissal of Abdullah, showing that Hindus and Muslims were two nations. In a two column editorial it chastised the Government for its defence forces and called upon policy of retrenchment in the Government to strengthen its defences.

Restoration of Pak-Sylhet Areas to India

A number of distinguished people of Cachar, representatives of Hindus and Muslims, including seven M.L.As, Presidents and Secretaries of Congress bodies, had submitted on July 15 a memorandum to Prime Minister Nehru on the eve of his departure for talks with the Pak Premier at Karachi, drawing his attention to the wrong inclusion in Pakistan of a portion of Sylhet district adjacent to the north of the State of Tripura and having a non-Muslim majority. The memorandum had urged the Premier to examine the matter and to "see that the portion of the territory rightly belonging to India is restored as early as possible," reports the *Chronicle* on August 7.

Welcoming the move in an editorial, the paper writes that India would lose by the exchange of border areas reported to be about to take place. "To make good that loss some areas on East Bengal and Assam-Tripura border should be claimed and possession taken over by India from Pakistan. Now in addition to the areas to be restored to India under Radcliffe Award, more portions in Sylhet district need be claimed by India for compensation of the losses she sustains elsewhere." The editorial added that this should be effected quite peacefully and in a friendly manner.

Unrest in Ceylon

Strikes and demonstrations were reported all over Ceylon in protest against the increase in the price of rice and in railway, electricity and postal charges. The situation assumed such grave proportions that the Government of Ceylon had to declare a state of emergency on August 12. Thirteen persons were reported to have been killed in the police firing on that day.

The *Hindu's* correspondent in Colombo reported on August 13 that there was considerable panic among Indians as leaflets had been widely distributed in the Pettar area asking the mob to kill Indians and loot their property. Anti-Indian elements had thus taken the opportunity to turn the disturbances against the Indian community. (*Hindu*, August 15).

Lysenko Falls

The *Indian Rationalist* of August writes: "We have good news from inside the iron curtain. The *New Statesman and Nation* reports that Lysenko has been liquidated. The man responsible for the disgrace and the untold miseries of distinguished Russian geneticists like Vavilov has at last met the fate to which he condemned his many victims." The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences had now condemned Lysenko for "failing to make theoretical contributions of practical value."

Sri S. N. Guha's Gift

In the presence of a large and distinguished gathering, Sri S. N. Guha, a retired District and Sessions Judge and ex-Chief Judge of Cooch Behar State handed over through the West Bengal Governor Dr. H. C. Mookerjee a sum of Rs. 25,000 for public charity at a pleasant function at Marble Hall, Raj Bhavan, on August 28. Those present included Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy.

Sri Guha handed over a cheque of Rs. 16,000 to the Principal of R. G. Kar Medical College to be spent for expansion of the college, a cheque of Rs. 5,000 to the representative of Ramakrishna Mission Sishumangal Pratisthan, a cheque of Rs. 1000 to Bharat Sevasram Sangha and a cheque of Rs. 3,000 to the Governor Dr. Mookerjee for the Governor's Deshabandhu Memorial Fund.

Chief Guest of the function Dr. Roy thanked Sri Guha for his charity and hoped that his example would be emulated by many others. To make charity for a noble cause was a great virtue and one who did so derived genuine pleasure. Sri Guha by making public charity had undoubtedly a satisfaction of mind which nothing else could give.

Governor Dr. Mookerjee also paid his compliments to Sri Guha for his noble gesture. In this connection he asked the people to remember that merely asking for rights in a free country was not enough. Side by side with that they would have to discharge their responsibilities and obligations to the society and that could be done by showing a spirit of charity. It was a happy augury that a spirit of charity was fast coming over to the people.

We add our felicitations to the donor, and hope that his example will be followed by all who have the means to serve the nationals of our country similarly.

Census Analyses

New Delhi, Aug. 29.—The latest Census paper puts the population of Scheduled Castes in India at 513 lakhs, Scheduled Tribes 191 lakhs and Anglo-Indians over a lakh and eleven thousand. The total population of India as shown by the 1951 Census in 3,567 lakhs, excluding 1.35 lakhs for whom enumeration records were destroyed by fire in the Census tabulation office at Jullundur.

The paper gives a mass of figures showing the distribution and occupation of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and adds that a manuscript register called the National Register of Citizens has been prepared and is preserved separately for every village and every ward of each town. Should it be necessary to secure specific additional information regarding particular localities, it can be extracted from the register.

The figure for Anglo-Indians shows that there are more women in that community than men.

Out of every 1,000 persons in India, there are 144 persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and 54 to the Scheduled Tribes. Out of the total population of 3,567 lakhs, 2,948 lakhs live in rural areas and 618 lakhs in the urban areas. Scheduled Castes in rural areas total 462 lakhs and Scheduled Tribes 186 lakhs and in urban areas 51 lakhs and five lakhs respectively.

Agricultural classes total 2,491 lakhs for the whole population and 381 lakhs for Scheduled Castes and 173 for Scheduled Tribes; non-agricultural classes for the whole population total 1,076 lakhs, Scheduled Castes 132 lakhs and Scheduled Tribes 18 lakhs.

Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly owned, and their dependants total 1,674 lakhs for the whole population, 174 lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and 125 lakhs for the Scheduled Tribes.

Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants are 316 lakhs for the whole of India, 56 lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and 19 lakhs for the Scheduled Tribes.

Cultivating labourers and their dependants are 448 lakhs for the whole of India; 148 lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and 28 lakhs for the Scheduled Tribes.

Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent-receivers, and their dependants are 53 lakhs for the whole of India, three lakhs for the Scheduled Castes and one lakh for the Scheduled Tribes.

Figures for non-agricultural classes are as follows: Production other than cultivation: total 377 lakhs, Scheduled Castes 53 lakhs, Scheduled Tribes seven lakhs.

Commerce: total 213 lakhs, Scheduled Castes 9 lakhs, Scheduled Tribes one lakh.

Transport: total 56 lakhs, Scheduled Castes six lakhs, Scheduled Tribes one lakh.

Other services and miscellaneous sources: total 430 lakhs, Scheduled castes 64 lakhs and Scheduled Tribes 9 lakhs.—P.T.I.

Working of the Sindri Chemicals

At the first annual general meeting of the Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Ltd, held recently, the Chairman of the Company stated that the achievements of Sindri have been creditworthy, as measured by the target output and economic costs of production. Since the commencement of production operations in March 1952, the factory's output totalled 230,000 tons of ammonium sulphate during the thirteen months ended March 1953. The production in the last quarter of 1952-53 was 74,176 tons, as compared with the target of 87,000 tons. There has been a steady decline in the cost of production, and the prices charged have also been reduced. Even in the initial period, the price of Rs. 350 per ton was below the cost of imported sulphate. Following an intensive campaign launched in 1953 to popularise the use of fertilisers as a positive step towards self-sufficiency in foodgrains, the price was reduced by Rs. 65 per ton, a reduction of nearly 20 per cent. It is expected that production costs will be further reduced in the near future.

The offtake however caused some concern to the authorities. In February 1953, although the stock position showed huge accumulation, the production was not curtailed and actually a high level of production of nearly 27,000 tons was attained that month. The short-fall in offtake in 1952 is attributed to droughts in some parts of the country, financial difficulties of the State Governments and unsatisfactory arrangements for distribution made by them. Had the Company decided to export its products, it could have cleared the stocks and earned large profits on that account. The Company received a large number of requests at much higher prices. The Union Government's Food and Agricultural Ministry is responsible for administering the fertiliser pool to which the entire production of Sindri is contributed at present. The Company is not satisfied with the present distribution arrangements controlled by an outside authority. It demands that it must have the responsibility for marketing its own output. A proposal is being examined for the taking over of distribution arrangements by the Company from January 1, 1954. Steps are also being taken for popularising the use of fertilisers for intensive cultivation and a scheme for the purpose is being formulated in co-operation with the Food and Agricultural Ministry.

Located at the heart of India's coal belt and within easy reach of abundant resources of cheap electrical power and water, Sindri has large potentialities of industrial development. The Company has entered into an agreement with the Associated Cement Co. Ltd., for the sale of the calcium carbonate sludge, which is a by-product of ammonium sulphate production. The A.C.C. propose to construct a cement factory at Sindri for the production of 600 tons of cement per day, utilising this by-product as the main ingredient. Another agreement has also been concluded with the German firm of Messrs Karl Still for the

supply and installation of a battery of coke ovens for the production of 600 tons of coke a day, which will make Sindri self-sufficient and will also bring about substantial economies in the production costs. Plans are also under consideration with the US Technical Co-operation Administration for the utilisation of the coke oven gases for the manufacture of urea and ammonium nitrate to provide a diversity and balance in the availability of fertilisers from indigenous sources.

Indo-US Technical Co-Operation

The last two project agreements under the Indo-US technical co-operation programme for 1952-53 were recently concluded. The first agreement undertakes to provide some equipment and supplies to increase the existing facilities for an exploratory project for lignite excavation in South India. The object of the project is to determine the economic feasibility of the recovery and processing of lignite in the South Arcot District in the State of Madras. The joint cost of this project is estimated at \$250,000 and Rs. 25 lakhs. The experimental mining operation will make possible the recovery of about 16,000 tons of lignite which will be available for test purposes and actual consumption in plants having facilities for burning the raw lignite. A study of market conditions, fuel requirements of various users and other data relating to the sale, distribution and utilization of the lignite will be conducted during the period of the experimental pit excavation. Such information will be used as a basis for planning the full-scale mining operation of the lignite deposit.

The second agreement is supplementary to the Operational Agreement No. 10. It provides for the acquisition of certain items of additional equipment for the completion of the pilot plant of the Cellulose and Paper Branch of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, which is under construction. The total estimated joint cost of the project for the fiscal year 1953-54 is \$210,000 and Rs. 320,000. The completion of the pilot plant will enable the Cellulose and Paper Branch of the Institute to conduct experimentation, demonstrations and pilot operations on the production of pulp and paper from a wide variety of indigenous raw materials. The pulp and paper plant will also be used as a regional centre for research and training for nationals from other countries. The Technical Co-operation Administration will arrange for the engineering services in connection with the erection of the plant as well as for specialists required and requested from outside India under this project.

The dollar cost for these two agreements amounting to \$460,000 will be provided from the savings under supplementary agreement No. 1 regarding the fertilizer project. The agreement in respect of the malaria control project was amended to provide 15 additional malaria control units, thereby increasing the number of units from 75 to 90. About 90 million people will receive protection from malaria under the amended agreement. The amendment does not involve any additional dollar expen-

diture but the rupee cost of the project will be higher by about Rs. 29 lakhs.

Another Technical Assistance agreement was also concluded which provides for assistance in obtaining detailed proposals for expanding the Sindri Fertiliser plant for the production of urea and ammonium nitrate, and the productive utilisation of the coke oven gas of the plant. The USA Government will provide a sum not exceeding \$50,000 for this purpose.

Changes in Exchange Restrictions

Article XIV, section 4 of the Articles of the Agreement of the International Monetary Fund lays down that, not later than three years after the date on which the Fund begins operations and in each year thereafter, the Fund should report on exchange restrictions still in force under section 2 of the same Article. In pursuance of this provision, the Fund has submitted its Fourth Annual Report this year. The report indicates broadly the nature of the changes which had taken place during 1952 and early 1953 and thus assists an understanding of the general character of recent developments in exchange restrictions. Generally speaking, the period was one of consolidation for some countries and their changes in the exchange control were in the nature of technical simplification in the operation of their exchange systems. As regards the other countries, it was essentially a period of watching world development to see what would take place elsewhere before taking any decisive measures to lessen their own exchange restrictions.

The volume of world trade was smaller in 1952 than in the preceding year. But the Fund cannot say definitely to what extent this reduction is due to intensification of international trade or exchange restrictions, which began in the second half of 1951, as contrasted with other causes. There was no significant relaxation in exchange restrictions during the last year. While some countries lessened their exchange restrictions, others intensified theirs. Though some countries simplified their multiple exchange rate structures, others made them more complicated.

The slowing down of the scramble for raw materials in 1951 resulted in a decline in their prices in 1952 approximately to the level of June 1950. Although the decline in prices of raw materials undoubtedly helped the more industrialised countries, it tended to produce in the primary producing countries a more cautious and restrictive attitude towards the granting of exchange and the lessening of exchange restrictions. Thus in several leading countries there was a reduction in the amount of exchange made available for imports directly arising out of a recognition of adverse balance of payments positions and a desire to correct them. The general use of discrimination in the application of restrictions continued during 1952, so that payments in hard currencies were reduced to a larger extent than were payments in soft currencies.

No additional currencies became convertible during

the years 1951 and 1952. In more than half the number of member countries surveyed by the Fund, multiple currency practices continued to operate. A few of them slightly simplified their multiple exchange rate systems by reducing only the arithmetical number of rates employed, but six member countries expanded their multiple exchange rate systems. Among the latter, two countries introduced additional fluctuating exchange rates by the use of negotiable certificates. These certificates entitle the holder to obtain exchange in payment for imports not otherwise permissible. Another country introduced an "auction system" by which it allocated limited quantities of available exchange. This means of exchange distribution was not in use for some years past.

The report throws much interest on retention quota arrangements and similar practices. These arrangements are usually applied to dollar export receipts and confer special privileges on those obtaining such means of payment. Thus, during 1952, such arrangements were either introduced or expanded in three countries, but were discontinued in three others. Two of the member countries introduced "free" exchange markets in which certain segments of their international trade and payments were to be handled. Three members introduced exchange taxes or increased the existing taxes. Liberalisation of trade between countries which are members of the European Payments Union was in general maintained.

Jute Marketing Practices

A Commission has been appointed by the Government of India to institute an enquiry into the marketing practices in the raw jute and jute goods trade and the extent to which they are influenced by speculators and to recommend measures for ensuring a fair price not only to the grower of jute but also to the jute mills. Mr. K. R. P. Aiyangar, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Finance, has been appointed as the Chairman of the Commission. The terms of reference of the Commission are as follows :

(a) To examine and enquire into the operations of the tiers in the jute industry and trade from the grower of raw jute to the seller of jute goods ; (b) to examine and enquire into the factors which determine the return to the grower of raw jute for his product and the part played in it by the cost and the adequacy or otherwise of transport, the lack of contact between the grower of raw jute and its consumer, the absence of market information to the growers of raw jute and all matters relating thereto ; (c) to examine and enquire into the nature and the content of speculations both in raw jute trade and the jute goods trade, the extent to which market prices are affected by the operation of mill owners, jute dealers and the speculative operators in the market and to consider in relation to the circumstances which rendered the closing of the *fatka* market in Calcutta in December 1952, the malpractices indulged in by the various units that operated in the *fatka* market resulting in undue depression of prices of raw jute as well as jute goods ;

and (d) after such examination, enquiry and consideration to make recommendations to the Central Government on the measures necessary : (i) to secure for the grower as well as the industry a fair price for raw jute and jute goods, (ii) to put down the malpractices engaged in by certain sectors of the jute industry in order to rig up or depress prices for their own ends, and (iii) to ensure that the jute export trade is not affected by frequent manipulation of the market by interested persons.

Plainly speaking, the democratic system of Government based on bureaucracy suffers from slow movement and red-tapism. Quickness goes at a discount with democracy. Since the days of the British rulers, committees and commissions have become essential adjuncts of the Indian administrative system and our independence has not brought any change in that respect, on the contrary they have become much too frequent. The appointment of the Commission on jute marketing is not only unwarranted, it is redundant too. That shows that the Government does not care to examine the reports of the previous commission on the same subject. The appointment of the Commission is just an evasion of the responsibility for some time to come. There already exists voluminous literature on the subject of jute marketing, *viz.*, the report of the Central Jute Committee on the marketing of jute and jute products. Although it was published in 1941, it was almost brought up to date in the revised edition published last year. There is also the report of the Export Trade Promotion Committee (Chairman : Mr. A. D. Gorwala) which deals extensively with the practices of *fatka* and other futures markets. It may be recalled that a memorandum on the futures markets subscribed to by all sections of the jute trade and industry was submitted to Sir John Anderson, when he was the Governor of Bengal. It is regarded as a highly useful document. On the same subjects there are two excellent reports of Prof. Todd. If any action is really intended by the Government, all that it has to do is to make a thorough perusal of these reports and decide on the lines on which excessive speculation can be effectively checked. Moreover, the Forward Markets Commission is going to be appointed soon. It can be asked to tackle this problem of *fatka* in jute trade. It is really puzzling to think what useful purpose will be served by the present enquiry commission.

The terms of enquiry of the Commission are comprehensive enough as they cover every aspect of marketing raw jute and jute manufactures. But futures trading should be the main concern of the Commission in view of the diverse opinions on its utility or otherwise to the jute grower and manufacturer. According to a section of opinion, the *fatka* market serves no other purpose than encouraging gambling orgies, while others contend that it is essential for ensuring liquidity and smooth marketing of jute and jute goods and for providing a hedge against future uncertainties. They argue that the hectic heights and the sharp falls in prices are due to the high sensitiveness of the market which is not

in itself a defect. Unless the futures market is sensitive, they maintain, it cannot provide a cover against future risks at economic premium rates. A futures market, if it is to serve satisfactory, must allow keen competition among the operators and in the face of keen competition, wide fluctuations in prices are bound to follow.

Whatever may be the conflicting opinions about the utility of the futures market, it is imperative that violent fluctuations in prices must be avoided. The widely fluctuating prices have become a recurring feature of the jute industry resulting in hardship not only to the grower of jute and manufacturers of jute goods but also to members of the trade. Irresponsible and excessive speculation brings about business failures, results in defaults and ends in crashes destroying the utility of the futures market. When speculation exceeds the bounds of moderation and reasonable risk-taking, it degenerates into gambling. This is the problem that encompasses speculation and for the prevention of which no satisfactory solution has yet been found out. A solution is required which, while preserving the futures market intact, will eliminate over-speculation. The inherent weakness of Indian businessmen is to overtrade and even to condone defaults and to compromise with the worst defaulters. And the speculator having largely intruded and obtained control in industry, thanks to war-profiteering and black-marketing, Indian industries are being adversely affected.

Indian Tea Crop

From the point of view of production, the current season (1953-54) opens on a more secure basis. The last season (1952-53) ended with a short-fall in production by 4.75 million lbs. as compared with the previous season's output. The Indian tea crop will be lower this season due to the deliberate cut in production. The latest figures of production of North Indian tea reveal that the production will be lower by about 12½ million lbs. South India is endeavouring to bring about an automatic reduction in crop by producing better quality tea, although the planters have not been able to accept any definite agreement on restriction of crop. There has been decline in the output during the first five months of the current year. One of the causes for this fall in output is attributed to the effort on the part of a large number of estates to concentrate more on quality than on quantity. In recent years there has been a pronounced deterioration in the quality of the Indian tea and in consequence India is losing her export markets to her rivals, like Ceylon, Dutch East Indies, etc. It is said that house-wives in London prefer better quality packets even at higher prices, because of the fact that quality blends ultimately turn out to be economical.

The enquiries made by the Rao Committee revealed that 60 per cent of the total Indian production of tea was medium tea, 20 to 25 per cent superior quality and the balance residual tea including "rejections." The tea estates should pay special attention to quality plucking

and destruction of waste tea, sweeping and fluff, commonly known as "rejections." In South India, what is called premium tea forms about 25 to 33 per cent of the production. Some suggested to the Rao Committee that it would help to support tea prices, if the rejections could be completely destroyed, as they are used as adulterants and were depressing the price of good quality tea.

The Tea Act 1953, confers powers on the Union Government to improve quality of tea. But there is a great demand for tea waste as consumers belonging to the low income group provide a market for them, obviously because they cannot afford to buy the high-priced quality tea. It is stated that no amount of State control will succeed in preventing production of tea waste, as there will always be loopholes for evading it. Voluntary co-operation of the industry is therefore essential.

Oil Politics in the Persian Gulf

Nearly two years ago Persia's oil ceased to flow to world markets, and in this short period the face of the rest of the Persian Gulf has been transformed. In Saudi Arabia and Kuwait there has been so great expansion of the oilfields that by the end of 1952, their joint increase in output had more than replaced Persia's production in its last year of full flow. Besides, there are rising volumes of production of new fields in neighbouring deserts. Last year two affiliates of the Internationally owned Iraq Petroleum Company, operating near Basra in Iraq and in the desolate Qatar peninsula, respectively produced 17 million barrels and 25 million barrels. In 1953 there has been a new find by the American Independent Oil Company in the Neutral Zone shared by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile the earliest field on the Arabian shore, run by Americans in Behrein, yields its steady 11 million barrels per annum. Just to the south of it a member of the Royal Dutch-Shell group has taken up a 10,000 square mile sea-bed concession of the coast of Qatar. Aramco has located, but has not yet commenced production from, another under-sea field off Saffaniya on the Saudi Arabian coast, and there are local conflicting claims over rights to the rest of the shallow floor of the gulf. The Aramco and the Iraq Petroleum Company affiliate, Petroleum Development Ltd., are meanwhile prospecting in the untried deserts to the south-east and south-west of the Qatar Peninsula.

In respect of the crude oil supply, it is said that a return of the Persian flow on to the world markets would now be an embarrassment, not a help, to everyone except the Persians; it would entail reduction of output elsewhere, and it would bedevil the relations between companies and rulers who now count on higher revenue from oil. But this is not true of refined products. The Abadan refinery with its potential output of over 500,000 barrels per day is the largest in the world. The only other two refineries of size on the Gulf—Aramco's at Ras Tanura and the Behrein Petroleum Company's plant at Behrein—can each put through about 200,000 barrels a day. Other refineries in the Middle East are small

topping plants only. Abadan's output will continue to be missed in Asia until, from 1954 onwards, the refineries now being built at Aden, in India, and in Australia come on stream. It is no longer missed in western Europe where self-sufficiency in refining capacity has been attained. The following table will make the present position clear:

<i>Crude Oil Production</i> (million barrels)			
	1950	1952	Management
Persia	241.4	110.6	1950—British : Anglo-Iranian
Saudi Arabia	199.5	301.8	1952—Persian : NIOC
Kuwait	125.7	273.4	American : Aramco Half-British, half- American : Kuwait Oil Company

Direct Payments By Oil Companies to the Governments of Oil Producing Countries (\$ million)

	Saudi Arabia	Kuwait	Iraq	Behrein	Qatar
1950	112.0	12.4	14.8	3.3	1.0
1951	155.0	30.0	38.5	3.8	3.8
1952	170.0	139.0	110.0	6.3	9.0

With the disappearance of Persia's oil from world markets and with the rising tide of world consumption, the oil companies operating in the Persian Gulf have stepped up production to meet the rising demand. Financially, the arrangements with the rulers of the oil bearing territories along the Persian Gulf are the so-called 50:50 basis on the Venezuelan model that has now become common. Under formulas, which differ slightly from territory to territory, they are based on the principle of an equal division of profits before deduction of foreign tax, and the concessionaire pays home taxation only on his share of the proceeds, and the owner Government's share is unaffected by foreign taxation. Oil provides one-quarter of the national income of Iraq, one-half in Saudi Arabia and over three quarters in the smaller principalities, the highest proportion being that of Kuwait.

Now the rulers are becoming conscious and demanding higher rates. If there is a 50:50 agreement, why not insist that it should be made retroactive? If a concessionaire sells oil under bulk contracts at special price, the rulers are demanding that the profit should be worked out on the full price. The Sheik of Behrein is disturbed at the greater production and in consequence the greater wealth of a neighbour in Qatar who has far fewer responsibilities than he. Thus local jealousies are developing. The Saudis are inquiring whether Aramco has a right to sell its crude oil to its parent companies below market price and whether they ought not to be receiving compensation for oilfields discovered but not yet operated owing to the state of world demand. The rulers are now contemplating to push the division of profits towards 60:40.

In recent months the relations in the USA between the oil companies operating overseas and the Administration are hardly in the halcyon state. The decision to raise the Middle East crude oil prices is the outcome of a series of embarrassing pressure and counter-pressures from the American domestic oil companies and the Administration. If the cheaper oil of the Middle East were to flood into the Western hemisphere markets, who would gain? Certainly, the overseas companies operating in the Middle East would reap the higher profits. There would be a political rumpus in Washington from American domestic producers by comparison with which the 1949 criticisms of "dumping" would be insignificant. Severe repercussion would follow on Venezuelan oil output and upon Venezuela's politics. There would be a grumble along the Persian Gulf from rulers asserting that the oil companies were not crediting them with a fair price for the Middle East crude oil. The American market is prepared to take a reasonable amount of foreign crude oil "to supplement but not supplant" its own domestic supplies; and it disapproves the idea of full and free competition from the Middle East. Of last year's crude oil imports by Britain, 93 per cent came from the Middle East and less than 7 per cent from Venezuela and the USA.

Developments in Iran

Recent developments in Iran have been bewildering. The results of the referendum in Teheran early in August suggested popular support to the Mossadeq regime. The referendum was instituted to obtain popular sanction for the dissolution of the Majlis—the Lower House of the Iranian Parliament. The Upper House—the Senate—had earlier been dissolved by Dr. Mossadeq. The Majlis had been virtually ineffective as all the supporters of Dr. Mossadeq had resigned from it, thus leaving the House without a quorum. Even some Opposition members had also resigned. The Shah appeared to wield little or no power at all and apart from the economic crisis, Dr. Mossadeq apparently was master of the situation.

Then came the news of the abortive Royalist coup and the Shah's flight from Iran. Teheran Radio announced that at 11-30 p.m. on August 15, the officers of the Shah's Imperial Guards under Colonel Nasiri attempted to overthrow the Mossadeq Government by a military *coup d'etat*. Dr. Hussein Fatemi, the Foreign Minister and two other Government leaders had been arrested by the insurgents. The Government successfully dealt with the revolt, put Colonel Nasiri in jail and ordered disbandment of the Royal Guards. The royalist coup was directed to instal Gen. Zahedi as the Prime Minister.

The Shah, who was holidaying with the queen at Ramsar on the Caspian coast flew out of the country to Baghdad from where he went to Rome. He said that he had appointed Major-General Zahedi to succeed Dr. Mossadeq as Prime Minister. He said that

Gen. Zahedi had not staged a *coup d'etat* but had conveyed Shah's orders dismissing Dr. Mossadeq. He said that he did not contemplate abdication and would be willing to return to Iran if Dr. Mossadeq obeyed his orders appointing Gen. Zahedi as Prime Minister.

Meanwhile Persian police had been on the trail of Gen. Zahedi who was believed to be hiding in the scrub-covered hills of Northern Teheran. At a secret rendezvous there he was reported to have issued to the Press photostat copies of an imperial decree purporting to be a letter from the Shah appointing him Prime Minister. The Government announced a reward of 100,000 rials for information leading to the arrest of Gen. Zahedi, who issued a statement saying that he was the legal Prime Minister and asked the security forces to obey his orders.

Dr. Fatemi, the Foreign Minister, told Pressmen in Teheran on August 17 that Iran had no intention of proclaiming herself a republic and Dr. Mossadeq was officially reported to have been considering forming a Regency Council to act in the absence of the Shah.

For the moment the Mossadeq regime looked like surviving the shock. But it was overthrown by another royalist coup on August 19. Royalist troops overpowered the supporters of Mossadeq and seized Teheran. The Shah was cabled to come back. Dr. Fatemi, the Foreign Minister, was reported to have been 'torn to pieces' but was subsequently reported to be in hiding. Dr. Mossadeq escaped and remained in hiding and later on surrendered after it had been announced that he would not be killed.

Demonstrators supporting the Shah burned buildings in the centre of Teheran and also set fire to a Theatre used by the Communist Party and wrecked a Russian shop.

Ayatullah Kashani and Hussein Makki, former supporters of Dr. Mossadeq, came out in support of the new regime.

On receiving the news of the overthrow of the Mossadeq Government, the Shah declared from Rome that he would return when the news was confirmed. He said: "This is not an insurrection. We now have a legal Government. Gen. Zahedi is the Prime Minister I appointed." He said that with the exception of the Communists, 99 per cent of the population were for him. He said that he had left the country to avoid bloodshed. In reply to a question he said that he had no reason to go to England. Regarding relations with the U.K., he said: "Our differences with the British remain. But any nation which would recognize our supreme interest and our sovereignty, and which tries to have decent relations based upon mutual respect, would have no difficulty in establishing normal relations with our people."

The Shah returned to Teheran on August 22. In an interview prior to his arrival he declared: "The Anglo-Iranian exists no more in Iran. The oil has been

and remains, nationalized." He was contemplating radical reforms, he said, and was going to start again the distribution of his personal fortune according to a programme he had himself chalked out.

Dr. Mossadeq had been arrested on August 20 along with Dr. Moazami, former Speaker of the Majlis and member of Dr. Mossadeq's oil nationalization team; Dr. Ghulam Hussain Sadiqi, Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Sayed Ali Shayegan, another member of the oil nationalization team. They were arrested from the house of Dr. Moazami.

The new Premier, General Zahedi, presented his Cabinet to the Shah on August 23, in which he himself retained the portfolio of Minister of War and Minister of Interior. The Cabinet included a number of former Premier Ali Razmara's colleagues as well as some from Dr. Mossadeq's Cabinet.

The new Government would continue the present Soviet-Iranian talks, Gen. Zahedi said. The Government announced on August 24 that all oil contracts made by the previous Government to sell oil to Japan and Italy at reduced rates would be fulfilled.

Reuter reports: "Resumption of parliamentary activity in the country might take the form of a new Senate being formed immediately rather than the old Senate being revived. The Senate consists of 60 members, half of whom could be nominated immediately by the Shah.

"Elections for a few seats might be held to provide the requisite quorum. This would be followed by elections for the suspended constituencies of the Lower House."

It was also reported that Britain had told the U.S.A. that she would fully support an American emergency dollar grant to Iran to help the consolidation of the new regime of General Zahedi. President Eisenhower had expressed full support to the new Government.

Earlier on August 15, the *Bombay Chronicle's* Teheran correspondent wrote: "As Iran is preparing for a fresh General Election, after the dissolution of the 17th Parliament on the strength of the results of the referendum, the cold war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union in this country has been fully intensified, and observers believe the present one would be a decisive round . . ."

The correspondent further wrote: "The United States seems to have changed its policy towards Iran almost completely and the increasing accusation by U.S. diplomats of the regime of Dr. Mossadeq is interpreted by informed quarters as an 'open offensive in the process of being launched against the present Government of Iran.' . . ." (*Bombay Chronicle*, August 19, 1953).

Commenting on the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq's Government, the *Leader* wrote on August 22 that it would be regretted by progressive forces in Iran. The paper said that "intervention of the Iranian army in

politics does not augur well for the future of Iran." It characterised as "false" the allegation that Dr. Mossadeq was pro-Communist and considered it was wrong on the part of the U.S. Government to stop American economic aid because Iran had not been amenable to British wishes. Reiterating that Dr. Mossadeq had the popular backing, the paper said: "It is the army and the reactionary section of the people who have overthrown Dr. Mossadeq. If there is a fair and free election, Dr. Mossadeq will sweep the polls as he did last year."

The Foreign Policy of Indonesia

Djakarta (WP).—When Premier Wilopo returned his mandate to President Sukarno of Indonesia early in June, he had one satisfaction: for 14 months he had maintained a government, a longer time than any predecessor. But Wilopo was heading into a long series of difficulties as he and others sought to establish a successor regime.

Asia's newest republic is having its troubles. Many observers are pessimistic about the future. Dutch colonialists, of course, still hope the Indonesian people will admit their inability to govern themselves and will request the Netherlands to return. Federalists who spurn the van Mook divisions of the state (in the United States of Indonesia period) as a means of continuing Dutch control, believe the Republic must retrace its steps by granting the regions a large measure of self-rule. The central government is unable to suppress the bands in West Java which have been killing, burning and looting nightly; some of these are Islamic terrorists whose aim is to establish a theocracy by force; some are Communist-inspired; many are simply people who would rather rob than work.

There are conflicts within the army. National income does not equal necessary expenditures. The dependence of the people on selling a few products, such as rubber, tin and copra does not afford a sufficient spread to protect the nation's economy against fluctuations in world prices. There is as yet no representative parliament: politicians can only guess at the real popular will. Yet the Nationalist Party refused to back the policy of the government with respect to land distribution in Sumatra on the ground that it was against "the will of the people." The low literacy rate (some put it at only eight per cent) complicates the holding of national elections. The country's adherence to an independent foreign policy prevents it from securing adequate help from either of the two world blocs.

Yet a conviction prevails that if any land of Southeast Asia will survive, it will be Indonesia. With only a few trained leaders, the country is doing the best it can, on far too little, and that alone is ground for some encouragement. There is no whining, no "itching palm" for foreign gifts. In spite of all, the country believes in itself and generally in its future. Whoever picks up Wilopo's mandate, however, will have no easy job.

Dr. Mohammad Hatta, Vice-President of Indonesia, in an article in the *Foreign Affairs*, writes that the foreign policy of Indonesia is based on the *Panchasila*, the five postulates that constituted the basic national philosophy of Indonesia. The *Panchasila*, contained in the preamble to the constitution, carried the acknowledgement that the Indonesian Republic was based upon the belief in Divine Omnipotence, humanism, nationalism, democracy and social justice. Acknowledging the Divine Omnipotence, however, did not mean that Indonesia was a theocratic State but that the majority of the Indonesian people believed "in God, and as a corollary, acknowledge the existence of certain moral values."

In accordance with the provisions in the constitution of the Republic, the Government of Indonesia was to work for the inclusion of the Republic of Indonesia in international organizations.

The Republic was following a foreign policy designed to strengthen world peace and international co-operation and non-alignment with either of the power-blocs. The objectives in foreign policy were to defend the freedom of the people and guard the safety of the State; to obtain necessary capital and consumer goods from overseas for national reconstruction and betterment of the standard of living of the people; to strengthen principles of international law and to aid in achieving social justice on an international scale, in line with the U. N. Charter, in particular by endeavouring within the U. N. framework to help colonial people achieve freedom. The objective laid special emphasis on initiating good relations with neighbouring countries, the majority of which had in the past occupied a position similar to Indonesia.

The present world conditions of *apartheid* and cold war did not encourage ideals of world brotherhood. But the Indonesians believed in the common-sense of mankind, which desired peace, and were therefore confident that their ideals would be achieved in the long run. The desire to strengthen forces of world peace had impelled Indonesia to keep out of the power-blocs and explained "Why it is not prepared to participate in any third bloc designed to act as counterpoise of the two giant blocs."

This non-alignment did not mean that Indonesia was neutral. On the contrary, she was committed to international solidarity. As a member of the United Nations, Indonesia could not adopt an attitude of neutrality. But because international solidarity had not yet been achieved and the world was cracked into two pieces, under present conditions, Indonesia would remain neutral, in case, a war broke out. "Indonesia plays no favourites between the two opposed blocs and follows its own path through the various international problems. It terms this policy 'independent,' and further characterizes it by describing it as 'independent' and 'active.' By active is meant the effort to work energetically for the pre-

servation of peace and the relaxation of tension generated by the two blocs, through endeavours supported, if possible, by the majority of the members of the United Nations." This independent policy kept her from enmity with either party, preserved her from taking sides, and permitted her to be friends with all nations on a basis of mutual respect.

Dr. Hatta writes that the foundation of that policy had been laid by the Indonesian Government in 1948, while it had been still engaged in a struggle against the Netherlands. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Wilopo, had redefined the Government's policy and had declared that "the Republic of Indonesia has decided to adopt an independent attitude in the sense that

(a) It does not permanently take sides by pledging itself to either of the two blocs which are in controversy with each other;

(b) It does not pledge itself permanently to keep aloof or to remain neutral in every incident which may arise out of controversy between the two blocs."

This "independent attitude" was of a positive nature in the sense that in the event of a problem arising out of the controversy of the two contending camps "the Republic of Indonesia will continue to base its attitude on its independence of action taking into consideration

(a) Its own conception of its aim and purpose as a sincere, loyal and serious member of the United Nations, and

(b) Its belief in the importance of this State and nation as a factor of great influence in the immediate as well as remote future."

Indonesia's military strength was insufficient for her self-defence. Therefore, her foreign policy aimed to prevent the country from being attacked. "Indonesians believe," writes Dr. Hatta, "that this possibility of attack will be minimized so long as the country adheres to its independent policy and actively tries to prevent the outbreak of World War III."

Her internal objective situation also had tended to lead Indonesia to adopt this line of foreign policy. The primary task facing the Government was internal consideration after so many years of wars and disorganization. "A foreign policy that aligned the country with either bloc of Great Powers would render this internal task infinitely more difficult." She needed to keep on friendly with all nations for economic reasons also.

East and West Germany

What is the situation like, now, after the riots in East Germany? How will things shape now the Soviets have got their zone under control? The *Worldover Press* reports are as follows, as made on July 10:

Time alone will tell whether the Russians, now ruling sternly under martial law, will go back to a harsh

policy or eventually relax and resume their peace tactics. There is widespread expectation that the latter course will be followed. History indicates that once a dictatorship begins to abandon its toughness, the lid is off, and there must be further concessions. Two days before the riots, High Commissioner Semeonov had begun a program of greater co-operation; passports were freely granted, and those who had left farms in the East were told they could have them back, unmolested. Notwithstanding severe Russian controls, there have been numerous concessions to the East Germans, and it is widely believed that the harsh discipline now invoked by the Russians is directed as much against the inept Grotewohl East German regime as against pro-Westerners. If there are the usual purges and a new set-up is worked out, a regimen of moderation is anticipated, with the emphasis again on German unification.

CAN GERMAN UNITY BE ACHIEVED ?

Suppose the best and most incredible thing should happen, asks German affairs expert Joachim Joesten, reporting to *Worldover Press*, and the Kremlin pulled its troops out of East Germany and permitted free elections? The outcome is certain—an *Anschluss* of the Soviet Zone to the Federal Republic. What then?

Western Germany has retained its traditional form of federal government and is composed of nine *laender* or states. Eastern Germany, which also started out as a federal republic, wiped out the traditional state lines in August, 1952, and is now divided into 14 *bezirke* or districts, named after their chief cities. If East Germany were added to West Germany, it would by itself make too big a state, arousing fears of its predominance; yet each of the 14 districts would be too small to constitute a state.

The new electoral law adopted by West Germany would reduce the Communist vote in East Germany still further. And in the economic field the task of finding a common denominator is appalling. The drastic land reform of 1945 has radically changed the face of Eastern Germany; former large estates have been cut up into small farmsteads grouped in co-operatives. Tens of thousands of "big peasants" have fled to the West and if the country is reunited they will clamor for the return of their properties, while the new settlers will fight to stay. East Germany's mines and factories have been expropriated; how can they be turned back? Perhaps a capitalist and a Communist society can co-exist, but can they be welded together into an integral whole?

When and if unification takes place, another formidable problem looms. A hint of it may be found in a pamphlet just issued by the Bonn "Ministry for All-German Affairs." It is wrong, this publication suggests, to refer to the Soviet Zone of occupation as "Eastern Germany." Rather, it should be called "Central Germany," for to the east of it are other provinces, now under Polish administration, that once belonged to the Reich, and will, perhaps, again.

Korean Political Conference

The four-nation proposal recommending India's participation in the coming political conference on Korea was passed by the U.N. Political Committee by 27 votes to 21 with 11 abstentions. Those voting against the proposal included Pakistan, the USA and Latin American countries. The margin, in favour of India's participation, if maintained in the General Assembly, would not be enough for a two-third majority. It was mainly due to strong U.S. opposition to the proposal that it failed to secure two-thirds majority in the Political Committee.

The proposal to invite Soviet Russia to participate in the Political Conference was adopted by 55 to 2, with two abstentions.

The main Allied resolution setting up the Korean peace Conference was approved in full by the U.N. Committee by 42 to five, with 12 abstentions.

The Soviet proposal for a 15-nation Conference was rejected.

There had been much wrangling inside the Political Committee as well as behind the scenes over the scope and composition of the Conference. The United States delegate put forward the point of view that the Conference should be limited to the powers contributing armed forces in Korea. This view was challenged by the British delegate and many others. They said that the U.N. was the party and the U.N. should participate in the talks. Then there was the stubborn opposition of the U.S. delegate to the proposal inviting India's participation in the Conference. In it her main supporter was the delegate from South Korea, who indulged in a diatribe against India in which India was charged with complicity with the Communists and scheming behind the backs of U.N. Mr. Pyun Yung Tao, the South Korean Foreign Minister, in a speech before the Committee on August 24, stated that South Korea found it impossible to collaborate with India on the same side. He accused India of being in 'mortal fear' of Communist China. India had appeased Communism and had not sent a single soldier to Korea. But she had now willingly dispatched thousands of troops to guard "the Kremlin" created in Korea, where defenceless anti-Communist prisoners "will be indoctrinated or brain-washed into Communism for many long months."

India was assiduously "laying schemes" to enhance the prestige of the Chinese Communists by inviting them into the U.N. and "handing Formosa" over to them. "With or without collusion with the enemy India master-minded an arrangement for the exchange of prisoners of war which was calculated to carry out the forced detention and forced repatriation of all anti-Communist prisoners to which so much ostentatious and hypocritical aversion was displayed," Mr. Pyun said.

"This is treachery of the first magnitude to be shown to a well-meaning neighbouring people," he declared.

"From the knowledge of how India has been behaving in Kashmir, my delegation gravely doubts whether

India would live up to the high moral standard it seems to expect the Republic of Korea to practise," he said.

The South Korean delegate was stopped and reproved, and not allowed to continue with his idiotic statements.

Sir Gladwin Jebb, the British delegate, said on August 26, "We think that India should participate in the Political Conference since she is not only a great Asian State, but it is also in a particularly good position to play a constructive role. After all, if it had not been for the efforts which the Indian Government made to persuade the Peking Government to accept what the majority of members of the Assembly thought was an honourable solution of the prisoners of war difficulty, we might well not at this moment be reaching back our prisoners of war."

The whole controversy was terminated by India's withdrawal as reported in the news below:

New York, Aug. 28.—India to-day dramatically withdrew her name from consideration as a member of the Korean Peace Conference.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, the Indian delegate, asked the United Nations General Assembly not to press the resolution recommending a seat for India at the conference. His request came just before the Assembly was due to vote on the issue.

Mr. Menon said he hoped that the Assembly would not force the resolution concerning India to an issue.

The Assembly's Political Committee yesterday approved a recommendation that India should take part by a vote of 27 to 21 with 11 abstentions. This would not have been enough to have given India the necessary two-thirds vote in the Assembly.

As Mr. Menon left the rostrum the Assembly delegates warmly applauded him.

Mr. Menon told the Assembly that India's action was motivated by the consideration of creating the proper atmosphere for what he described as the "post-armistice period."

The recommendation that India should go to the conference was made by Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and had been strongly opposed by the United States.

Britain and the United States split in the vote in the Political Committee yesterday. India's withdrawal today obviated another Anglo-American division in the Assembly.

Mr. Menon declared that India had not been subjected to any pressure by Britain or any of the sponsors of the resolution.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, the United States delegate, immediately paid a tribute to Mr. Menon for a "generous and statesmanlike" attitude.

Mr. Lodge said, Mr. Menon's statement that the purposes of peace would best be served by not forcing the resolution on Indian participation to a vote in the Assembly is generous and it is statesmanlike.

"His desire in his own words not to add to the heat

a great representative of a great leader of a great nation," said Mr. Lodge.

"It is the kind of spirit which gives us hope for the future. Our position on this question was not directed at India as such. On the contrary we feel deeply that at any later discussions or conferences on Far Eastern matters, India must play a central and constructive role."

Mr. Leslie Munro of New Zealand, one of the sponsors of the recommendation for Indian participation, announced on behalf of the sponsors that in view of Mr. Menon's statement he would ask the Assembly President not to put the matter to a vote.

Mr. Munro said that India had not sought a place at the conference. If India had been given a place she could have given valuable service.

"We desired India to play her part and profoundly regret she is unable to do so," Mr. Munro said.

The representatives of the 16-member nation listened attentively as Mr. Menon began by saying that the main resolution on the setting up of the conference sponsored by 15 of the 16 countries which sent troops to Korea "contains the possibilities of bringing about the desirable results which should flow from the armistice, given goodwill on all sides and if the extensive possibilities are fully explored."

This was not the time to enter into controversies, Mr. Menon said.

India's approach to the matter he said was that "we are in a post-armistice period; we are marching towards peace rather than merely stopping the war."

India's own understanding was that the Chinese peoples and North Korean governments would approach the problem "in a mood of reasonableness and a desire to bring about a peaceful settlement."

For all these reasons Mr. Menon said India had not participated in the vote in the committee on the setting up of the conference.

That was not because India did not have any views or concern or was indifferent.

"But there are times when even silence is service," said Mr. Menon. "This is one of those occasions when even those who 'stand and wait' perform a service."

He asked that in the record of the proceedings of the committee the position of India would be recorded as not having participated in the vote. It would appear in the present report, said Mr. Menon, as though India had been absent.

The Situation in Indonesia

Giving the background of the protracted Cabinet crisis in Indonesia, S. Kenglov writes that Indonesia was facing an economic crisis. Agricultural production was declining. Unemployment was on the increase as a result of closing down of many plants unable to bear foreign competition. The foreign trade deficit was on the increase and reached the figure of 1,636 million

Mr. Kenglov ascribes this state of affairs to the fact that "Indonesia's economy is still controlled by foreign capital, which is interested solely in extracting the highest profit. The chief exploiter of the Indonesian people is Dutch capital, it controls some 80 per cent of all the foreign investments in the Republic and in 1951 netted a profit of 518 million guilders."

The Republic's economy was keenly feeling the adverse effects of the Washington-imposed Ban on trade with China. Rubber was Indonesia's key product. In a good year, the Republic produced 700,000 tons of rubber, over 8 million people depended for their livelihood on the rubber industry, which also brought in 51 per cent of all the foreign exchange.

Referring to the recent Cabinet crisis in Indonesia he writes that the Wilopo Cabinet had resigned because its Masjumi members had tried to return the Sumatra plantations, taken over by the peasants, to the Dutch planters, and restore the rights of Bataafsche Petroleum to the Sumatra oil fields. Masjumi had also resisted the popular demand for measures against the communal Dar-ul-Islam bands.

Four-Power Conference

The Governments of the U.S.A., U.K. and France, following decisions taken at the Washington Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three countries, had invited the Soviet Union at a Four-Power Conference at the end of September to discuss "organization of free elections in the Federal Republic, the Eastern zone of Germany and in Berlin;" and "conditions for the establishment of a free all-German Government, with freedom of action in national and international affairs." The notes, delivered on July 15, said that those were essential steps which must precede the opening of discussions with the Soviet Government for a German peace treaty. It was also stated that at the first meeting agreement should finally be reached on the Austrian treaty.

In a reply, delivered to the Western Powers on August 5, the Soviet Union declared her readiness to join a Four-Power Conference, but stated, she considered the participation of the Chinese Peoples' Republic as essential. The Soviet Union insisted that the agenda of the discussion must be widened and should include both Europe and Asia, and a discussion of measures for easing international tension including reduction of armaments and the prohibition of military bases on the territory of foreign States. The note said that with the "cessation of the war in Korea and conclusion of an armistice, favourable conditions have been created of securing relaxation of international tension." The primary responsibility for maintaining peace and international security rested—the U.N. Charter provided for it—with the five Powers, the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Soviet Union and Peoples' Republic of China.

The reply said that the notes of the Western Powers avoided the fundamental question of the "national unification of Germany and conclusion of a peace treaty." The suggestion for an all-German election, the proposal to appoint an impartial commission of representatives of foreign States for investigation with a view to creating the conditions necessary for the holding of such elections would "not only fail to assist the unification of Germany, the foundation of an all-German democratic government and the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, but would have Germany divided into a Western and an Eastern part and would continue to delay the conclusion of a peace treaty. The reply also pointed to the dangers of remilitarization of Western Germany.

However, the Soviet Government attached "great importance to joint discussion by the Powers of the German question and hopes that such discussion will enable comprehensive examination of pertinent problems relating to the re-establishment of German unity and together with the solution of the question of a peace treaty with Germany, will conduce to the consolidation of peace in Europe."

The reaction of the British Foreign Office was that the Soviet reply was not a rejection of the proposals for a conference of Foreign Ministers. To that extent it was welcomed.

The *Times* reports that unofficial U.S. sources had expressed disappointment that the Russians had made no reference to the question of timing of the proposed talks. The *Times'* Washington correspondent says that it was noted with concern "that the Russians seem to be proposing a conference which is not only very much broader in scope than that envisaged in the Western invitation but which would seem also to depend on certain conditions, including agreement to discuss the question of 'banning of foreign military bases on territories of alien countries'—in other words, to discuss the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance which the U.S.A. is determined to avoid." (*Statesman*, August 8).

Commenting on the suggestion contained in the Soviet reply to the Western note, the London *Economist* writes: "But on such general matters the Allies would do best to say again they see no point in talking about each and every cause of international tension until they have tested possibility of negotiation and agreement about the main one, Germany. They cannot contemplate for a moment, Sir Winston Churchill least of all, another Yalta in which the great Powers attempt global bargaining—what the Russian Note calls 'a free discussion of the ripe international problems.'"

"Nothing would divide the Allies more quickly than any such conference; and it must remain the prime object of the Russian Government, however

sincerely it may seek a *detente*, to divide the United States from Britain and Europe."

The *New Statesman and Nation* wrote on August 8: "If the Western Powers could fairly be charged with making difficulties in seeking to confine the conference to the almost insoluble problem of Germany, the Soviet Union gives the impression of making her tactical purposes an equally unhelpful *riposte*. With the agenda widened to include the whole world from the Sakhalin Islands to Casablanca, the sort of conference for which the Russians are now asking would give limitless scope for mutual recriminations and reciprocal barrages of propaganda."

The *Observer* writes that the "immediate task of diplomacy today" was restoration of confidence between the Soviet Union and the West. The difficulties of a European settlement, though real and manifold, were not unprecedented and insurmountable. Suggesting a way in which this task might be furthered the paper proposed a meeting of Foreign Ministers provided it preserved "a measure of informality and a still greater measure of privacy and seclusion." The paper lay great stress on the secrecy of the talks and writes that if the Foreign Ministers' Conference could not guarantee that secrecy, the Powers should resume diplomatic contacts and discussions through ambassadors which had the advantage of being less spectacular and arousing fewer public expectations.

Wastage in Industry

While delivering the Acharya P. C. Roy Memorial Lecture on "Development and Utilisation of Scientific Talent in India" held under the auspices of the Indian Chemical Society at Bombay, Dr. J. N. Mukherji said that the country was annually losing about Rs. 100 crores due to the faulty process of recovery of sugar from the cane in the manufacture of *gur* and *lhandsari*, reports the *Bombay Chronicle* on August 10.

"Dr. Mukherji stressed the importance of a scientific policy for the State which alone could tackle the problems of poverty and under-development facing the country. Recalling the vital role played by unofficial scientific institutions in promoting science and making available the fruits of science to the industry and the people at large in the Western countries, the lecturer pleaded for greater help to and better recognition of such institutions in the country."

"While welcoming the policy of the Government to accelerate the progress of industrialisation of the country with the help of foreign experts, Dr. Mukherji warned the authorities that there were a number of lines of development where such co-operation might not be available in the absence of common fields of interests if the interests collided."

He said that this dependence of the exploitation of our resources on outside help was likely to make our industrial advancement lopsided and unbalanced. He pleaded for building up the scientific, technical, technological and engineering potential of the country. The expenditure would repay the outlay many times more and quickly.

The Press in Pakistan

Discussing the condition of the Press in Pakistan, *Star's* special correspondent writes that the Press in Pakistan was very weak because the number of readers were restricted on account of high illiteracy and because of low incomes from advertisements, which were only a few, owing to the lack of industrial development. As a result the newspapers had to depend upon foreign firms for advertisements and, in fact, more than half of the entire advertisement revenue earned by newspapers in Pakistan came from establishments owned and run by foreign interests. "And advertisement money is not merely money! It is much more," writes the special correspondent. "Advertisers have been known to wield considerable influence stifling the truth. In our country if this baneful influence is a little more pronounced, it should not be surprising at all."

The other most disturbing element was the influence of politicians on newspapers or newspaper editors. "Most of the newspaper proprietors are running newspapers not as newspapers but as just another instrument to queer the pitch in their favour, be it in the field of politics or in some other field." Then there was too much interference by the proprietors. The journalists had no security of service. They had to say *ditto* to whatever the proprietor asked to write or to quit their services. Dismissals and resignations were frequent.

Such a situation could not fail to tell on the efficiency and ultimately on the financial position of the newspapers. "And from here there are only two ways open to the newspapers: to close down and bury the whole affair or to rake up money somehow to keep the disaster at bay."

"Money obtained 'somehow' is seldom productive of pleasant results. If not earlier, the newspaper finds itself in an alley when there is only one way out—blackmail, which we call irresponsible journalism."

The working journalist had no say in any matter. "The fact is that an average pressman seldom shares the vices of the press and equally seldom his virtues are afforded an opportunity to shine through the printed sheets you read as newspapers in Pakistan."

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

(Specially written for *The Modern Review*)

I

A large, first floor chamber in an opulent, exclusive neighbourhood in Calcutta was lined with books from floor almost to ceiling, save for the doors and windows. In the centre near the wall farthest from the front, way below which the city traffic ceaselessly flowed, was set an outsize, stout chair. It was none too big for the huge, heavily moustached occupant. So filled with learning, Eastern and Western alike, was he, Asutosh Mookerjee, that his admirers—and their number was legion—spoke of him as the *avatara* (incarnation) of Sarasvati (the goddess of Wisdom) in this *Kaliyuga* (the iron age).

From him my eyes wandered towards the figure that, following my entry, had noiselessly glided into the Presence and stood with bowed head, ears attuned to some message or mandate. In build and feature the two bore unmistakable similitude. In years they were a generation apart.

This was, I learnt, Syama, the second son of the celebrated jurist, lawyer, linguist, scientist and, above all, educationist—Dr. Asutosh Mookerjee. By virtue of native intelligence and by dint of hard, conscientious work, the moustached Sarasvati had earned the title to append almost half of the alphabet to his name.

Possibly because of his size, the son looked remarkably mature, though he had but entered his twenties. His attitude towards the author of his being impressed and pleased me. Adoration was writ large upon his face. Eyes, ears, hands and feet were all eagerly devoted to the service of that embodiment of erudition he evidently loved more than life.

This was in 1921-23. I was back in India after my second globe-girdling—a decade spent largely in Europe.

An encounter had taken place shortly before between Asutosh and the satrap set up by Dame Britannia to rule in her name over Bengal. Of that set-to, many tales were current. Lord Lytton, whom I had met in my early days of English journalism, and who shared my interest in penology, had inherited Bulwer's brain as well as the title. He had authority at his back, too. Yet he did not have the best of the bout with his Bengali Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who would brook no interference with his administration of the institution, veiled or open.

I had a job of work in hand that kept me in

Calcutta for weeks, so I had some opportunity of observing the second son of that formidable personage. What under-study was more advantageously placed, I asked myself, or albeit was more capable of benefiting from that opportunity?

II

Fifteen years had bubbled up from Eternity's cauldron and had been sucked back into it before my gypsy feet were once again treading the Calcutta side-walks. In the meantime Syama had graduated from the University, had gone to Britain (while I was living somewhere else), there had pursued his legal studies, eaten his dinners, been called to the Bar, attended some conferences as the representative of his *alma mater* and returned to his natal city. He had shown no great keenness to practise law but had taken with avidity to educational administration. At three and thirty he had been inducted into the office that had given his father the spring-board for exalting Bengal.

Several letters typed on the Vice-Chancellor's letter-paper with Syama's bold, clear, firm signature, had been winged my way. Familiar with my writings from his school days, when he had devoured them as they appeared in *The Modern Review* and other Indian magazines, the epistles had been couched in terms that warmed the cockles of my heart. They whetted my desire to renew acquaintance with him.

I would fain have gone to meet him in his office or in his home : but he insisted that on the first occasion he must call on me. I appreciated his sentiment and respected his wish.

The difficulty was that just at that moment I had no fixed abode. I was, in fact, occupying what my good lady, in her expressive Americanese, called our "palace on wheels." My railway friends, who in the kindness of their hearts, had placed it at my disposal so that we may travel in comfort, had ordered it to be parked at a platform in the Howrah station, next the street. So airily dismissing her qualms born of propriety, I made an appointment for Syama to call one afternoon.

When railway men happen to be in the right mood they, in the words of the jingle, are

"...very, very good,

And when they are bad they are horrid."

That "O.C." (in their cant "officer's carriage") was "some" carriage indeed. It was, if I remember aright, 69 feet long and ran, I believe, over twelve wheels. There was a huge compartment that served as drawing-cum-dining-room during

the day and bed-room at night, in addition to another large bedroom across the entrance-aisle. The bath, I seem to recall, was seven feet long and four feet wide. The train in motion at anything like top speed set up such a wave action that I, used to a much humbler mode of living, never dared to get into it unless the saloon was parked at a siding. There was, however, another tub elsewhere which was much more like the one that a frequenter of (English and other) landlady's lodging houses was accustomed to. In addition to the two large bedrooms there were rooms for the secretary and staff and next to the lesser bath room a "cabin" for the servants almost as large as a first-class compartment, as was also the luggage room. Beyond it was the kitchen—roomy, light and airy, fitted with a real cook stove. This was my delight, for the recipes that appear in my cookery articles are all evolved by me and tested before they go into print.

Just as the hour set for Syama's coming was striking the floor of the carriage rocked, not too gently. The tea-things clattered.

"Oh, dear!" exclaimed my wife with some petulance, "oh, dear! they are moving the saloon again."

"What difference does it make?" I, no less disturbed, said in a tone calculated to soothe her nerves much jangled by prolonged "rambuncting" (to use her own expressive Americanese).

"You apparently have forgotten," she almost shrieked at me, "that an important caller is just about due. You told him that he would find this 'palace on wheels' parked alongside the No. 10 platform at the Howrah station. He, therefore, would have no difficulty in finding us."

This was only too true. The saloon was in motion while this colloquy proceeded. By the it was well into the yard. Except for a cabin from which men ever on the look-out manipulated levers that, according to the need of the split-second, shifted points, there was nothing in sight but rails, shining in the westering sun and carriages and waggons on some of them.

Alarmed—genuinely alarmed—Mrs. Singh gloomily predicted: "He will come and, finding no saloon at the spot you named, will go whence he came. Even if some one perchance tells him where this blessed carriage has been shifted to, he will never be able to locate it in this—wilderness—wilderness of rails. So that is that."

"A man who had the wits and the energy to climb into the seat of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University at an age when many of us have not finished cutting our wisdom teeth," I assured her, "would not be fazed by this little move for which there is doubtless good and ample cause. More than likely the Station Superintendent's

eye will pick Syama out of the multitude and he will personally conduct your august visitor to us. I promise you that you will presently see his smiling face beaming at you from that door through which he will be entering."

Sure enough. That was exactly what happened. Hardly were the words out of my mouth when there was a click and the door near which my good lady was sitting swung upon the carefully greased hinges and a man entered. From the size of the head I could recognize it as Syama's.

A bare head it was. Somewhat closely cropped.

A giant he looked as he, upon entering, straightened himself, advanced towards Mrs. Singh, bowed, shook hands and expressed his joy at seeing her. There was nothing of the lackadaisical Oriental in his step, speech or handshake.

As he next greeted me I saw how much he had matured since our last meeting. His manhood was, certainly, in flower.

"Our brother Asutosh has left us," I remarked, "since we were last in Calcutta."

"He died in 1924—on May 25th," he replied.

"The greatest tribute that ever was paid to him," I remarked, "emanated from Lord Lytton. Unconsciously, no doubt. When your father and he had scarcely ceased measuring swords, he, seated in the study in that grand mansion in Calcutta built in imitation of the Cuzonian country seat, confided in me:

Lytton: "If the schemes that you have in mind go through, the number of persons who would have passed through the portals of the University would outrun the number of jobs. You would hardly credit the remark he made."

Asutosh: "I shall not mind."

Lytton: "Not mind unemployment among the educated?"

Asutosh: "Precisely."

Lytton: "Why?"

Asutosh: "Don't you say over there that discontent is divine?"

"You see," commented Lytton, "Asutosh Mookerjee wishes to shake the very foundations of *pax Britannica* in the East."

Syama, who had not heard of this passage at arms, was patently impressed with it.

"You must write Father's *Life*," he said, with that downrightness that I had already learnt to associate with him. He seemed to know his mind—to possess the faculty of making up his mind quickly—resolutely.

I thanked him politely.

"No, no," he said, "this is no new brain-wave on my part."

"Indeed, no," interposed Mrs. St. Nihal Singh, "I remember you mentioned it in a letter—or was it in more than one?"

Bubbling with joy at this, he began to outline the book, child of the slow-moving East though he was supposed to be.

"There were four sides to Father," he explained, "at least four, each more or less distinct from the others."

"Firstly, there was the scientist. He had the mathematician's brain. In his B.A. he had worked out a problem that astonished mathematicians abroad. With that foundation he could have become a great physicist had he so willed—or tried to be."

"Secondly, there was his linguistic, literary side. His mastery over English did not so occupy his mind that he did not become proficient in Sanskrit. This was evident from the ease with which he won two degrees in Sanskrit learning. He had taken pains to learn all these as well as Bengali. What I must not fail to add is that he could use to effect all these languages both by word of mouth and by pen. This was indeed remarkable."

"Thirdly, after gaining distinction in his chosen profession, he went from the Bar to the Bench. The questions he put, the points he elucidated, were admired by the most eminent counsel, both in India and in Britain. The judgments he handed down were noteworthy equally for their grasp of law, appreciation of the finest points of law and equity, brevity, lucidity and precision of language."

"Fourthly and perhaps greatest of all, he was an educationist. As syndic of the University during his early years he made a mark. His terms of Vice-Chancellorship enabled him practically to rebuild that institution by developing science and technology, philosophy, culture, art and literature. He gave a new direction to life in Bengal. His keenness for the adoption of the mother-tongue as the vehicle of education was already exercising a profound influence before he passed away."

"Not the least good that he did was to fish out young men of promise and give them the opportunity to develop their gifts. Father installed a young Andhra at the University as head of the philosophic side. By his intellectual gifts and work Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan acquired a world-wide reputation. C. V. Raman was persuaded to leave the Accounts Department, where he had brilliant prospects, and devote himself to science, though to begin with he would be financially worse off. Meghnad Saha, too, he encouraged. You will observe that he did not confine himself to Bengal, but sought his men wherever he could find them."

III

"How about your own work at the University?" I asked. "There you have come into a great inheritance."

Almost everything Syama had to say about the University was associated in one way or another with his illustrious sire. His only thought was to go on consolidating and extending the work Asutosh had inaugurated. Fortunately no one in the wide world knew so well as, through association with him, Syama did of the plans that administrator had in mind when he vacated the Vice-Chancellor's chair. It was all to the good that the son who now occupied the chair relinquished by his sire carried the blue-print in his head.

More than that, he had ideas of his own. Born in the initial year of this century, brought up in an atmosphere of acute unrest—confusion—boy-cott—swadeshi—swaraj—and kindred waves, he had "urges" (as the Americans say). There also was the steadily accelerating tempo of the age. It had begun to go up with the Russo-Japanese war. The jazzed nerves—not only the jazzed music—that subsequently came in the wake of World War I. All this expressed itself in the matter of the time-table to which it seemed to me he had geared himself.

In the programme of what he wished to do that he outlined to me as we sat talking in that railway saloon on a siding at the Howrah station I noted that he was eager to develop the post-graduate teaching side of the University. Much had been done by his father. Much, however, remained to be done to put Calcutta University in the forefront in that domain.

I admired particularly the stress he was placing upon culture and art. He told me of the tour he had been making in Orissa, of the valuable figures and figurines he had been able to acquire. These he had put or was going to put in the University Museum.

The emphasis he placed upon the medium of education pleased me most of all. With the steps he had taken all teaching would soon be done, even in the graduate classes, through the Bengali. He seemed to derive much satisfaction from this achievement.

Had he found his *metier*?

Was he content with educational administration? Or did his heart hanker for . . . ?

We discussed these matters after he had taken leave of us and gone from the saloon long ere then taken back to the No. 10 platform. In discussing the state of Mother India, he had used a phrase more than once. It was "civil liberties." His mind seemed to be dwelling upon it. Of this more in the next article.

(Article Two of this series will appear in the October, 1953 issue of *The Modern Review*.—EDITOR.)

HISTORY AND GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.com.

II

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT DURING POST-WAR PERIOD

The abnormal conditions created by World War II led to some far-reaching developments in the co-operative movement. There has been an over-all improvement. Between 1938-39 and 1945-46, the increase in the number of societies, the number of members and the working capital have been respectively 41 per cent, 70 per cent and 54 per cent. Also the movement touched 6 per cent of the population in 1938-39 but 10 per cent in 1945-46. The war stimulated the growth of Consumers' Stores and Marketing Societies. Many new types of producers' societies like Weavers' Societies, Milk Supply Unions, Motor Transport Societies, Fruit Growers' and Cane Growers' Associations, etc., were formed during the war period. The credit societies extended their functions and the movement manifested its multi-purpose potentialities. Loan repayments were accelerated, turnover was brisk and working capital registered a substantial increase though not in proportion to the war-time inflation which means that a unique opportunity of augmenting working capital by increasing members' deposits was lost. Thus during the war, "with a large turnover, accelerated payments and shrinkage in the overdues the societies gained in strength and vigour." There was a temporary decline in the figures consequent on the partition, but the progress made subsequently has been so appreciable that the figures for 1949-50 have exceeded even the total for undivided India in 1945-46, the number, membership and working capital during 1949-50 having increased by 0.5 per cent, 37 per cent and 42 per cent respectively over 1945-46 figures.

The following table shows the development of the movement since 1909 up to date:

(See TABLE I on page 193)

Before we conclude this history of the co-operative movement in India we may point out its certain characteristic features:

Firstly, the co-operative movement in India has not sprung up from the people. It was initiated by the Government with a view to solve the problem of rural indebtedness; and even today it is based not on the voluntary efforts of the people determined to help themselves but on the Government support, which could not evoke the ready response and services of the young and the ardent, who looked with suspicion upon every movement so started. In the words of Mr. V. L. Mehta:

"Government are so out of touch with public feeling and sentiment that despite their control of the machinery of administration they fail in their efforts to seek an expansion of the movement."

In fact, it is not a spontaneous growth but a Government policy.¹¹ The distinction between co-

operation imposed by the Government and necessarily supervised, regulated, restricted and controlled on the one hand, and co-operation promoted by voluntary initiative and sustained by the co-operative spirit, which insures the loyalty of the members, on the other hand, cannot be over-emphasised.¹²

Secondly, started originally to provide the farmer with cheap credit, it has continued to this day a predominantly credit movement. So that the progress of non-credit co-operation has been slow and agricultural credit societies dominate the picture.

Thirdly, though there are inter-provincial differences, the structure of the co-operative organisation is uniform in almost all the provinces, *e.g.*, in each province at the head of the movement there are three authorities, *viz.*, the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies in charge of control and direction of the movement, Provincial or Apex Bank in charge of finance, and the Provincial Co-operative Institute or Union in charge of education and propaganda.

We close this note by quoting the remarks of the Reserve Bank of India in the following paragraphs:

"Apart from this general expansion, the working of the movement in recent years has been characterised by greater diversity of functions; co-operation has permeated several walks of life, some of which were perhaps no more than touched before. It has played an important part in the attempts to solve two big problems, *viz.*, the rehabilitation of displaced persons and the augmentation of the food production. The rehabilitation of displaced persons through the formation of co-operatives received a great fillip, owing mainly to the aid extended by the Government, in the shape of loans, grants-in-aid, cheap land building materials and similar other concessions. Housing, industrial and forming societies were generally encouraged so that the displaced persons could be settled in colonies and provided with gainful occupations. In the field of food production co-operatives were entrusted with the distribution of manures, chemical fertilisers and agricultural implements. Credit facilities were liberalised for the members of co-operative credit societies by such measures as the relaxation of credit limits, financing at concessional rates, installations of pumping sets and oil engines. Thus by the introduction of modern methods there was sought to be brought about both more intensive and extensive cultivation of land.

"The full-scale development of the multi-purpose idea in several States like Madras, Bombay, Mysore, U.P., is another notable trend in the primary credit structure. These societies were entrusted with the distribution of rationed and other essential commodities."

11. Horace Plunket Foundation: *Year Book of Agricultural Co-operation* (1930), p. 20.

12. *Ibid.*, (1931), p. 24.

TABLE I

All-India Progress of the Co-operative Movement since 1906-7

Period covered	Number of societies of all types		Number of Primary Society members		Working capital	
	Central	Primary	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Total (Rs. 1000)	Percentage of working capital owned
Average for 4 years from 1906-7 to 1909-10	17	1909	107643	54267	6812	21.8
Average for 5 years from 1910-11 to 1914-15	231	11555	459096	89157	54842	20.8
Average for 5 years from 1914-15 to 1919-20	942	27535	902930	266031	151847	24.7
Average for 5 years from 1920-21 to 1924-25	1808	55899	1661098	493509	363626	23.0
Average for 5 years from 1925-26 to 1929-30	1981	91955	2791562	897279	748913	22.8
Average for 5 years from 1930-31 to 1934-35	1612	104102	2063628	1258341	946106	27.2
Average for 5 years from 1935-36 to 1939-40	1129	115831	3437873	1638869	1046773	29.7
Average for 5 years from 1940-41 to 1944-45	1053	148835	4768173	2449632	1243474	29.9
1945-46	1064	171102	5642671	3520673	1640009	29.0
1946-47	139.14		91.01			
1947-48	149.77		101.07		1560001	
1948-49	163.88		127.07		1710006	
1949-50	173.09		125.61		23310000	

FUTURE TREND OF CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Reserve Bank of India has brought out a comprehensive review of the progress made by the Co-operative movement in India in the two years of 1948-50. The publication outlines the future trend of the movement into Multipurpose Co-operative Societies, which should embrace complete economic activity of the agricultural and labouring class within its fold. These, as given out in the said publication, are:

- (1) The Organisation of Multipurpose Societies,
- (2) Financial accommodation from the Reserve Bank to the Co-operative movement, and
- (3) The training and education of staff working in the departments and the co-operative institutions.

THE MULTIPURPOSE IDEA

"Even as early as 1937, the Reserve Bank of India stressed the importance of organising multipurpose co-operative societies in our country where numerous single-purpose societies could not be easily worked on an effective and economic basis; the multipurpose society could embrace the whole life of the agriculturist. It was explained how the credit societies were catering only to one of the needs of the agriculturist, viz., credit, and even then they could meet only a part of the requirements. The agriculturist was, therefore, still largely dependent on the village sowcar for marketing his goods, for supplying him with his necessities of life, viz., consumer goods and numerous other services that he was in need of. The result has been that the idea of effecting an economic regeneration of the Indian peasantry through co-operation has remained

unfulfilled. Co-operators, official and non-official, have become increasingly aware of the limited utility of single-purpose societies and during the past few years, the credit society has been yielding place to the multipurpose society. Several States have drawn up schemes of organising such multipurpose societies afresh or at least have begun to enlarge the functions of the existing credit societies by entrusting them with the work of distribution of essential goods to start with. The multipurpose idea has thus obtained a firm footing.

"It has, however, to be observed, that there has not so far been a clear-cut scheme for defining the scope and activities of all the institutions in the multipurpose hierarchy. While all are agreed that at the bottom the primary society should be multipurpose, dispensing credit, distributing supplies, looking after better sanitation, better living and so on. It has to be examined as to which institutions these primary multipurpose societies should be federated into, at the taluk or district level, and what should be the function of these federal agencies. The trend appears to be in the direction of having a federal organisation at the taluk level. In this connection, it may be observed that there is a tendency to combine banking and trading. No doubt the village multipurpose societies can and must do banking because the volume of transactions under each activity will not be so large as to imperil the interests of any other section to any dangerous extent. Further, it has been found necessary to secure the undivided loyalty of the villager to the Co-operative movement and in the absence of facilities to be loyal to the society. On the other hand, the taluka multi-

purpose society should be a purely trading concern and it would be preferable to exclude banking from it completely for several reasons: Firstly, its business would be sizable and its profits in certain lines or losses in others might be considerable at times. And, the societies may not only trade as agents of the primary societies but on their own also in some types of goods and such business would naturally carry risks. If, therefore, the trading side suffers on account of some speculation or undue risks taken by a society, such a failure may have serious repercussions on its banking side. Secondly, trading calls for special business talents, different from those needed for carrying on banking. An enterprising businessman need not necessarily be an able banker, but on the other hand, might even bring the banking side into a dangerous position. Thirdly, the taluka multipurpose society might not be able to attract deposits of all kinds, and the hope that it would develop into a first class taluk bank might not materialise. So much so the banking section may not be a profitable section and apart from unnecessarily mixing up trading and banking, may not by itself cater for the credit needs of the affiliated societies satisfactorily. And from the Reserve Bank of India's point of view also, it would be doubtful, if the numerous taluka multipurpose societies can run separate credit sections on absolutely banking lines, to be considered fit enough for giving the second good signature under Section 17(2)(b) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

"This would mean that the primary multipurpose societies would have to affiliate themselves to taluka multipurpose central financing agencies for their credit needs. And at the top, there would be the apex bank on the credit side and an apex society on the non-credit side. In short, the trading structure should be treated separately from the credit structure, and it is up to the Registrars of the States to clearly define the scope and functions of the various institutions, in the trading and credit hierarchy, in order to avoid mixing up of banking and trading."

RESERVE BANK AND THE MOVEMENT

"Another factor that has assumed increasing importance in recent years is the larger demand for funds made on the Reserve Bank of India by the Provincial Banks under Section 17(2)(b), (4)(a) and (4)(c) of the Reserve Bank of India Act. From Rs. 0.91 crores and Rs. 0.68 crores in 1947-48, the amount of loans applied and the amount sanctioned have increased to Rs. 4.82 crores and Rs. 2.14 crores in 1949-50 and still further to Rs. 10.46 crores and Rs. 7.62 crores respectively in 1950-51. The advances have been at concessional rates wherever they were utilised for financing seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops referred to in the Act. Recently, a few amendments have been made to the Reserve Bank of India Act with a view to liberalising the Bank's loan policy to the State Co-operative Banks. The amendments are:

(1) Section 17(2)(a) of the Reserve Bank of India Act, which relates to the discounting of bills arising out of bonafide commercial or trade transactions and which was not applicable to provincial co-operative banks before, has now been extended to co-operative banks also.

(2) The period of accommodation from the Reserve Bank specified in Section 17(2)(b) has been extended from 9 months to 15 months. The condition placed by the Bank that all the loans should be repaid by a fixed date irrespective of the maturity of the bills has also been removed.

(3) Another far-reaching step is the extension of the provisions of the Reserve Bank of India Act to the former Indian States which have now been reorganised into more homogeneous States Unions and which have so far been denied the facilities for accommodation available under the Act. To bring about a uniform development of the movement in these new States Unions, the Reserve Bank advocated as a first step, the formation of apex co-operative banks in them and have also conducted preliminary discussions with the authorities in some unions for taking speedy action in that regard. The need for organisation of apex banks is most necessary to enable them to take advantage of the Reserve Bank's accommodation facilities since under the Act, financial accommodation from the Reserve Bank could be made available only through a State Co-operative Bank or in its absence, any central society declared to be a State Co-operative Bank by a State Government for this purpose.

"In this connection, an Informal Conference was convened in 1951 to discuss the role of the Reserve Bank of India in the sphere of Rural Finance. As a result of the deliberations of the conference, an expert Standing Advisory Committee has been formed comprising prominent co-operators and others, both official and non-official. The main function of the body is to advise the Bank on matters pertaining to its Agricultural Credit Department and allied subjects."

CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION AND TRAINING

"Lastly, the question of imparting training and education to the staff of the Co-operative Departments and the Co-operative Institutions is also of paramount importance. The responsibilities are becoming greater day by day, and it is very necessary that all the higher executives concerned with important co-operative societies should know their job thoroughly. At present, except in advanced States like Bombay and Madras, adequate arrangements do not exist either for imparting initial training or for refresher classes for departmental and non-departmental workers. In Bombay, the Poona Co-operative College is serving as a centre for training the higher staff. It is seen that some of the officers from other States are also being deputed to this college for training. Similarly, the staff of the co-operative institutions in Madras including depart-

mental staff, receive training in the Central Co-operative Training Institute in Madras City. Efforts should, therefore, be made to provide facilities for the satisfactory training of the personnel in the higher ranks like officers of the Co-operative Department, Managers and Secretaries of Banks and Societies in all the States. In the existing circumstances two kinds of training arrangements will have to be made, *viz.*, long-term training in the theory as well as practice of co-operation. Banking inspection and audit and so on, for officers newly recruited and short-term intensive training for those who are already working in the Departments and Co-operative institutions and who must reinforce their knowledge by a refresher course.

"It, therefore, devolves on the departments to make suitable arrangements for such a thorough training. Perhaps they may consider utilising the existing higher training institutions, such as these in Bombay and Madras, to the fullest possible extent, until such time as the necessary steps are taken to set up similar institutions in the States themselves.

"In conclusion, it may be said that in spite of all the difficulties which it has had to face, the Co-operative movement had a fairly successful period of development during the two years under review. The potentialities are very great in view of the importance given to the movement in all nation-building activities in the various States. Guided properly by zealous co-operators and well-trained officials, the movement has every reason to look forward to an increasingly effective and useful role in shaping the future of the country."

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

A proper classification of the co-operative societies is essential for three reasons: Firstly, it facilitates the study of the principles that should govern the working of the different kinds of societies. Secondly, it enables an easy study of the progress made by the different types of co-operative societies in different regions through independent and comparative study. Thirdly, it can help the propagation of certain theories and notions.

In regard to the international statistics classification of co-operatives by Dr. C. R. Fay is as follows: (i) Co-operative Banks, (ii) Agricultural Societies, (iii) Workers' Co-operative Societies, (iv) Co-operative Stores.

Dr. Faquet suggests the following classification: (i) Consumers' Co-operative Societies, (ii) Housing Societies, (iii) Occupational Co-operative (excluding agricultural societies but including Urban credit societies), (iv) Agricultural Societies (including the credit societies), (v) Various others.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, has adopted the following classification: (i) Credit, (ii) Production, (iii) Production and Sale, (iv) Purchase, (v) Sale.

The fourth classification may be attempted as: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Consumers' Societies, (iii) Producers' Societies, (iv) Insurance Societies, (v) Housing Societies and (vi) Others.

The classification given by Dr. Fay does not include the housing societies and the insurance societies; but from the point of view of co-operative development in the world it is essential to study the progress of these societies separately.

In the second classification, greater emphasis is placed on consumers. It does not have a separate group for credit societies. In view of the special importance of finance, it seems incorrect to include the credit co-operatives and producers' societies in one.

The third classification has no place for housing. Also it considers insurance societies as something which can be taken as auxiliary to one of the five forms while purchase societies include both supply societies and consumer's stores, and class production may be merged in "production and sale." Sale group may be included therein; and three groups could be together named, "Producers' Societies." So the third system is also not suitable.

The fourth classification does not distinguish between the Urban and the Rural societies. But the rural societies do not have to follow principles very much different from those that guide the urban co-operatives. It also seems unjust to have one class for agricultural societies and four or five for the non-agricultural societies. If a distinction is made between the urban and rural problems, let there be as many classes for agricultural societies as for the urban societies. If this is not agreed to, it will suffice to have a sub-head for "Urban Credit Societies" under "Credit Societies"; and for "Agricultural Producers' Societies" under "Producers' Societies."

(A) In India, the Reserve Bank has made the following classification: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Purchase and Purchase and Sale Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Production and Sale Societies, (v) Others.

(B) Land Mortgage Banks.

(C) Non-Agricultural Societies: (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Purchase and Purchase and Sale Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Production and Sale Societies, (v) Others.

(D) Insurance Societies: (i) Ordinary and (ii) Cattle.

This grouping may be modified in view of the growing importance of the housing, marketing and multipurpose societies. Hence, the given classes under (A) and (C) group may be remodelled as (i) Credit Societies, (ii) Consumers' Societies, (iii) Production Societies, (iv) Marketing Societies, (v) Housing Societies and (vi) Others.

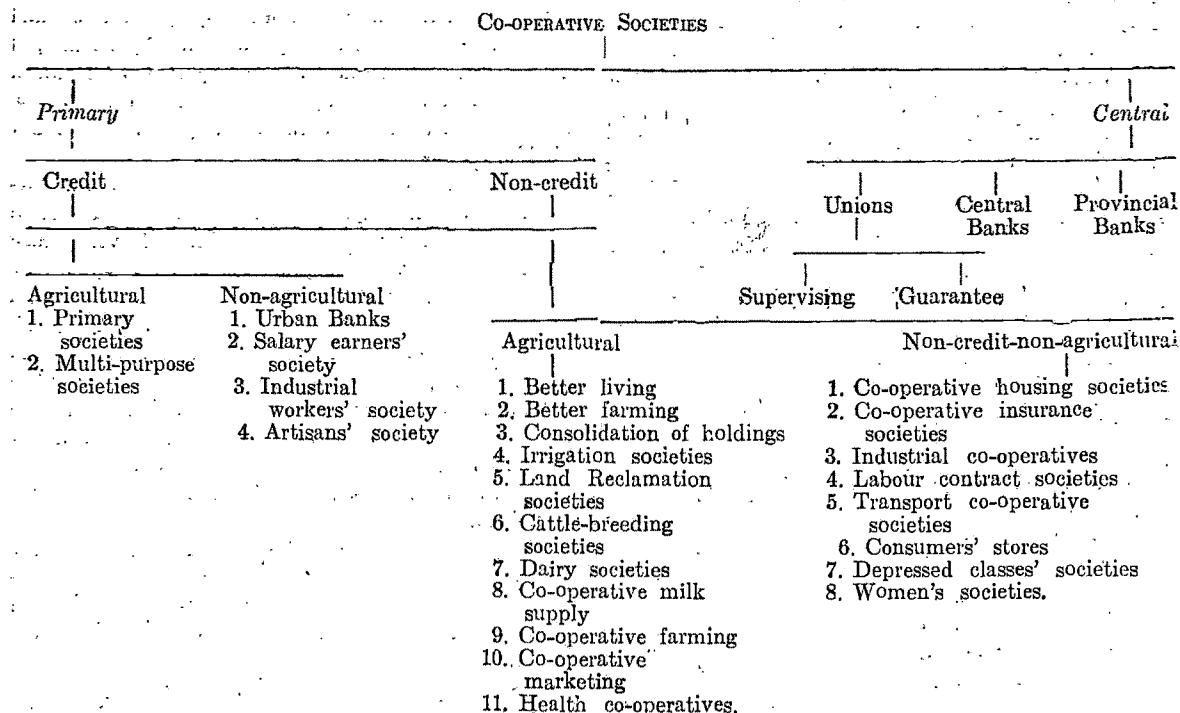
Under each of these classes, the number of societies which are multi-purpose in nature may be indicated within brackets. This will not only focus our attention

on the necessary aspects of co-operation, but will facilitate compilation of internal statistics for a comparative study.

It is difficult to give an exact classification of the different kinds of co-operative societies but for convenience we can divide them into two main categories, viz., (a) Agricultural and (b) Non-agricultural.

Agricultural societies are those societies in which the majority of the members are agriculturists, i.e., persons whose main occupation is cultivation of land or the rearing of livestock or of which the object is mainly agricultural. Whereas, non-agricultural societies are those which are not agricultural in character.

The diagram given below showing the classification of the co-operative societies will give a clear idea of the complex co-operative structure that has been built up in India:



(A) AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The Agricultural Societies may be again subdivided into credit and non-credit societies, and similarly non-agricultural societies may also be divided into credit and non-credit societies.

1. *Agricultural Credit Societies*: In the list of Agricultural Societies on credit side we have first the primary societies, the main purpose of which is to provide credit to their members and to encourage the habit of thrift. At the other end of the credit societies are the Provincial Banks which link the rural areas with the money markets of the country, and have their headquarters at the capital towns of the Province or States. Between these two extremes are the Banking Unions and Central Banks. Generally speaking, Primary

Co-operative Credit Societies are linked with the Banking Union or the Central Bank and the Central Bank is linked with the Provincial or the Apex Bank.

The primary societies are confined to small villages, the Central Banks to Taluka or District towns, and the Provincial Banks are the headquarters of the Province. If a borrower in a village needs money, he applies to his society. If the society has no fund at its disposal, it applies to the Central Bank, and if the Central Bank is in need of the funds, it applies to the Provincial Bank. That is why it is said that the co-operative movement links the farmer in the remote village with the money markets of the country. The objects of primary agricultural credit societies include the borrowing of funds from members or others to be utilised for loans to members and also for the promo-

tion of thrift. They also act as agent for the joint sale of its members' produce and the joint purchase of their agri-domestic requirements, for the hiring of implements, machinery or animals to members, the dissemination of information about improved farming practices, the encouragement of subsidiary industries and the reform of social practices.

2. *Agricultural Non-Credit Societies*: On the non-credit side, the agricultural societies deal with sale and marketing of goods, consolidation of holdings, better living and better farming, insurance of cattle, supply of seed, cattle breeding, co-operative farming, irrigation, milk and dairy products, ghee, poultry and eggs societies, crop-protection societies, colonisation societies and crop insurance societies, labour contract societies.

(B) NON-AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The non-agricultural societies may also be conveniently sub-divided into credit and non-credit societies.

The credit societies are generally called Urban Banks. They provide credit to workers and artisans. They have no separate Provincial or Apex Bank of their own, though they have their own Central or District Banks.

On the non-credit side, the important societies are Employees' Societies, Consumers' Stores, Thrift and Life Insurance, Housing Societies, Artisans' and Weavers' Societies, Milk Societies, Communal Societies, Societies for Factory Workers and Societies for Depressed Classes, Societies for Women, etc.

Of India's co-operative undertakings in this century, credit societies which were launched the earliest still dominate the picture. In all Provinces and States, agricultural societies exceed by far both in number and in membership, though not in working capital, all other types of co-operative organisations put together.

Out of 169.66 thousand primary societies in 1949-50 124.06 thousand were credit societies forming 73.1 per cent of the total agricultural credit societies, their membership and percentage to the total being 116.53 thousand and 68.7 respectively. The number of agricultural credit societies rose from 112,339 in 1948-49 to 116,534 in 1949-50 consisting of 28,126 limited liability societies, 75,953 unlimited liability type and 12,455 grain banks.

The largest number of agricultural credit societies is to be found in U.P., 24,057 in 1949-50 followed by Madras 15,348, Bombay 8,928, West Bengal 9,598 and

Hyderabad 15,890. Madras leads in the number of members of such societies 1,191,027, followed by U. P. 813,726, Hyderabad 771,829, Bombay 611,873 and West Bengal only 220,098 and the Punjab 278,893. Whereas there were only 7.53 thousand non-agricultural societies in 1949-50, there were 48,17,545 and 20,65,990 members of the agricultural and non-agricultural societies respectively, representing 68.7 and 31.3 per cent of the total number. The working capital of the former was 3521.75 lakhs and Rs. 5160.24 lakhs of the latter.

Madras had 1,191 non-agricultural societies in 1949-50 followed by Bombay and West Bengal with 1,496 and 385 and by U.P., 646, Punjab 453 and Mysore 562. The number of members of such societies in Madras was 483,215. Bombay with 721,954 was followed by Bengal with 281,132, U.P. with 79,282, Punjab 25,537 and Mysore 112,970.

The details given below show the numerical position of credit and non-credit societies:

	1948-49		1949-50	
	No.	Percentage to total	No.	Percentage to total
<i>Credit Societies:</i>				
Agricultural	112.34	68.95	116.53	68.68
Non-agricultural	7.03	4.32	7.53	4.44
Total	119.37	73.27	124.06	73.12
<i>Non-credit Societies:</i>				
Agricultural	22.76	13.97	25.86	15.25
Non-agricultural	20.79	12.76	19.74	11.63
Total	43.55	26.73	45.60	26.88
Grand total	162.92	100.00	169.66	100.00

(Concluded)

THE FIRST CENSUS OF FREE INDIA

By ASHISH BOSE, M.com.

THE Census of 1951 was the eighth regular census of India and first census of free India. In the history of census operations in India it stands out as a remarkable census. It secured public co-operation in much more abundant measure than on any previous occasion. And it was probably the least inaccurate and the most scientific census in India.

THE CENSUS OPERATION

The Census was taken in all Part A, B and C States and Part D territories of India with the exception of (1) Jammu and Kashmir and (2) the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam. Sikkim was always included in former censuses and the practice has been retained in this census also. The counting started on the 9th February and the enumeration was completed by the 3rd March, 1951. 5,92,937 enumerators visited six crores and forty-four lakhs of houses. The enumeration records were assembled and checked at 52 Tabulation Offices opened temporarily for this purpose at

various centres in the country. Provisional figures of the total population were published in April 1951 and the final population totals were published in May 1952. A sample verification of the actual count was done before the end of 1951 and the result published in March 1953.

NEW FEATURES OF THE CENSUS

The useless collection of statistics and discussion regarding castes and sub-castes, which was the practice in previous censuses has been abandoned and more attention paid to the economic characteristics of the population. Further, the ambiguous concept of "community" which was introduced in the Census of 1941 has been discarded and statistics of religion collected.

The occupational distribution of population which was abandoned in the Census of 1941 has been introduced again with a more simple and scientific classification. The entire population of the country has been divided into two broad livelihood categories:

(1) Agricultural and (2) Non-agricultural. Each category is divided into four classes. The detailed classification is given in a subsequent table.

The 9 Part A States, 9 Part B States and 10 Part C States in addition to a few Part D Territories have been grouped into six Population Zones. They are: North India, East India, South India, West India, Central India and North-West India.

Independently of the above grouping the country as a whole is divided into five Natural Regions on the basis of physical features. They are: The Himalayan Region, the Northern Plains Region, the Peninsular Hills and Plateau Region, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region and the Eastern Ghats and Coastal Region. These five Regions are in turn divided into 15 Sub-Regions and 52 Divisions (the Bay Islands form the 53rd Division). Thus the study of population changes in relation to geographical and economic factors is made possible.

Another feature of the Census of 1951 is that instead of calculating the percentage variation as was done in past censuses, "the mean decennial growth rate" has been calculated. The latter is based on the average of the population of 1941 and 1951 taken together and not solely on the population of 1941 which is the base in the calculation of the percentage variation.

SAMPLE VERIFICATION OF THE CENSUS COUNT

For the first time in the history of census operations in India, a sample verification of the Census Count was conducted on a random sample basis and a precise estimate of the extent of error in the Count made. The area brought under verification contained 81 per cent of the total population. This verification reveals that the 1951 Census Count contains a net under-enumeration error of 1.1 per cent. As the Census Paper No. 1 of 1953 puts it:

"For every thousand persons included in the Census Count 11 other persons were probably omitted. It is a reasonably safe conclusion that the number of persons omitted (per thousand counted) could not have exceeded 12 or fallen short of 10."

It is encouraging to note that even in U.S.A. a net under-enumeration error of very nearly the same order was revealed by a post-enumeration survey conducted soon after the Census of 1950.

TOTAL POPULATION

The total population of India including the estimated population of Jammu and Kashmir (4.41 m) and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam (0.66 m) on the 1st March, 1951 was 361.8 millions. The total land area was 1.27 million sq. miles. The following figures relate to the territories actually covered by the Census of 1951:

Total population in 1951: 356,829,485
Total population in 1941: 314,766,380
Net increase (1941-51): 42.06 millions
Mean decennial growth: 12.5 per cent

Percentage increase: 13.4 per cent.

On account of the merger of Chandernagore into India the population of India (in 1951) increased to 356,879,394.

THE BIGGEST STATES

The following table gives the population, density and the rate of growth of population in the ten biggest (on the basis of population) States in India:

	Population (in millions)	Density (persons per sq. mile)	Mean decen- nial growth rate (1941-51)
Uttar Pradesh	63.22	557	+11.2
Madras	57.02	446	+13.4
Bihar	40.23	572	+ 9.6
Bombay	35.96	323	+20.8
West Bengal	24.81	806	+12.7
Madhya Pradesh	21.25	163	+ 7.9
Hyderabad	18.66	227	+13.3
Rajasthan	15.29	117	+13.9
Orissa	14.65	244	+ 6.2
Punjab	12.64	338	- 0.5

In India, Uttar Pradesh has the biggest population, Madhya Pradesh the largest land area (130,272 sq. miles) and Delhi State the highest density (3,017 persons per sq. mile). Travancore-Cochin has the second highest density (1015). The density is lowest in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (10), Kutch (34) and Manipur (67).

RATE OF GROWTH

Among the six Population Zones, West India (Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch) shows the highest rate of increase in population (20.1 per cent) and North-West India (Rajasthan, Panjab, Pepsu, etc.) the lowest (9.0 per cent). Likewise among the five Natural Regions, the Western Ghats and Coastal Region shows the highest rate of increase (20.5 per cent) and the Northern Plains Region the lowest (10.8 per cent). Among the individual States, the highest rate of growth is recorded in Delhi (62.1 per cent). Next come Coorg (30.5 per cent), Tripura (21.9 per cent), Mysore and Travancore-Cochin (21.2 per cent each) and Bombay (20.8 per cent). There is an actual decrease in population in Punjab (-0.5 per cent) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (-8.6 per cent).

SEX-RATIO

Of the total population of 356.83 millions in 1951, 183.31 millions were males and 173.52 millions were females. Thus there were 947 females per 1000 males. There are more males than females in all States except Orissa, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Manipur and Kutch where the reverse is the case. The sex-ratio is very unstable in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (625 females per 1000 males), Pepsu (844) and Punjab (863). It is worst in cities. In Calcutta, there are only 570 females per 1000 males, in Bombay 596 and in Kanpur 699.

RURAL-URBAN RATIO

The total rural population in 1951 was 295.0 millions or 82.7 per cent of the total population. There were 75 cities with a combined total population of

24.13 millions or 6.8 per cent of the total population. U.P. has the largest number of cities (16) while Bombay (State) has the biggest city population (5.1 m.). The biggest cities in India are Bombay (2.8 m.), Calcutta (2.5 m.), Madras (1.4 m.), Hyderabad (1.1 m.) and Old Delhi (915,000). Greater Calcutta, however, has a population of 3.5 millions. Since 1941, 27 new cities have sprung up in the area that is India today. There are 55 cities in the Part A States, 16 in the Part B States, 4 in the Part C States and none in the Part D Territories.

LIVELIHOOD CLASSES

The following table gives the livelihood classes and the percentage of population dependent on each class to the total population:

I.	
Class	Percentage of total population
1. Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	46.9
2. Cultivators of land, wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents	8.9
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents	12.5
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents	1.5
Total agricultural population	
69.8	
II. Persons including dependents who derive their principal means of livelihood from:	
5. Production other than cultivation	10.6
6. Commerce	6.0
7. Transport	1.6
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources	12.0
Total non-agricultural population	
30.2	
Total	
100.0	

Thus India still remains a predominantly agricultural country. In spite of 50 years of industrialisation and urbanisation 70 per cent of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood and 83 per cent of the people live in rural areas. But the population has kept on increasing. In 1901, the population of India (excluding the areas of Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir) was 235.5 millions. In 1951, it was 356.8 millions. Thus in 50 years the population increased by 121.3 millions or by 51 per cent.

RELIGION

In the Census of 1951 the concept of "community" was abandoned and religion was recorded as revealed by the person enumerated. The following table shows the religious composition of the population of India (excluding those living in Jammu and Kashmir and the Part B Tribal Areas of Assam):

	Population (in millions)	Percentage of total population
1. Hindu	303.2	84.99
2. Muslim	35.4	9.93
3. Christian	8.2	2.30
4. Sikh	6.2	1.74
5. Jain	1.6	0.45

6. Buddhist	0.2	0.06
7. Zoroastrian	0.1	0.03
8. Jews (26,781)	...	....
9. Other religions (Tribal)	1.7	0.47
10. Other religions (Non-tribal)	0.1	0.03
	356.7*	100.00

Hindus form an absolute majority in every State of India except in Pepsu (where they are 49 per cent) and in Andaman and Nicobar Islands (where they are 30 per cent). The Muslim population is 22.08 per cent in Assam, 19.85 per cent in West Bengal, 15.4 per cent in Bhopal, 12.48 per cent in U.P., 11.82 per cent in Hyderabad and 11.34 per cent in Bihar. The Christian population was 32 per cent in Travancore-Cochin, 6.47 per cent in Assam and 4.15 per cent in Madras. In the Census of 1951, the great majority of the tribal people returned themselves as following Hinduism. The followers of tribal religions are concentrated in Bihar (52 per cent of the total followers of these religions in India are found in Chota Nagpur Division), West Bengal and Assam. The Jews are concentrated in Bombay State (75 per cent of the Jews in India live in this State). The Parsees are also concentrated in Bombay State (87 per cent of the Parsees in India live in this State). The majority of Jains live in Bombay State. The Buddhists are mostly found in West Bengal. The Sikhs are concentrated in the Punjab, Pepsu, Delhi and U.P. Among the followers of other non-tribal religions the majority are found in Assam, Bombay and Madras.

THE SECOND BIGGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

Next to China India is the biggest country in the world. So far as land area is concerned, she ranks seventh in the world (next to U.S.S.R., China, Canada, Brazil, U.S.A. and Australia). India occupies 2.2 per cent of the total land area of the world and supports 15 per cent of the population of the world. In Asia, next to Japan, Lebanon and Korea, she has the highest density of population. The population of India is more than the combined population of North America and South America, about twice the population of Africa and about 44 times the population of Australia. It is 1.8 times the population of the U.S.S.R., 2.4 times the population of the U.S.A. and 7 times the population of United Kingdom. During a single decade, 1941-51 the population of India has increased by over 42 millions which is the present population of France. Every year a population almost equivalent to that of Denmark is added to the population of India. This will give us an idea of the magnitude of the population problem.†

* This figure does not include the returns of 268,602 persons in the Punjab whose records were destroyed by fire.

† The article gives the gist of all the Census Papers published so far, viz., Paper Nos. 1 and 2 of 1952 and Paper Nos. 1 and 2 of 1953.

EGYPT (1875—1953)

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE world is sharply divided today between the two fundamentally opposite philosophies of life, namely, Communism and Capitalism. The world is not one in spite of Wilkie. It should be remembered at the same time that the down-trodden millions of Asia and Africa do not bother half as much about the rival 'isms' as about their own deliverance from the bondage of Western imperialism. Unless the capitalist imperialist nations face the facts, unless they respond to the challenge of the age and agree to liquidate their ill-gotten colonial empires, Communism will naturally appear to the exploited millions of colonies in the role of the liberator. They will do well to bear in mind the note of warning uttered years ago by Sumner Welles, a former Under-Secretary of the U.S.A. Government:

"As the result of this war (World War II) we must assume the sovereign equality of the peoples the world over. Our victory must bring in its train liberation for all peoples. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of people for freedom must be recognised."—A speech on May 30, 1942.

The Anglo-American Allies have won the war. Have they won the peace? No, we fear.

A great unhappiness "fills the feudal regions from Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America. Everywhere a thin wealthy upper caste shamelessly flaunts its luxury under the eyes of the hungry, diseased peasants and shepherds who are deprived of the education, organisation and political power to improve their lot. Techniques date back to Noah and the population increases faster than production. Industry is puny, the middle class weak, the working class small, and the farm population in feudal servitude. Army, bureaucracy, and police cruelly oppress and consciously delude the poor, and for these services to the rich they are allowed to consume the bulk of the national budget, politics by assassination flourishes and palace revolutions multiply. Leadership goes to the unenlightened nobility or plutocracy who pay or to the trigger-quick military and unscrupulous demagogues who inflame the patriotic passions or religious fanaticism of the mass. Masters come and go, foreigners are ousted, national independence is achieved, but bread, rice, milk, medicines, water, shoes, shelter, schools remain in short supply. Loans from abroad reach the pockets of the haves, the have-nots have only their envy and hate."—*The Life of Joseph Stalin* by Louis Fischer, pp. 287-88.

The description applies almost word for word to Egypt, which forms a part of the vast region indicated above and inhabited by more than a billion people. The happenings in that country during the last one year and more show that the national temper is rising. The Egyptians are in no mood to be tied to the apron strings of their masters—alien or otherwise. They want to be masters in their own house—masters in name as well as in fact.

Egypt came within the orbit of European politics

in the late 19th century. European statesmen and politicians were preoccupied with exclusively European affairs till 1878. It is only after 1878 that they began to take more and more active interest in extra-European affairs. For the generation of Europeans that lived after 1878 there was no European problem demanding immediate solution. Italian unity and nationality had been achieved. So also had the German, Prussia had successfully fought out her struggles with France and Austria. The Eastern Question was no longer explosive. There were besides, positive factors, which drew the attention of Europe to Asia and Africa. The growing population of Europe needed outlets. Her rapidly expanding industries needed fresh sources of raw materials and fresh markets.

Asia and Africa offered the best opening to an expanding Europe in the years after 1878 and international rivalries were transferred to these two continents. It was during this era that Egypt, a vassal State of the Ottoman Empire, came to be tied to the chariot wheel of Western imperialism. Turkish overlordship over Egypt, it should be remembered, had long ceased to be effective.

Khedive Ismail, who ascended the throne of Egypt in 1863, has been rightly described as a man "with an immense capacity for wasting money." Egypt's national debt rose from three million pounds to one hundred million during his reign. The burden of taxation literally broke the back of the people. The hapless Egyptian felaheen groaned under it. The country suffered from three C's—Courbush (a whip of hippopotamus skin with a tapering end used as a whip), Corvee (forced labour) and Corruption. Wholesale bribery and sale of concessions were openly practised and connived at. The Egyptian peasantry under Khedive Ismail was perhaps the most wretched people on earth. European intervention in the affairs of Egypt and the whole of her later history are in a very real sense the outcome of the "carnival of extravagance and oppression" of Khedive Ismail. Ismail sold his shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875. Prime Minister Disraeli of England purchased them for four million pounds on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government. The transaction was the proverbial thin end of the wedge—the first step towards the establishment of England's stranglehold over Egypt. The Khedive repudiated the national debt of Egypt in 1876. English and French creditors of the Khedive were alarmed. Mr. Goschen and M. Joubart were sent out by them to Egypt to look after their interests and the immediate result was the establishment of the *Caisse de la Dette* (May 2, 1876). The Anglo-French Commission was originally empowered "to receive the revenue set apart for the service of the debt and to sanction or veto

fresh loans." These functions were enlarged before long to include the entire financial administration of the country. Ismail abdicated in 1879 and was followed by his son Tewfik on the throne of Egypt. The country was placed under an Anglo-French condominium in the same year. The financial supervision was vested in two controllers—one English and one French. The administrative control of the country soon passed into the hands of the Controllers. This dual control was not destined to last long, however.

The revolt of Arabi Bey in 1881 is a very significant episode in the history of modern Egypt. Nobody denies that it was in part military. But it was anti-foreign at the same time. It was directed against Turkish sovereignty on the one hand and against European intervention on the other. It was Arabi Pasha who raised the slogan "Egypt for Egyptians" (*Masli—Mastriyin*), for the first time. In a sense he may, therefore, be regarded as the father of modern Egyptian nationalism. Arabi secured the dismissal of some 1,200 foreign officials employed under the Anglo-French Condominium. He seized Alexandria in June, 1882, and set up his headquarters there. He had already forced the Khedive to promise that he (the Khedive) would dismiss two of the leading members of the Cabinet and accept a responsible ministry. He had further agreed to summon an Assembly of Notables before the end of 1881 and to limit the functions of the Condominium to the service of the debt.

The developments in Egypt frightened Europe. The Great powers met at Constantinople to formulate an agreed Egyptian policy. The conference decided nothing. Great Britain, particularly anxious for the Suez, her vital life-line, resolved to restore order by force. Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour bombarded Alexandria. Arabi withdrew after having burned the city. He was finally defeated at Tel-el-Kebir by Sir Garnet Wolsley, captured and deported to Ceylon. The Khedive's (!) power was restored and some British troops were left in the country, ostensibly to maintain peace and order. The Liberal British Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville solemnly assured the House of Lords: "We shall not keep our troops in Egypt any longer than is necessary." The promise has yet to be fulfilled as so many of Britain's promises to weaker peoples.

The failure of Arabi's rebellion was followed by the abolition of the Anglo-French Condominium (November, 1882) leaving the English sole masters of the Egyptian scene. Major Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) was appointed the British Consul General in Egypt. The Khedive and his Ministers were responsible for the Government and carried on the administration of the country. But the British army was the real security for peace and the British treasury the real security for financial stability of Egypt. Baring was the Khedive *de facto* till his retirement in 1907.

When Arabi Pasha struck in Egypt proper in 1881,

Sudan, a dependency of Egypt, too, rose in revolt against the authority of the Khedive. A Sudanese proclaimed himself to be Mahdi, the Messiah. The rebellion, which assumed formidable proportions, was finally put down in 1898 when British troops under Kitchener crushed the rebels in the battle of Omdurman. As during Arabi's revolt, so also during the Mahdi's, British bayonets came to the rescue of the Khedive. England, of course, had her pound of flesh and Sudan was placed under joint Anglo-Egyptian rule in 1899.

The opening years of the 20th century were marked by a steadily mounting anti-British sentiment in all strata of Egyptian society. Discontent grew. National temper rose. Clear signs of unrest were discernible. Then came the Great War (1914-18) and Egypt, still a vassal of Turkey, was declared a British protectorate in December, 1914. The pro-Turkish Khedive Abbas was deposed. When the war came to an end in 1918, Zaghlul Pasha (Saa'd Zaghlul), the leader of the extreme nationalist party, presented a demand for complete independence of Egypt. Zaghlul's proposal was turned down. Prime Minister Rushdi Pasha next sought permission to go to England to confer with the British Government. The permission being refused, Rushdi Pasha resigned (1919). His resignation was the signal for riots and strikes all over the country. Even Government employees stayed away from work. Riots and strikes brought about a complete deadlock. The British Government sent out the Milner Commission to study the Egyptian problem at first hand and to suggest how peace and order was to be restored in Egypt. The Nationalist Party boycotted the Commission. Zaghlul Pasha, however, offered his co-operation and the Milner-Zaghlul Agreement recommended a treaty of alliance recognising the independence of Egypt as a constitutional monarchy with responsible institutions. Egypt was to recognise Britain's right to safeguard her special interests in Egypt, not to enter into any relations with a foreign power prejudicial to the interest of England and to permit England to maintain troops in Egypt. The Agreement was followed by a recrudescence of widespread riots. Zaghlul Pasha was deported. Egypt seethed with discontent.

England recognised the independence of Egypt in 1922. Certain questions were reserved for settlement later on. Zaghlul Pasha was allowed to return to Egypt. Supported by the Wafd (Nationalist) Party, he became the Prime Minister. The English Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian forces was murdered in 1924. Anglo-Egyptian relations steadily deteriorated and Zaghlul Pasha was driven out of office.

The treaty of 1922 was revised in 1936. England agreed to remove her troops from Cairo and Alexandria, but not to evacuate Egypt. British troops were to remain in Egypt within prescribed limits.

Questions left for future consideration in 1922 were also settled. The expenses involved in the withdrawal of British troops from Cairo and Alexandria were borne by the Egyptian Government. Barracks and aerodromes for the British army were constructed in the Canal Zone at Egypt's cost. Britain was guaranteed the unfettered right of use of all Egyptian ports, railways and aerodromes. Needless to say, the terms did not satisfy the progressive section of the population.

World War II which has intensified the urge for independence everywhere in the world, may be rightly regarded as an important land-mark in the history of human emancipation. The repercussions of that War were felt in Egypt too. As a matter of fact, she had never reconciled herself to the idea of Britain's tutelage. The years 1945-52 were marked by persistent anti-British agitation and frequent conflicts all over Egypt. Britain's Labour Premier, Mr. Attlee, declared in 1946 that all British troops would be withdrawn from Egypt and that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 would be replaced by an Anglo-American treaty to safeguard the security and independence of Egypt. We are not sure if Mr. Attlee really meant what he said. Britain's record in Egypt—one strewn with fragments of broken pledges—makes us dubious. The 1946 declaration was however well-timed and served a very useful purpose. It went a long way to pacify the impatient Egyptian progressive.

British imperialism was passing an anxious time in 1946. Britain and the U.S.A. held sharply divergent views over the future of India, Burma, Palestine and Malaya. Iran too was giving a headache. It would be unwise to antagonise Egypt at such a time. By 1947, the crisis had been tided over however and the Attlee declaration of the previous year was shelved. Egypt was disappointed. The national temper reached the boiling point. Egypt was convinced, if she had not been convinced earlier, that Britain would not quit Egypt unless forced to do so at the point of the bayonet.

Disappointed and disillusioned Egyptian public opinion forced the Wafdist Government of Nahas Pasha to abrogate the Anglo-Egyptian treaty (1936) in October, 1951. The Government declared at the same time that Egypt does not recognise British control over Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1899. Students, labourers, peasants and the middle classes next launched a nationwide campaign against the occupation of the Suez Zone by British troops. Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone organised a strike. Resistance groups sprang into existence in Cairo, Alexandria, Ismailia and other towns. Women did not lag behind their menfolk. For the first time in the long centuries of Egypt's chequered history women took an active part in politics. An anti-imperialist women's organisation came into existence. A nursing corps for those

wounded in mass demonstration was organised for the first time. In not a few places Egyptian police and military refused to deal sternly with the demonstrators. 35,000 Egyptian labourers in the Canal Zone refused to work. The Egyptian crew of British vessels refused to work for the British army. The country throbbed with a new life.

Egypt was a boiling cauldron during the three months from October to December, 1951. The Cairo correspondent of the United States News and World Report wrote at the time that Egypt's poverty-stricken masses were awake and described the awakening as resentful. It was at this critical juncture—at the crossroads of history—that the accredited leaders of the people failed them. The Wafd, which had been the spearhead of all Egypt's anti-British, anti-imperialist movements for a long time, took fright. They would not or could not keep pace with the awakened demos. The Wafdist Cabinet of Nahas Pasha was between the devil and the deep sea. It lacked the courage to condemn the mass struggle outright. Nor could it displease Britain. It nevertheless took stern steps to restore law and order in Britain's interest. The double-faced policy brought about the downfall of the Wafd. It forfeited the respect and confidence of the people on the one hand. On the other, Britain held it responsible for the growing mass militancy and accused it of conniving at anti-British demonstrations. A policy of vacillation and hesitance, an outcome of muddled thinking, makes enemies of all and friends of none. The dismissal of the Nahas Government was demanded by Britain. King Farouk meekly said, 'yes.' The excuse was not long in coming. About the middle of January, 1952, British troops in the Tel-el-Kebir area had minor skirmishes with the local Egyptians. Evidence from all sources shows that these were provoked by the former. British troops cordoned the palace of the Egyptian Governor and the police headquarters at Ismailia on January 25, 1952. Next day on January 26, the British Commander sent an ultimatum demanding the surrender of arms by the Egyptian police. The Governor ignored the ultimatum. An all-out assault was thereupon launched on the small Egyptian police force at Ismailia by British tanks, artillery and airforce. Fifty Egyptian policemen lost their lives. Many more were wounded. There were riots and demonstrations all over the country in protest against the atrocities at Ismailia. This was exactly the opportunity Britain had been looking for—an opportunity of crushing the mass movement and of installing a government in Egypt that would faithfully carry out the dictates from the White Hall. She warned the Egyptian Government that unless it could bring the situation under control General Erskine, the Commander of British troops in Egypt, would place Cairo under military occupation. The American Ambassador at Cairo threw a hint to King Farouk on Janu-

ary 24 that the Nahas Cabinet must be dismissed. The Government acting on the advice of the King, proclaimed Martial Law in Cairo. More than 1,000 were arrested. Drastic as the measure was, it did not satisfy Great Britain. The Government was dismissed by the King immediately after the promulgation of the Martial Law. Aly Maher Pasha was asked to form a Cabinet. The Wafd, which had an absolute majority in the Parliament, once again betrayed the nation by meekly accepting the order of dismissal, by not raising its voice of protest against the unconstitutional act of the King. Reaction was triumphant.

There are very good reasons to believe that foreign powers had a hand in the fall of the Wafd. It came out in the press and over the radio of various European countries that King Farouk was forced to offer the Premiership to Aly Maher under pressure of foreign powers. General Robertson, Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in the Middle East, declared on December 31, 1951, that British troops would by no means be withdrawn from the Canal Zone and that other powers—the U.S.A., no doubt, among others—were behind this decision of Great Britain. Prime Minister Winston Churchill requested the Truman Government at the same time to send some American troops to Egypt. Some American papers gave out that a 6,000 strong token army was actually being despatched to Egypt.

Ali Maher Pasha was soon dismissed. Hilaly Pasha succeeded him. Hilaly's first act was the suspension of the Parliament. A vigorous campaign of calumny against the Wafdist leaders sought to dis-

credit them in the eye of the people. In the meanwhile, the situation was steadily deteriorating, the martial law notwithstanding. Anti-foreign, progressive mass movement reached the climax.

The army had in the meanwhile lost its confidence in the monarchy. It had been thoroughly discredited and its leaders humiliated in the Palestine War. King Farouk and his relations and favourites had been responsible for the scandal in connection with the purchase of arms and ammunition for that war. Leaders of the army had begun to unite against the King and the political parties. At last on July 23, 1952, a successful *coup d'etat* made General Neguib the arbiter of the destinies of Egypt. King Farouk abdicated on July 26 and made an inglorious exit from the Egyptian scene "unwept, unhonoured and unsung." His infant son was declared King of Egypt as Fuad II. Monarchy has since been abolished (June 18, 1953) in Egypt, which is now a Republic with General Neguib as the provisional President and Prime Minister.

The fate of Egypt rests on the knees of the gods. In the meanwhile, the rise of Neguib has been interpreted by many as a victory of re-action over progress—a successful Anglo-American device to crush Egyptian nationalism. Others again there are who hail Neguib as Egypt's Man of Destiny, as the saviour of his country and of his people. The problems of Egypt are however no nearer solution today than they were at the time of Neguib's rise to power.

The time is not yet perhaps to pronounce a verdict. Let us wait and watch.

—:O:—

MOISM AND AHIMSA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.

Lecturer in History, University of Delhi

From the 6th century (Confucius was born in 551 and died in 479 B.C.) to the time of Emperor Wu-ti of the Han Dynasty, who canonized the Classics of the Confucian School, it was about six hundred years. During this period, the Confucian School was only one of many schools of thought which ran parallel to one another. Besides the Confucian School there were the following schools: (1) Taoism, (2) Moism, (3) The Sophists, and (4) The Legalists.

Moism was founded by Motze who is one of most important figures in Chinese history, a man whose name was constantly linked with that of Confucius. Motze was born in 468 B.C. and died in 376 B.C. He seems to have been a great officer in the State of Sung.

He was skilful in maintaining military defence, and taught economy of use. Huai Nan Tze states:

"Confucius and Motze practised the arts of the ancient Sages and were learned in all the discourses on the Six Disciplines."

But there are many places in Motze's writings where he stands opposed to the Confucian School, the thought of which differed from his own. Confucius "tried to be correct in righteousness, without calculating profit; tried to be pure in principles, without considering whether this would bring material return." They were working tirelessly to rescue the world from its ills.

Anything must be of profit to the country and the people before it can possess value, and it is the wealth and

populousness of a country, Motze believed, which constitute its greatest profit. Although luxury and adornment are of no benefit to the country and the people, yet at the same time they are not its greatest harm. Harm lies rather in the incessant fighting of the people and states among themselves, caused, so Motze held, by the fact that men do not love one another. Motze, therefore, was preaching the doctrine of love. The practice of universal love not only benefits the one who is loved, but the one who loves, on the principle of reciprocity. Motze says :

"Heaven wishes people to love and benefit one another, and does not want people to hate and hurt one another. Why, Because He loves all and benefits all."

"How to follow the will and wish of Heaven? It is to love all people and Heaven."

Motze thought that the great benefits to the world come from men practising universal love, and its major calamities come from them fighting with one another. Thus he says :

"How were chaos and calamities caused? They were caused by people not loving each other. A thief loves his own house and does not love the other's house, he therefore steals from the other's house for the benefit of his own house. A murderer loves his own body and does not love the other's body, he therefore murders the other's body for the benefit of his own body.....Every officer loves his own family and does not love the other's family, he therefore exploits others' families for the benefit of his own family. A king loves his own country and does not love others' countries, he therefore attacks others' countries for the benefit of his country.....If a man looks upon another's house as his own house, who will steal? If a man looks upon another's body as his own body who will murder? If a man looks upon another's family as his own family who will exploit? If all look upon others' countries as their own country, who will attack? . . . Therefore, when all love one another, there will be peace; and when all hate one another there will be chaos and calamity."

Again :

"To kill one man is wrongful and must receive one death punishment. Accordingly, to kill ten men is ten times wrongful and must receive ten death punishments. And to kill hundred men is hundred times wrongful and must receive hundred death punishments . . . Now the greatest wrong is to attack a country but he who attacks receives no punishment....Is this right?"

Again :

"Which are the greater ones among the evils of the world? They are those actions of the big countries attacking the small countries, of the big families disturbing the small families; and those deeds of the strong robbing the weak, of the group of the many oppressing the group of the few, of the clever deceiving the dull, of the high class scorning the low. These are the greatest evils of the world."

Therefore, Motze thought that we should condemn warfare. He says :

"When the army sets out, the bamboos, arrows, plumed standards, house tents, armours, shields and sword-hilts will break and rot in innumerable quantities and never come back. . . . Innumerable horses and oxen will start out fat and come back lean, or will die and never come back at all....Why, then does the government deprive the people of their opportunities and benefits to such a great extent? It has been answered : I covet the fame of the victor and the possession obtainable through conquest, and therefore I do it. But when we consider the victory as such, there is nothing useful about it. When we consider the possession obtained through it, it does not even make up for what has been lost."

Philosopher Bentham held that the purpose of morality and law is to procure the greatest happiness for the greatest number, a doctrine shared by Motze.

Although Motze held that the doctrine of universal love is the only way to save the world, he did not believe that men through their original nature can love one another. Because man's nature is like pure silk, and its goodness or evil is dependent entirely upon what it is 'dyed' with. We must strive to 'dye' others with the doctrine of universal love. But since the mass of people is short-sighted, it is difficult to make them see the benefit of universal love. Therefore, Motze laid stress on religious sanctions. He held that there is a God who rewards people, who practise universal love and punishes the perverse. He says :

"The ancient Sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, were those who obeyed the Will of Heaven and obtained reward. And the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Chieh, Chou, Yu and Li, were those who opposed the Will of Heaven and incurred punishment."

Motze loved all people without discrimination. Mencius described him by saying :

"If by grinding his whole body from the crown to the heel could have benefited the world, Motze would have done it."

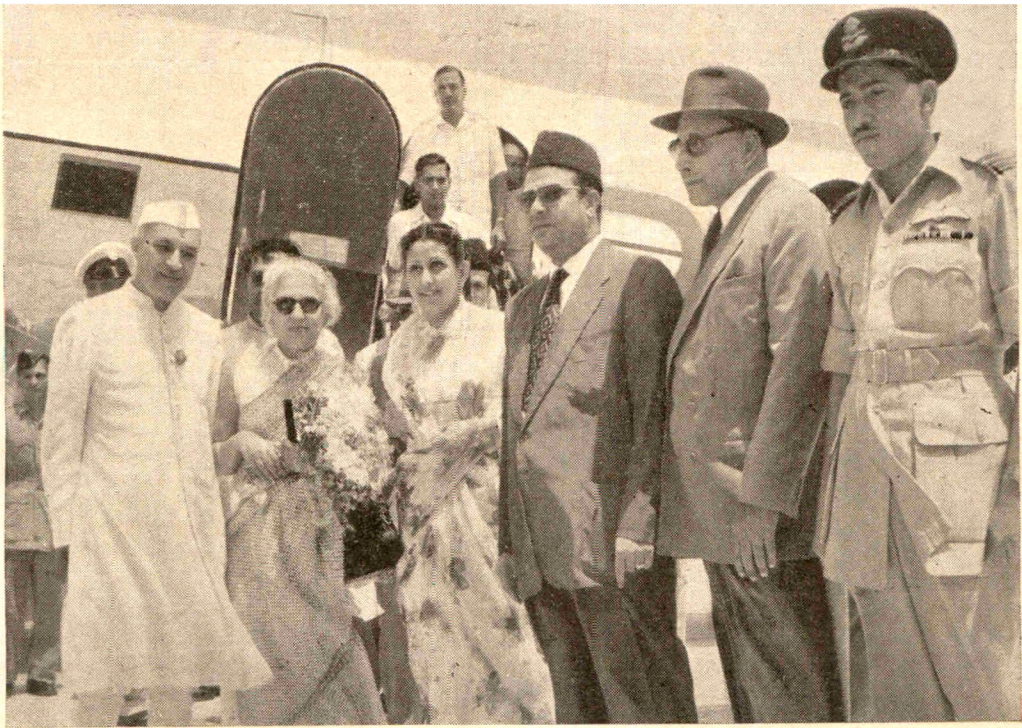
Motze's idea of universal love is very similar to that of Ahimsa. Ahimsa is a word negative in form with a positive sense. We Chinese people prefer to use the positive form rather than the negative used by Indians. The philosophy of love of Motze and the Ahimsa of Hindu philosophy are the same gospel expressed in a slightly different way.

I have no better words to express my feelings about Motze's philosophy than the words which the Mahabharata uses : "Ahimsa is the Supreme Religion."

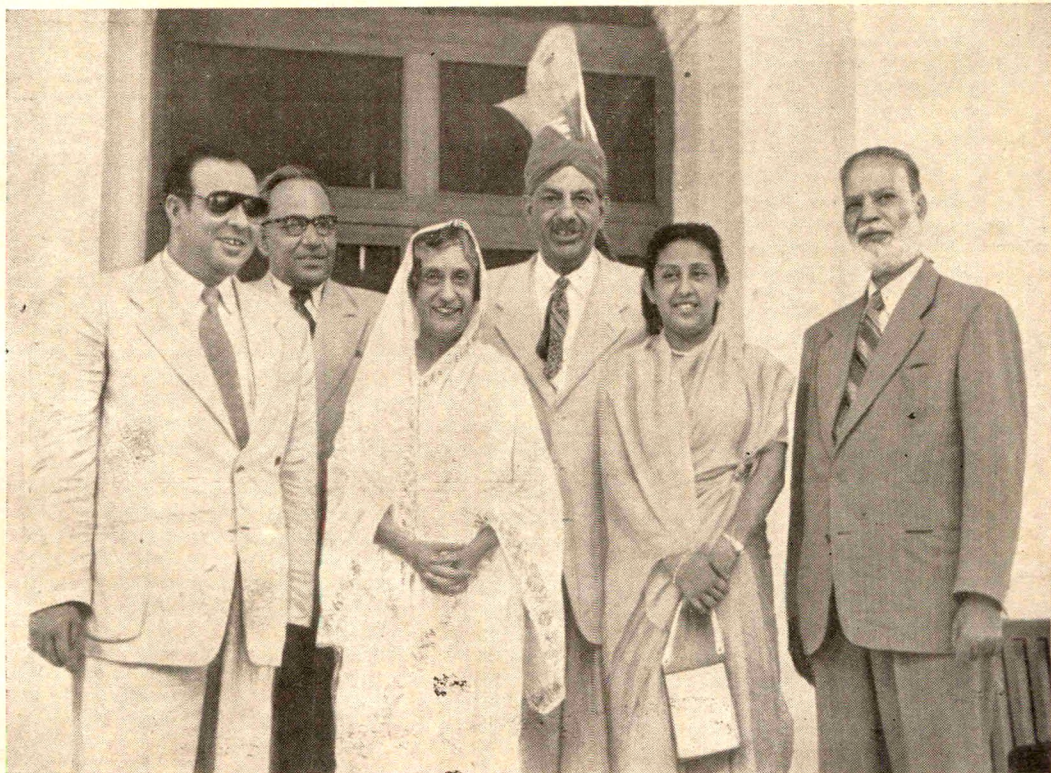
Swami Sivanandaji says in the *Voice of the Himalayas* :

"There is only one religion : the religion of love."

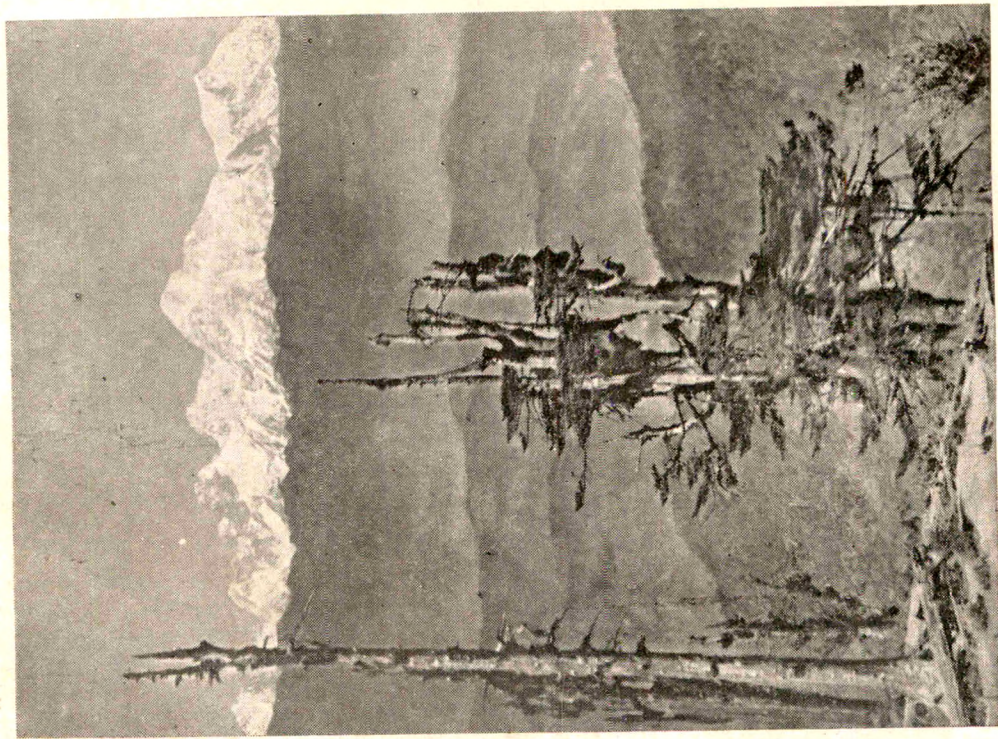




Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, accompanied by Sm. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, arrived in Karachi on July 25. He was received at the Amuripur Airport by Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan



Rajkumari Amrit Kaur gave a luncheon party in New Delhi on August 18, in honour of Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan and Begum Mohammed Ali. (Front row): Mr. Mohammed Ali, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Begum Mohammed Ali and Sir M. Zafrulla Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan. (Back row): Dr. M. S. Mehta, High Commissioner for India in Pakistan and Mr. Ghaznafar Ali Khan, High Commissioner for Pakistan in India



A view of Mt. Everest, from Phalut
Photo : Messrs. Das Studio, Darjeeling



During the height of the recent violent anti-Soviet outbreak in East Berlin, German civilians burn a Soviet flag flown on the Brandenburg Gate

THE OUTBREAK AT BENARES IN 1799

By Dr. S. B. CHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.,

Presidency College, Calcutta

THE materials for the history of this episode have been taken from a nice little monograph, *Vizier Ali Khan or The Massacre at Benares: A Chapter in British Indian History*, written by Sir J. F. Davis, son of Mr. Samuel Davis, the brave Judge of Benares, who kept the insurgents at bay for a long time when they attacked his house. At the time of the incident, Davis, the son of the judge, was a child, but for this work he obtained, besides papers, the personal information and assistance of the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone who was appointed on his first arrival in India as assistant to Mr. Davis, the Judge and Magistrate of Benares in 1799. By publishing this little volume of one hundred pages, Sir J. F. Davis has not only "done honour to his father's memory," but has laid the students of British Indian history under a deep obligation. Few narratives, indeed, can have "higher claims to implicit credit."¹

When Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh died in 1775, he was succeeded by Asaf-ud-daula, who ceded to the Company the province of Benares, including "all the districts dependent on the Raja Chait Singh." The province was allowed to remain in charge of the Raja, subject to the control of a Resident at Benares. During the rule of Raja Mahip Narayan Singh, who was installed as successor to Chait Singh, an independent Magistrate was appointed for the city of Benares, the first to hold this post being Ali Ibrahim Khan. In 1794, Mahip Narayan was removed from the Government, as he was found incompetent to run it, and British officers were placed in charge of the administration. Benares remained quiet for a few years, but soon after the death of Asaf-ud-daula (1797) an insurrection broke out, the first of its kind during the British rule in India, which in many ways anticipated the political ideals of the Revolt of 1857.

The Company became the 'arbiters of the disposal of a kingdom,' as Lord Teignmouth wrote, 'by an extraordinary concurrence of circumstances.' The claim to succession lay between Vizier Ali, the son of the deceased Nawab and Saadat Ali Khan, the eldest surviving son of Shuja-ud-daula. Though the

former was installed by the British Resident at Lucknow, he was shortly afterwards deposed on account of his proved illegitimacy. By nature fearless and sanguinary, the young Nawab of seventeen, seems to have been conscious of his insecure position and even before his bonafides were doubted, the British Resident at Lucknow got the impression that Vizier Ali was entertaining hostile designs towards the English. The appearance of Lucknow is said to have been alarming on the day of Sir John Shore's intended visit to the city and Mr. Davis is of opinion that the assassination of the Governor-General was even planned by the Nawab's people.² But the Nawab was deserted by his friends including Almas Ali Khan, a powerful noble who denounced him before the Governor-General as spurious and profligate. The mother of the late sovereign, the Begam, also made similar complaints of the defective title of Vizier Ali, as a result of which he was deposed in favour of Saadat Ali Khan, and was removed to Benares where he was given as a residence the house known as Madho Das' garden with a pension of a lakh and a half annually. Saadat Ali was proclaimed Nawab-Vizier on 21st January, 1798.

The removal of Vizier Ali to Benares, on the frontier of his former domain, and the shadow of power sustained by the numerous retinue he was allowed to maintain, were by no means calculated to diminish the risks of future trouble and with a Mysore war in the offing and Tipu Sultan trafficking with the French, and Zaman Shah, the king of the Afghans, firmly entrenched at Lahore with a powerful army, the time indeed seemed ripe for a revolt of the Muslim princes of India.

The two chief civil authorities at Benares were: Mr. Samuel Davis, Judge and Magistrate of the district, and Mr. G. F. Cherry, the Resident at Benares, who, as Chief Judge of the Court of Appeal, was the channel of communication with the foreigners of rank at that city. By virtue of his position Mr. Cherry had some personal intercourse and interchange of visits with Vizier Ali, but he did not 'entertain any suspicions of sinister designs on the part of his charge' though Mr. Davis as well as the supreme government at Calcutta had repeatedly warned him to become 'cognizant of the suspicious conduct and disposition of Vizier Ali' and even suggested the removal of the

1. The book was published in 1844, but the impression having been exhausted, the second edition appeared in a limited number of copies meant chiefly for circulation among friends and relatives. The copy used by the writer of this article in the National Library at 'Belvedere,' bears an interesting notice—'purchased from the Hon'ble C. P. Ilbert, Date 26th October, 1886.'

2. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

Muhammadans of influence from the district, as they might be induced 'to throw their weight into the scale of insurrection.'³

Vizier Ali at Benares lived in right royal style with all the external marks of high rank which helped him to cherish views of independence in himself and at the same time offered an inducement to other disaffected chiefs to strengthen his cause. Davis quotes Lord Valentia and other authorities to show that the massacre at Benares was not a mere 'ebullition of rage' in Vizier Ali when he was ordered to live in Calcutta, but that the plan of the insurrection was arranged long before the arrival of that order.⁴ In fact, Vizier Ali looked forward to an invasion of India by the Afghans under Zaman Shah to whom he had sent an envoy, and depended much on the expected operations of the Afghan invader for the ultimate execution of his plan. He had also engaged some of the principal people of Benares to join him in an insurrection through a chain of conspiracy carried out by two of his accomplices Izzat Ali and Waris Ali, and was also in correspondence with other disaffected Musalman princes of Bengal devoted to his interest.⁵ Lord Mornington, on

being acquainted with the situation issued instructions to Mr. Cherry to remove the dangerous dethroned man from Benares to Calcutta. To Vizier Ali, it was a death-blow to all chances of success of his plan to overthrow the British rule, and so he was 'hurried into the execution of a desperate plot,' though he seemingly acquiesced in and gave out that he should proceed to Calcutta on the 18th or 16th of January (1799).

Mr. Cherry was too little inclined to suspect treachery on the part of the ex-Nawab, but the native Superintendent of Police reported to Mr. Davis on the 13th of January that Vizier Ali was engaging a number of armed men in his service, and seemed to make no preparations for his departure to Calcutta. On the night of the 13th Vizier Ali sent an information to Mr. Cherry that he would visit him on the following morning. Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th January 1799, he paid a State visit to Mr. Cherry, arriving at his house with a retinue of some 200 men fully armed. Unsuspectingly Mr. Cherry welcomed the party, and took Vizier Ali, Izzat Ali, Waris Ali and another attendant into the breakfast room who were accompanied by four armed followers. When tea was served to Vizier Ali he did not touch it, and began to complain in a loud voice, of the treatment he had received from Sir John Shore who promised him six lakhs of rupees per annum, but reduced it to a much smaller amount.

"On his departure," continued Vizier Ali confronting Mr. Cherry face to face, "Sir John Shore told me that you would take care of my interests and attend to my representations; but this you have never done. On the contrary, at the suggestion of Siadat Ali Khan you now wish me to go to Calcutta . . . Saadat Ali Khan wishes for my death and the English are in league with him . . ."⁶

While he was thus speaking, Waris Ali drew himself near Mr. Cherry, and at a signal from Vizier Ali held him by the back, while Vizier Ali himself seized his victim by the collar and struck at him with his drawn sword. The Resident endeavoured to escape through the verandah but they followed him and cut him down to pieces. Mr. R. Evans, a young private secretary, and Captain Conway, who were living with Mr. Cherry, were also killed in the Residency. The assassins now swelling into a murderous gang then made for the house of Mr. Davis, the Judge of the district, and killed on the way Mr. Robert Graham, a young civilian, and Mr. Hill, a shopkeeper of Benares. Mr. Davis, just returning from his morning ride, found the *cutwal* in his home who reported that he apprehended some mischief from Vizier Ali's visit to Mr. Cherry. Presently, they found the insurgents running up against the house. Without delay, Mr. Davis sent

Feringhee. Vizier Ali had intrigued with Zaman Shah, and would not only have welcomed, but have subsidised also an Afghan force in his own dominions (Kaye: *Sepoy War*, I, pp. 115-16).

6. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

3. Davis: *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

5. Among the letters of Vizier Ali seized after his flight, there is a letter from the brother of the Nawab of Dacca (perhaps a brother of Seyed Ali Khan Nasrit Jung, Nawab of Dacca) (*Hamilton Gazetteer*, i. p. 478) to Zaman Shah which gives us a glimpse of the working of the Muslim mind and the desperate nature of their attitude to British rule. After the customary eulogy, the letter proceeds: ". . . considering your majesty as the support and champion of the true faith, I am happy to offer my services in the most zealous manner and rank myself among the propagators of our holy religion . . . However great were the obstacles to my submitting myself to your majesty's protection I have at length fortunately surmounted them, and, trusting to Providence have despatched this letter to your majesty's court by Sheikh Ali, or Amli, who will explain fully all circumstances relating to this country. I beg leave to observe that owing to the imbecility of the house of Timour, and the contempt into which it has fallen of late years, the powerful have been weakened and the weak become powerful. Worthless unbelievers and ambitious villains have started up at every corner, boldly conquered all these countries, and established themselves here. For these reasons, religion which should be so highly prized, is here lost, nothing of Islamism remains but that bare name. They have so stripped and reduced the principal Mussulmans that they have no resource, and are obliged implicitly to obey their orders. The Mussulmans have become vile and wretched, the honour of the great men is gone. Christians seize and keep by force, the daughters of Syeds and Mussulmans. Under these circumstances, when we can no longer act openly, it behoves us to exert ourselves secretly in the cause of religion. If your majesty's victorious standard shall be directed towards these parts for the establishment of religion and destruction of its enemies, by God's assistance your majesty will in a short time, and without any difficulty, conquer this country and annihilate your enemies." (Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98). These sentiments which Vizier Ali undoubtedly shared, made feasible the formation of a Mussulman league with Zaman Shah at its head to free India from the British. Kaye writes that Zaman Shah of Kabul had kept the British power in India in a chronic state of unrest. "There was the fact," he continues, "of a minacious Muhammadan power beyond the frontier, not only meditating invasion, but stirring up the Muhammadan Princes of India to continue in a religious war against the usurping

his wife with her two children, of which the writer of the book *Vizier Ali* was one, to the flat roof of his house. He saved himself and his family only by his presence of mind and a narrow winding staircase which he defended with wonderful tact and pluck. With a spear and none to help him, he disabled his assailants singly every time they wanted to reach the roof. For the space of an hour and a half, he converted this narrow winding staircase into a sort of 'Domestic Thermopylæ' as Lord Valentia described it,⁷ till troops came to his rescue. In the meantime Vizier Ali and his desperadoes went to plunder and murder other English houses in Sikraul, but when Major-General Erskine, encamped within a short march of the city of Benares, arrived at the scene with his troops, Vizier Ali retired to his house at Madhu Das' garden and prepared for defence.

The force under Erskine while marching through one of the suburbs of Benares suffered by the fire from the houses and the narrow lanes on each side, but on reaching Madhu Das' garden, the Nawab's palace, the gateway was broken in, and the stronghold was captured just as the sun set. It is believed that if the contest had lasted until dark, a frightful massacre would have been committed and the city of Benares pillaged by numerous bandits and adventurers who were thronging round.⁸

But though the garden house was assailed, Vizier Ali could not be captured as he had already fled by the way of Azamgarh towards Betaul accompanied by most of his horsemen and a number of his armed foot followed during the night. The next day, the 15th of January 1799, the Raja of Benares, the Delhi princes from the Shivala, and many of the principal inhabitants of the city waited on Mr. Davis to prove their steadfast adherence to the British rule, which, of course, was not doubted, though it is certain as it turned out to be, that Jagat Singh of Saranath fame, a kinsman of the Raja, had been one of the emissaries in Vizier Ali's conspiracy.⁹ Early in his flight, Vizier halted to

address a letter to the Raja of Benares urging him to rise against the English which was miscarried into the hands of Mr. Davis,¹⁰ who, of course, found no reason to doubt the loyalty of the Raja and wrote back to him to calm his apprehensions as follows:

"Do not you be alarmed on this account, for though the Nawab wrote a letter to you, it is clear that you had no communication or correspondence with him, and I am well assured that you are a friend to the Company."¹¹

By the 18th of January public tranquillity seemed re-established but in the course of the enquiries, instituted by Mr. Davis and other servants of the Company, it was very clearly proved that not only a good number of Muhammadan chiefs, but also a considerable number of 'Hindu Babus' or nobles had promised assistance to Vizier Ali. These Hindu Chiefs were obviously waiting the result of the massacre, but their non-participation was not a proof of their innocence as definite evidence was found, that the Zamindar, Bhavani Sankar, and his son Sheo Deo Singh went to the fort of Pindra about 14 miles from Benares, on the Jaunapur road with two hundred men armed with guns and swords on the evening of Sunday, the 13th January where at nightfall they were joined by Nawab Vizier Ali. In the consultation that followed it was agreed that the Hindu Chiefs should prevent any force coming while the Nawab was fighting the English and that they should engage the troops from Beetabur.¹² After the flight of Vizier Ali, next day, Bhavani Sankar disappeared with the intention, it was supposed, of joining his master and Sheo Deo took up his residence in a small house in the city where he remained entrenched

7. *Ibid.*, p. 96. There is also a succinct statement in Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*.

8. Meanwhile, the European residents assembled at the house of Mr. Davis, and it was freely acknowledged that they would have been discovered and massacred if the attention of the insurgents had not been occupied by his defence (Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41). Lord Wellesley, who was absent for a time on a visit to Madras at the period of the Benares insurrection subsequently expressed his appreciation of the arduous trial of prudence, activity and resolution of Mr. Davis and sent to his wife this autograph inscription: 'To Mrs. Davis, as a testimony of sincere respect and regard, and also a memorial of attachment founded upon long intimacy, to the honourable and virtuous memory of her deceased husband, from her faithful friend and servant, Wellesley.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76).

9. The principal testimony was given by a Brahmin who was an astrologer to Vizier Ali. The Brahmin was sent by him to Jagat Singh, four months previous to the insurrection, to ascertain if he was well-disposed and if he would be a privy to his design of making war against the English. Jagat Singh in reply stated that he was a slave to the Nawab and that he would extend his dominions

as far as Calcutta. He is also reported to have said, "Let me assemble troops and raise money from the bankers to defray the expense of massacring the English." Vizier Ali being delighted sent a 'Kehlaut' to Jagat Singh who reciprocated by declaring that he had prepared a list of sixty of his friends, who would take an oath of fidelity to the cause. A secret interview took place one night between Jagat Singh and the ex-Nawab, when the latter seemed to have signed some promise or contract in the event of their plot, succeeding. But the Brahmin, later on, wanted to disclose the plot to Mr. Cherry and actually approached him for that reason, but the Resident declined to give him any audience. Jagat Singh, Davis says, had a great taste for Persian culture and refinement: his Persian Library and his compositions earned for him the title of the 'Nightingale of India' from a former Nawab. This might explain why he was so staunchly loyal to Mahammadan rule. (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-49).

10. The letter runs as follows: 'From Vizier Ali Khan to Rajah Udhwant Narain Singh.' "By the grace and bounty of God, the life of the worthless Cherry, who disturbed and oppressed you, the hereditary servant of my family, has been terminated by the warriors of the army of Islam. You, who are my hereditary servant and ancient well-wisher, whose ancestry were always ready with heart and soul for the service of my family, must consider these joyful tidings, as the cause of your prosperity. Be ready with your people for my service, and guard well the roads about the city of Benares. Enjoin your people to permit no individual of the British or other European nations to pass the boundaries of Benares . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45).

11. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-99.

surrounded by a body of guards known as 'Bankas'.¹³ "It is well known," wrote Mr. Davis to General Erskine, "that this city abounds with armed-adventurers who are ever ready to enter into any service at a moment's notice. There are in the district persons of rank who live and maintain their own guards without any limitation from government."¹⁴ The danger resulting from the existence of these mercenary elements was apparent in the use made of them by Vizier Ali.

It was further ascertained that a nephew of Jagat Singh had come up from Saran to Benares and agreed to join him in the conspiracy engaging to raise 20,000 men in Chapra. It was also established that a chief named Culb Ali Beg, otherwise known as Mogul Beg, had attended Vizier Ali during the insurrection.¹⁵ The extent and organisation of the conspiracy is also indicated by the evidence of a European inhabitant, McLean by name who was going to be despoiled on the evening of that day far off from Benares. A number of papers discovered after the flight of Vizier Ali contained lists of forces he was able to pull—about four thousand eight hundred foot and a hundred horse who would join Vizier Ali at once, and some eighty thousand who would subsequently espouse his cause on the day of massacre. But it has been estimated that not more than two or three thousand actually composed Vizier Ali's forces on that day, but the huge levy would certainly have been brought into action on a favourable opportunity had he been allowed to stay in Benares and develop his plans.

So the plot failed, but Vizier Ali, however, was still at large and the implicated 'chieftains' were not yet apprehended. The supreme government of Calcutta had sent instructions to secure the persons of those nobles who were privy to the conspiracy but it was difficult to execute the order as these refractory chiefs lived in houses that were fortified like castles and in particular in the stronghold of Pindra. Further, Saadat Ali, whose help was needed in the pursuit of Vizier Ali and his partisans, implored to be excused upon the ground that he could not trust his own soldiers; and all that he did was to issue orders that Vizier Ali should be seized.

The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, then a very young man and assistant to the Judge and Magistrate of Benares, was deputed to capture Pindra. On the 18th of March he was furnished with four companies of infantry and twenty-four troopers. The

place was taken without resistance as the occupants had fled, but a seizure was made of fifty matchlocks, forty swords, and some powder and ball. On the same day Mr. Sealey and another officer of the civil service, surprised the residence of Jagat Singh and forced him to surrender. Sheo Deo, who occupied a strong house in the city of Benares, offered a gallant resistance to his friends who came to capture him. He held out a whole day and night without food and water and 'though every means was adopted to persuade him to surrender' and every assurance offered that no personal disgrace should be inflicted, he remained shut up in his impregnable position. At length he rushed out and furiously attacked the soldiers. In the desperate conflict that now ensued, Sheo Deo was slain, but not before he and his 'Bankas' had killed or wounded a number of the besieging party. The arrest of other leaders could not be made as many fled, only Bhavani Sankar and Jagat Singh were brought to trial and condemned to death. Of the two, Bhavani was executed, but the sentence of Jagat Singh was committed to transportation, but he committed suicide on his journey down the Ganges when he approached the sea, with a view to escaping the degradation of the loss of caste.

Subsequently, other measures were taken to break up this dangerous band of feudal retainers and to clear the country of the Bankas. In the meanwhile, Vizier Ali was ravaging Gorakhpur when he was joined by free-booters and adventurers of all kinds and with these lawless bands amounting to some thousands of men, he brought the eastern districts of Oude into a state of chaos and disorder, but chased by British force he moved from place to place and was eventually compelled to fly to Rajputana where he took refuge with the Raja of Jaipur. When pressure was brought to bear upon the Raja, he delivered him up to the English, but due to his 'scruples for the laws of hospitality' he stipulated for the life of Vizier Ali and also made it a condition that he should not be confined by fetters. Vizier Ali was taken to Benares, by a singular coincidence, on the anniversary of his rebellion and thence to Calcutta. Subsequently, after a long captivity in Fort William, he was transferred in the palace built for Tipu Sultan's family in the fort of Vellore, where the females of his family joined him.

Such was the outbreak at Benares in 1799. Considered from the aspect of affairs on the side of Mysore, brought about by the war with Tipu Sultan in February 1799, Vizier Ali's insurrection at Benares may not appear to be just a flutter on the political surface of India, and had it not been put down speedily, the spread of revolt at such a critical period might have taxed the resources of the government to the utmost. But the genesis of the insurrection calls for some remark. It was undoubtedly a political movement with definite political objectives, probably the earliest on record during British rule,—the Muslims and Hindu chiefs, joining in a conspiracy to overthrow the

13. This set of braves called 'Bankas' were leagued together as a sect. They were men of all castes they affected a peculiar way of dressing, 'half bully and half dandy': strutted in the streets and were always ready to be hired for a crime. The term 'Banka' is derived from the peculiar movement of their swords which are proficiently exercised and so they were mostly maintained by the wealthy as their armed followers. (*Ibid*, pp. 68-72).

14. *Ibid*, p. 65.

15. It is interesting to note that one Mustopha Beg gave the signal for revolt to the people at Vellore in 1806. (*Kaye: Sepoy War in India*, I, p. 227, f.n.).

government. The highhandedness of Warren Hastings, in the affairs of Chait Singh of Benares, left a back-wash of bitterness and resentment in the minds of the Hindus of Benares, who were unfortunately duped to join in a cause which was not worthy enough of their participation. The reckless ambition of a dastardly boy of nineteen of ignoble origin could not evoke much sympathy, and far less any widespread national sentiment, and the assassination of a half a dozen

Europeans, though an unprecedented event in the 90's of the eighteenth century, did not help the movement to gain any elevation. Even then, the insurrection served to generate a spirit of tension against British rule in India, and in spite of the pan-Islamic predilections of this young visionary to unfurl the green flag with the help of Zaman Shah, it furnished a precedent to the disaffected political elements to combine in a revolt to overthrow the rule of a foreign power.

—:O:—

TOWARDS ECONOMIC FREEDOM

By S. N. AGARWAL

THE Agra Session of the All-India Congress Committee devoted its attention mainly to the serious economic issues facing the country. We attach the greatest significance to the two resolutions on Unemployment and the Social and Economic programme passed by the A.-I. C. C. after careful consideration of all aspects of the problem. It will be wrong to regard these resolutions as mere "pious hopes and platitudes"; they embody the will and determination of the Congress to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country after the achievement of political freedom. We have, indeed, been able to achieve substantial results in various spheres of national development during the last few years. Thanks to the able guidance and wisdom of our great leaders, it has been possible for us to consolidate and stabilise our newly-won political independence. Besides, the country has made impressive progress in different fields of economic activity. But we are ourselves not satisfied with the pace of progress in the social and economic domains. The resolution, therefore, rightly points out that "the pace of progress must be quickened more specially in regard to land reform and industrial growth." The A.-I. C.C. "attaches the greatest importance to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India" in order to make "the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land." The State Governments have been asked to "take *immediate* steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings" with a view to "redistribute the land, as far as possible, among the landless workers." Every effort is to be made "to add to the volume of investment for developmental purposes" through voluntary and, wherever possible, even compulsory savings. The machinery of administration and in particular the Services have also to be "reorganised with a view to deal effectively with the problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State." The legal system which is "expensive and dilatory" should be revised

and made "simpler, less costly and more expeditious." The Planning Commission has been asked to "re-examine" the Five-Year Plan with a view to "its expansion in such directions as would lead to an increase in the volume of employment." The State has been enjoined to "assume a larger degree of responsibility in regard to cottage and small-scale industries" in order to provide fuller opportunities for the proper utilisation of country's man-power. The A.-I.C.C. has also stressed the need for the reorganisation of our educational system so that it may adapt itself better to the present requirements.

It is now necessary to follow up these important resolutions with definite lines of action, and we are confident that the Government of India as well as the State Governments will take early steps to secure for the country a true type of social and economic freedom for the common good of all citizens irrespective of any distinctions. It is essential to tackle our economic problems with a sense of urgency and in a crusading spirit. Time is of the essence in a fast-moving world of today; we cannot afford to follow a policy of over-caution and "gradualness." There is, of course, great risk in moving too fast; but the risk in not moving fast enough is no less. All of us have to realise that the quintessence of economic freedom is *economic equality* and reduction of glaring economic disparities in our present-day society. With a yawning gulf between the rich and the poor, all talk of economic freedom appears to be futile and meaningless. In order to establish real economic justice in society, it is necessary to fix ceilings on incomes either from land or from other kinds of property. The A.-I.C.C. has called upon the State Governments to take early steps to fix ceilings on land-holdings for redistributing land among the landless. We also welcome the Estate Duty Bill as a measure of achieving greater economic equality among the urban population. It will, however, be desirable to re-orient our taxation policy with a view to bridging

the existing gulf between the haves and have-nots.

In regard to land reforms, we would draw the attention of all the enthusiasts for large-scale farming in this country to the fate of collectivization in Eastern European countries like Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary. In Tito's Yugoslavia, collective farms have not only "set peasant against peasant, but also peasant against the State." In Hungary, collectivization has recently been "slowed down," because it has "impoverished and antagonised the population and brought the country to the verge of economic collapse." (Vide *London Times*, July 6). In China, there is a movement for allowing more "liberty for the peasant" by making collectivization voluntary and doing nothing "to neglect or roughly hamper the peasant's activity as an individual economic unit." The history of collectivization in the U.S.S.R. also clearly indicates the need for great caution in trying similar experiments in India. As in Japan and several countries of Western Europe, small-scale farming with co-operative endeavour in different processes of agriculture is best suited to Indian conditions. Instead of trying to pool land on the basis of highly mechanized farming, we should try to persuade the individual small-scale peasants to pool their resources of production like cattle, irrigation, manuring, etc., as also processes of agriculture like sowing, weeding and harvesting on a co-operative or mutual-aid basis. That is why we have welcomed Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yagna as a novel way of redistributing land to the landless on the basis of small-scale and intensive farming.

The problem of unemployment is, indeed, a serious problem which requires to be tackled on many fronts. We have expressed our views on this question on previous occasions also and have regarded unemployment as Enemy Number One in India. In order to liquidate it effectively, it is essential to provide the fullest scope for the development of small-scale and cottage industries. Unless our pattern of production becomes labour-absorbing rather than labour-saving, it would not be possible to solve the problem of unemployment or partial-employment in this country. This is not sentiment or a Gandhian "fad"; it is pure and simple arithmetic. Of course, the technique of cottage production has to be made as efficient as possible with the help of technical or scientific knowledge. The public has also to pay its own part in patronising the goods of cottage and small-scale industries as compared with those articles produced by big mills and

factories. The Government of India must re-orient its import policy with a view to protecting the interest of small-scale and decentralised production in India. The import of consumer goods which can be easily and efficiently produced in our own country through cottage and village industries must be rigidly curtailed and even completely stopped. Our educational system requires radical changes in order to impart to our youngmen the capacity to work hard physically for earning their living. The present schools and colleges have become veritable factories for quickly turning out armies of the educated unemployed who are proving to be a source of potential danger to the stability of our democratic traditions.

We welcome the reference to the Reorganisation of Services in the resolution of the A.-I.-C.C. at Agra. We earnestly hope that the Government of India and the State Governments will now try to implement the recommendations of the Planning Commission in this regard with a strong will. Prof Appleby's suggestions also deserve to be considered seriously for making our administrative machinery more flexible and less rigid. So far as the desirability of Legal Reforms is concerned, we suggest that the Government of India should soon appoint a High Powered Commission to go into this complicated question thoroughly and submit its definite recommendations within a year. Various schemes for tapping the idle capital resources, particularly in the rural areas, should be prepared by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and Communications. In such schemes, special facilities should be provided for earmarking funds for specific local projects in different areas.

It is also gratifying to know that the A.-I.-C.C. has accepted most of the amendments to the Congress Constitution as proposed by the Working Committee. These amendments are meant to revitalise the Congress organisation with a view to making it a sharper and more efficient instrument for effecting an economic revolution in India. We feel confident that with the reorganisation of the Congress, the land and industrial systems, the administrative services, the educational system, the commercial policy and the legal procedure, we shall be able to achieve economic freedom for our great country within the next few years. Our first fight for political liberty began in 1857; we achieved independence in 1947; let our fight for economic freedom bear ample fruit before the beginning of 1957.



INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN RAJASTHAN

By PROF. K. B. SAKSENA, M.COM.

It looks quite satirical on the very face of it that a big State of India, viz., Rajasthan, to which goes the credit of being the birth-place of the leading business magnates and industrialists, is itself to be categorized as a backward area both agriculturally and industrially. The State with a widespread area of about 1.28 lakh square miles is inhabited by approximately 1.53 crores of a sturdy class of males and females. Is it not a matter of deep thinking and concern that this region of the country with much less a density of population, as compared to other States in India—India as a whole and other developed parts of the world, is not in a position to provide a decent living standard to the existing population? To consider any scheme for the general economic development of the State would be unjust within the limited space. An attempt is therefore made here to study the industrial problems and prospects of an industrial development in the State.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before coming to any conclusion regarding the subject and suggesting proposals for the industrial development, it seems quite essential to look through the mirror the historical background for the present undeveloped condition of the State. Scanning the annals of the history of this State (though not in the form of present political configuration) we find that since the time we have got traces of its history, the land of Rajputs popularly known as Rajputana, had been a constant arena for political feuds among the various rulers of small States who were more anxious for establishing their political supremacy rather than aiming at a consolidated economic, political and social unity. This was one of the reasons for the fall of the brave people and the governments of this State before the Moghul and then the Britishers. The courage of the people can be well judged by the views of the learned authority Tod as expressed in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*:

"Rajasthan exhibits the sole example in history of mankind of people withstanding every outrage barbarity can inflict or human nature sustain and bent to the earth, yet rising buoyant from the pressure and making calamity a whetstone to courage."

Despite the absence of warfare in this region during the British regime, the laissez-faire policy of the government could not do much for the industrialization of the country as a whole, nothing to talk of Rajasthan. Of course, the limited stimulus that was given to handicrafts and fine arts in the various States was due to the fascination of the rulers for decorating their capitals. It could be hoped that the liberation of the country and the

unification of small and big units into a compact group under one government, would be much helpful for *inter alia* the development of industries in the State. The State and the country as a whole immediately after the independence have confronted a great many political and economic difficulties plus the rehabilitation problems created after the partition of the country. The diversion of activities has been responsible now for the lack of due consideration for the problem under review. However, I do not stand to depreciate the steps taken by the Rajasthan Government in this connection, but the proposals for industrial development are not however sufficient.

REASONS FOR LACK OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

Political reasons only do not account for the chequered growth of industries in the State; but there are many other reasons that can be attributed to this slackness. The position of raw-material and the financial problems are also to be considered in this connection. There has always been lack of co-operation and initiative in the State and the industrialists of today. The industrialists who have their origin in the State were never very anxious to develop industries in their birth-place, rather they invested a major portion of their stupendous earnings outside the State. The system of customs duty and the lack of facilities for the import of raw material and movement of goods to and from the State along with the lack of facilities for the maintenance of industrial units, were obstacles in the way. Seth Ghanashyamas Birla once opined that the industrial development in the State could not be possible in the absence of facilities for transport and communication, industrial power and the taming of the water resources for industrial purposes. One of the most serious curses to this State is the incredibly low percentage of literacy which accounts for approximately 90 per cent of illiterates.

PLAN FOR DEVELOPMENT

Whenever we consider any plan for the industrialisation, the first question that comes up is the form which should be given to it. Not only Rajasthan, but the country as a whole is standing at the threshold of industrialisation and we have got an option between the Gandhian system wherein there is limited scope for the big industrial units run by huge machines and there is a major consideration for the cottage industries which would give employment to the 80% of the rural population who is out of work for about eight months in the year and the method suggested on the American lines which leads to surrender of man-power to the supremacy of the machines. Up to this time the State has

not advanced much towards the American method and the Gandhian economy has not yet been applied on satisfactory lines. Here, however, we should not ignore the methods adopted in the communist countries, particularly in U.S.S.R. which is a symbol of planning not only industrial but agricultural, fiscal, commercial, educational, credit and monetary as well.

The industrial policy for the State should be so construed as to lead an all-round development of our life and to respond closely to the needs of the society in a manner so as not to centralize the benefits within a small group or a particular class of the people, but it should be on an equitable basis.

A CASE FOR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Here it looks quite essential to look into the possibilities of developing cottage industries in Rajasthan. For such undeveloped areas it is always useful to stimulate cottage industries. These will provide work for the majority of persons at a lower cost and will prepare a background for industrial outlook. The success of cottage industries in Japan and Switzerland are amazing examples which are quite fascinating and alluring for the people of Rajasthan. A survey of the position of meagre cottage industries in the State has been made by the Rajasthan Government which does not reveal a desirable progress in this direction. The important cottage industries mainly consist of weaving and spinning, ivory goods, engraving, oil pressing, dyeing, Bidimaking and wood work.

Keeping in view the development of cottage industries it should not be missed that the development of such industries is to be stimulated which will provide the people with articles of domestic use and not with those which lead the cultivator to immoral habits, e.g., Bidis and local liquor which, though they may give employment to a number of persons, are like the noxious vermins which would infect society with evil germs. The Rajasthan Government has contemplated to spend an amount of Rs. 38.50 lakhs over a period of five years (1951-56 for the development of the cottage industries in the State of Rajasthan. This amount is not commensurate with the size of the population and the area of Rajasthan. As compared to other Part 'B' States of Mysore and Madhyabharat which provide for an expenditure of Rs. 135.38 lakhs and Rs. 50 lakhs respectively this amount seems to be too meagre. It is quite ridiculous that this meagre amount has been provided only for cottage industries when no amount has been provided for other major industries in the State. For the purpose of financing these cottage industries, the help of co-operative credit societies in the villages should

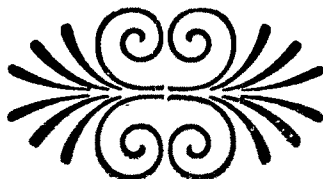
be obtained and every possible step should be taken to develop credit co-operation in the State.

MAJOR INDUSTRIES

The absence of any provision in the Five-Year plan for this State for the major industries should not be considered as to mean that there is no scope for the development of major industrial units. Rather this indifference of the State should be taken up by the private sector. Now in the democratic country, the big industrial units should flourish side by side with the cottage industries not with a view to competing with each other which will cause the ruin of cottage industries and massacre of the economic development of the State. It should, however, be aimed at that these two types of industries should work with fullest possible co-operation.

The working of the large industrial units creates problems regarding finance and labour. As far as the financial side is concerned, there are at present about four leading banks of Rajasthan origin and approximately an equal number of those who have been registered outside Rajasthan. These joint-stock banks can easily finance the requirements of the working capital. As far as the fixed capital is required for the establishment of new units or the expansion of the existing one, the facilities granted by the Industrial Finance Corporation can be availed of. The formation of a provincial corporation in Rajasthan does not look feasible or economically advantageous.

It should, however, not be lost sight of that the industrialists now should come forward with a generous motive for the welfare of the State and the people, and not with the only consideration of making profits. The problems of labour and capital relationship have become quite considerable these days and although the government is in constant effort to create amiable relations, individual effort from both the parties is quite indispensable. The capitalists should take lesson from the growing tendency towards socialisation and nationalisation of industrial units over vast regions of the world. The symbol of capitalism in U.S.A. and U.K. may not remain so forceful as it is today and even today the benefactors of capitalism and bureaucracy in the two countries are always on their guard to keep off socialism and communism at an arm's length. It is at this stage very essential for our capitalistic class to show goodwill towards the interests of the general masses and not to keep aloof for fear of nationalization of the industries in the future which is not in the offing as yet. Here they have got ample opportunity to save their skin from criticism by the public.



THE COLLEGE OF YOGA AT LONAVLA

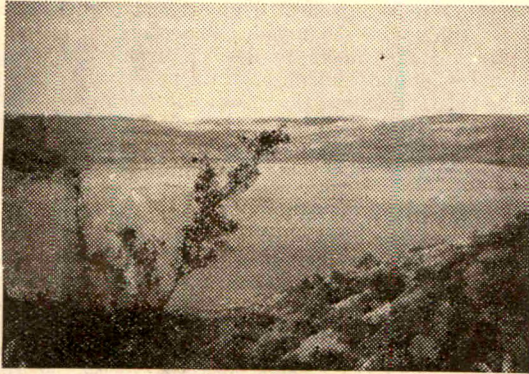
By DR. S. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., T.D., PH.D.

To wander for nearly twenty years in the mountains and jungles of the sacred land of Bharat from Kedarnath in the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Girnar in Saurashtra to Tarakeshwar in Bengal in search of Yogis to get an inkling into the mysteries of Yoga and ultimately to be blessed by the

to dispel darkness from the 'terra incognita' of Yoga and

"to propagate Yoga in all its aspects—physical, mental and spiritual—by co-ordinating it with modern sciences and orienting it in such a way as to make it useful in everyday life."

To give effect to his mission in life Swamiji made a small start in the year 1924 with an Ashram *The Kaivalyadhama* at Lonavla which is nearly 80 miles from Bombay, en route to Poona, and is on an elevation of 2,000 ft. approximately. Later on, the research side of the Kaivalyadhama was separated and organised as a well-constituted Samiti and was registered under the Societies Registration Act 21 of 1860 under the name of Swami Kuvalayananda's Guru, His Holiness Paramhansa Shree Madhavadasa Maharaj of Malsar (near Baroda). Kuvalayanandaji's selfless devotion to the cause of Yoga gave rise to two important off-shoots of the Kaivalyadhama of Lonavla—one at Bombay and the other at Rajkot in Saurashtra. The Bombay off-shoot is known as the Kaivalyadhama Ishwardas Chunilal Yogic Health Centre where on an average about a thousand people



The view of the 'Valvan Lake' behind the 'College of Yoga'

teachings of a Yogi in the very heart of a modern metropolis of no less importance than Bombay, is indeed one of the greatest wonders as well as an irony of fate in a man's life. Such was destined for the present writer who, in the year 1949, came into contact at Bombay with Swami Kuvalayanandaji, the founder-Yogi of the 'Kaivalyadhama' at Lonavla, Bombay, etc. The love and kindness with which Swamiji accepted the neophyte, in spite of certain handicaps, could only be explained by a reference to some relation existing between us in the previous births. It was the occasion when Kuvalayanandaji was selecting the first batch of thirteen students, who should satisfy certain conditions, for his College of Yoga that had its beginning in Bombay before being shifted to Lonavla, I was selected by Swamiji, not because I could satisfy the required conditions, but mainly on account of my genuine interest in the subject of Yoga. Yet, what a perverted idea one possesses about Yoga before one receives true light and what a heavy price one has to pay for his sad mistakes! To some it is a hoax, to others it is a cure-all.

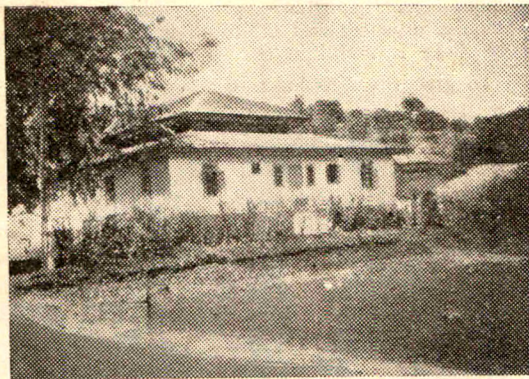
The subject of Yoga has an attraction or repulsion (both on false grounds) to a modern mind either due to the fantastic claims attributed to it or on account of the absence of a code suitable for the modern scientific mind. The present writer was no less a victim to the fog and mist in the domain of Yoga until he came to be guided by Kuvalayanandaji who has been fighting alone for the last thirty years

(both men and women) undergo Yogic exercises every year. The Rajkot off-shoot maintains a hostel for college students and also carries on cultural work for the general public. The former institute gets an annual grant of Rs. 1200 from the Bombay Government and the latter Rs. 1,000 from the Saurashtra Government. The Kaivalyadhama has also deve-



The 'College of Yoga'—Front view

loped an exclusive spiritual centre at Kanakeshwar-Bhuvaneshwar in the Kolaba district (off the Bombay coast). This centre is the *tapovana* of the Kaivalyadhama. Here Swami Kuvalayanandaji's Guru performed *tapas* for twelve years more than seven decades ago.

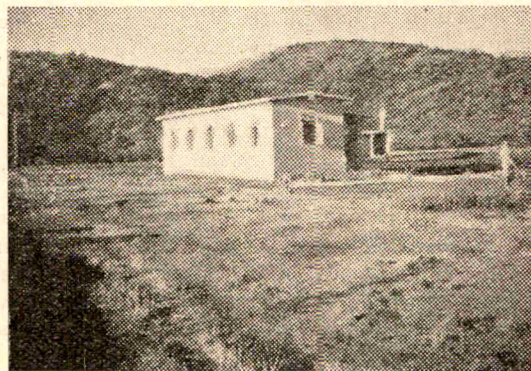


The first 'Ashrama of Kaivalyadhama' at Lonavla

But besides the afore-mentioned institutions Swamiji's mind all the time gazed at the temple which would be built up some day to enshrine the highest achievements of Yoga—both practical and theoretical. His dreams have, at last, been fulfilled by the starting of a full-fledged College of Yoga in 1950 at Lonavla ('The Gordhandas Seksaria College of Yoga and Cultural Synthesis') through the magnificent gift of Seth Makhanlal Seksaria of Bombay. Yet, how far it is from what it aspires to be and what immense potentialities are stored in it! The present assets of the College are only a few lakhs whereas it requires at least half a crore of rupees and there is no reason why it should not be possible for it to revive the ancient secrets of our hoary land reflecting through the prisms of modern science.

The College of Yoga at Lonavla being situated by the side of the first Ashrama of Kaivalyadhama over an extensive plot of land in the solitude of hills and lakes is a unique institute not only in our country but also in the whole world in the sense that the age-old Yogic lore of our motherland, is being investigated by the application of ultra-modern scientific instruments to the young men with bright university careers taken under training to serve as 'subjects'. In a short article as the present one it is not possible to give the details of the scientific experiments that are being carried on in the College of Yoga at Lonavla under the supervision of a Doctor of Science on the 'subjects' practising *pranayama*, *kapalabhati*, meditation, etc., to record and verify the truth of higher life experienced and described by our ancient sages. To use the words of Swami Kuvalayanandaji:

The aim of his College of Yoga is "to develop a philosophy and a culture based on the co-ordination of Yogic experiences and modern sciences that would lead to the establishment of human brotherhood. The principal science which will be used for this purpose is biology, although physics, chemistry, physiology, psychology, sociology, etc., will be fully taken advantage of . . . Life is trying to express itself in higher and still higher forms and endeavouring to obtain experiences of higher and still higher values. The science of biology which deals with life has stopped short with the study of the normal and abnormal man. That science will always remain truncated unless and until it extends its studies to the mystic. The effort of Dr. Julian Huxley and others to develop evolutionary ethics and scientific humanism will never have a sure foundation unless the mystic is scientifically taken into account. Cultures based upon an incomplete study of man will never eliminate conflict and war. If a man is to be happy, he must be studied in his entirety. . . . The experimental psychology that is developed in the West, however, has been concerning itself mainly with normal and abnormal or pathological psychology. The higher experiences of man have not yet been properly touched . . . Luckily for humanity the Indian Yoga taken in its most comprehensive sense, trains a man, stage by stage, from what may look to be merely physical exercises to the highest mystical experiences. Hence, the students trained in Yoga afford the best material for scientific investigation in Yoga."

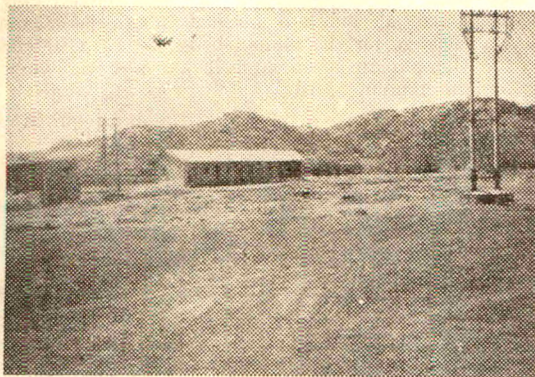


A hostel for the students of the 'College of Yoga'

In this connection one may think of the Duke University of the U.S.A. where Dr. Rhine is engaged in scientific experiments with the facts of extra-sensory perception—now better known as parapsychology. But even Dr. Rhine is handicapped to reveal the inner side of Yoga as he is not interested in or qualified for the facts and experiences narrated by Patanjali and other Sanskrit writers on Yoga. I, therefore, again assert that the position of the College of Yoga at Lonavla is unrivalled—specially as it is situated in the motherland of Yoga and is being directed by an adept in the subject.

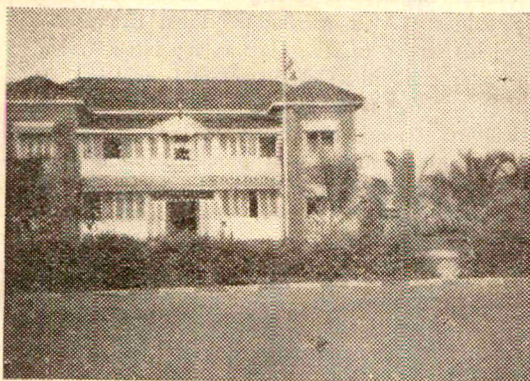
Nearly ten students are selected from all over India without any distinction of caste or creed every

year in June-July for the monthly scholarships of Rs. 60 offered by the College of Yoga at Lonavla which is a residential college and their courses of studies extend over two years. They are given lessons in practical



The view of another hostel

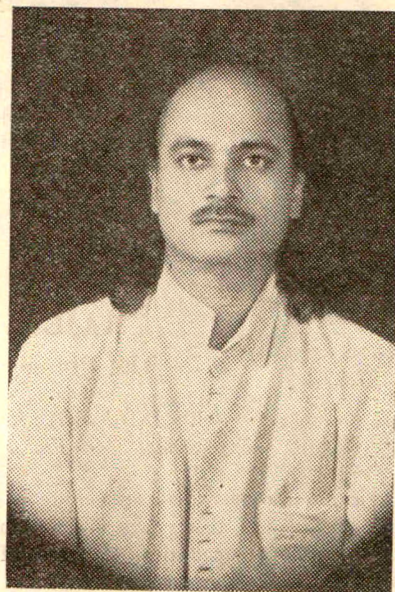
Yoga, Eastern and Western Philosophy, Indology, Comparative Religion, Anatomy and Physiology with reference to practical and scientific Yoga, experimental work on Yoga, etc. The professors consist of the Doctors of Indian as well as foreign Universities and well-versed Sanskrit scholars. Apart from the scientific study of Yoga, the College also encourages and gives facilities for research work in philosophy and literature. Several scholars of India and at least one from America (Mr. Behanan of the Yale University) have been awarded Doctorate Degrees by the different Universities for their research work done under the roof of the College of Yoga at Lonavla. The present writer is also one of them.



The 'Kaivalyadhama Yogic Health Centre' at Bombay

Excluding the two authentic books on *Asanas* and *Pranayama* by Swami Kuvalayananda, research work done by Om 'Kaivalyadhama' in the field of Yogic literature consists of the publication of a journal on Yoga called the *Yoga Mimansa*, a critical edition of

the *Hathapradipika*, a critical edition of the *Brihad-Yogi-Yajnavalkya Smriti*, an *Index of Yogic Literature*, a *Concordance of the Yoga*, etc. In appreciation of the work put in by the College of Yoga at Lonavla the Central Government of the Indian Union and the Provincial Government of the Bombay State have allotted grants of Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 3,000 respectively to the institute so far. The College has also attracted no less world-famous visitors than Dr. J. B. S. Haldane and Prof. McBain from among the Western scientists, besides the Indian ones. The personality of Swami Kuvalayananda is a rare thing to come across even in the antiquated land of Yoga such as India. His vast erudition in the field of Yogic literature coupled with an equal amount of knowledge

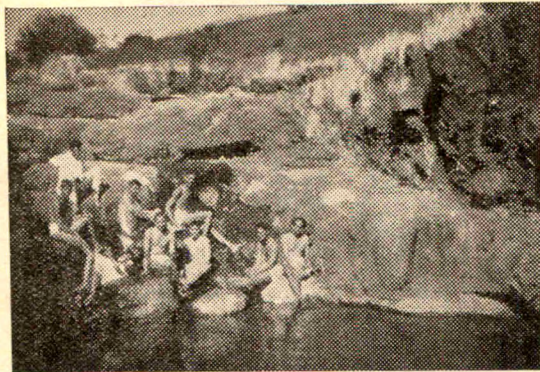


The writer

of its practical side and a thorough grasp of the modern physiological investigations have made him well-known not only to the students of Yoga in India, but also in the Western countries which he has not yet visited. Though the main cause of his turning towards Yoga and the manner of his initiation at the hand of a greater Yogi, namely, the late Paramahansa Shree Madhavadasa Maharaj, will remain shrouded in mystery to us, yet we know this much that Swami Kuvalayananda was none but the principal Guru at Amalner more than a quarter of a century ago. His is a personality about whom the greatest living philosopher of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, has said:

"I am impressed by the work which you have been doing all these years . . . I know that the lessons of Yoga in its different aspects are needed today, not only in our country but in the world outside. And you have the capacity and the training for undertaking this noble task. . . ."

Mr. Roswell P. Angier, Chairman, Department of Psychology, Yale University, New Haven, U.S.A., writes:



Some students of Yoga in the lap of Nature

"I wish on behalf of the Department and of the Yale University to express our sincerest appreciation of the facilities that were given him (Mr.

Behanan) in his study of Yogic practices. Mr. Behanan has a very deep affection for you and is full of gratitude for the untiring attention and help that you gave to him. This sense of gratitude is also felt by the Department of Psychology at Yale University."

To quote the words of my revered Guruji:

"Yoga has a complete message for humanity. It has a message for the human body, it has a message for the human mind, and it has also a message for the human spirit."

But the world, as it is constituted, requires material help even for spiritual progress. Let the benefactors of humanity and wealthy philanthropists in our country as well as abroad not forget this fact and allow the College of Yoga at Lonavla to close half-way for want of financial help that is urgently needed by it. The responsibility of our National Government is also by no means less towards the maintenance of this Institute, which has grown up independently to the credit of its founder-Yogi, for the revival of our cultural heritage.*

* Copy-right reserved by the writer.

—:O:—

RAJESWAR DAS GUPTA The Pioneer Agriculturist of India

By INDU BHUSAN CHATTERJEE, MSc., L.Ac.,
Ex-Assistant Agricultural Commissioner with the Government of India

INDIA is an agricultural country and agriculture here is the most vital industry. In these days of widespread food shortage when huge quantities of foodstuff are being imported from abroad at enormous cost to the country, agriculture assumes even greater importance than ever. It has to be remembered, as once Sir Maurice Hallett remarked, that

"Whoever can make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, deserves better of mankind and does more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together."

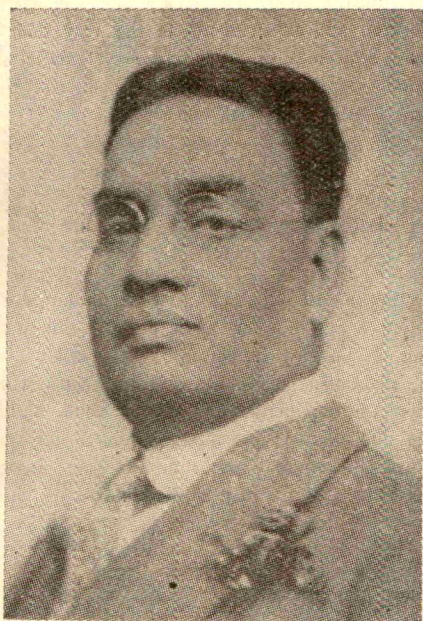
In this connection the name of the late Rai Bahadur Rajeswar Das Gupta comes first to our mind. Realising the importance of agriculture he was one of the first to advocate research and improvement in our agricultural systems and their application to the field. Fittingly he has been called a pioneer in agricultural research in this province if not in India.

The late Rai Bahadur hailed from a distinguished Vaidya family of Vikrampur (Dacca). Undeterred by the loss of both the parents even at a very early age, he proceeded perseveringly with his studies and passed the F.A. Examination from the Dacca College. From

the very beginning he had a leaning for agricultural studies and this manifested itself in his taking admission in the Sibpur Engineering College with agriculture as a special subject. After passing the Final Examination he entered his service career. He was appointed Agricultural Inspector under the Government of Bengal in 1904. Later, after working for 2 years as the Superintendent of Agriculture, under the short-lived Eastern Bengal and Assam Government, he was promoted to the rank of Provincial Agricultural Superintendent. He conducted the cattle and jute census and prepared a *Year Book of Agriculture* which was of immense help to Indian Agriculturists. Mr. E. S. Miligan, the then Director of Agriculture, who was the first Agricultural expert to come out to India, was so much impressed by his work that he promoted him to the rank of Deputy Director of Agriculture.

Rajeswar Das Gupta officiated in the post of Deputy Director of Agriculture for two years and was then confirmed in the same post in the year 1919 and remained there till his death which, however, came too early in 1926 due to heavy extra departmental work which told on his health. He was made a Rai Bahadur in the year 1920. If he had lived a few years more, he was sure

to have been the first Indian Director of Agriculture in Bengal in those days of British bureaucracy. He lived only for 48 years, but in this short span of life his work is varied and voluminous. Regarding his success in service he was the first Indian I.A.S. in Bengal. He was not, however, merely a high Government official pinned



Rajeswar Das Gupta

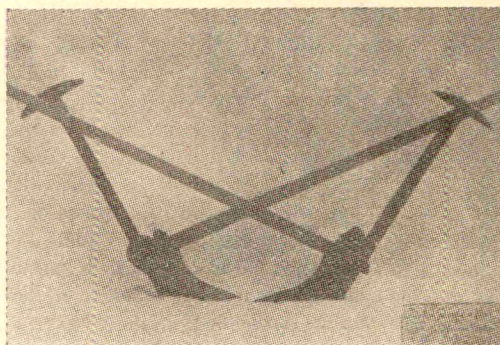
to his official files. He was a practical farmer and carried his message to the door of the farmers and agriculturists. In this country the most difficult task before an agricultural officer is to bridge the wide gap between the agricultural experiment station and the vast mass of peasants who really form the backbone of Indian Agriculture. In the words of Sir John Russell:

"It is not so much new science as fuller use of existing science that is needed."

Rajeswar realised this and spared no efforts for the application of laboratory results and improvements in the field. When the Royal Commission on Agriculture came to India in 1926 he acted as Liaison Officer on behalf of the Government of Bengal. He was the recipient of many medals and prizes in agricultural shows and exhibitions.

Amidst his many and varied activities Rajeswar could find time to write down his experiences in agricultural science in the form of manuscripts which he obviously desired to publish in book-form. His untimely death, however, prevented him from doing this and he left this responsible task to his eldest son the late Rômes Chandra Das Gupta. But for the latter, these valuable works would have been lost to us. Rômes Chandra spared no pains to get the manuscripts of his father arranged in the form of books and get them published. This over-strain told on his already failing

health and he died very prematurely at the age of 42. The Rai Bahadur's work are now being published by the Calcutta University in three volumes covering, in general, almost all the aspects of agriculture including livestock farming which in the main relates to cattle-breeding and dairy farming. The *Krishi-Bijnan* (Volume I) of which a second edition has come out deals with the fundamentals of agricultural science in lucid Bengali so that it can be read and the contents utilised by all those interested in agriculture in the two Bengals. It is not merely a theoretical book compiled from different journals and text-books. It is a practical guide to the cultivators. It traces the development of agriculture in India from time immemorial, deals with the nature of soil, its origin and broad classification particularly in this country, then goes on to describe the mechanism of



Rajeswar plough

plant life. The author devotes a chapter on plant mechanism of plant life, a chapter on plant nutrients, soil micro-organisms, manures and fertilisers, etc., What the author intends is to bridge the gap between the student of Agricultural College or School and the cultivator. The school purpose and the farm purpose, though inter-allied, should be considered as separate and the author's aim is to serve both. It is only natural to expect that with the progress of civilisation and in years to come a more organised system of education will be introduced and the treatment of land will be more and more "thoughtful" to provide a decent living to those engaged. In the cultivation of the soil lies the wealth of the country. This can be achieved only by applying scientific knowledge, sound practice and reliable theory. As a text-book for examination it is more suggestive than exhaustive and it is sure to open the mind of the student to the many problems involved in practice.

Rajeswar Das Gupta was very thorough in his methods and in his *Krishi-Bijnan* he introduced for the first time very appropriate Bengali equivalents of Botanical terms which shows his profound knowledge of Sanskrit. He believed that cattle improvement in Bengal would only be possible if an indigenous Bengal Breed could be stabilised with fixed characters and he really started selection work on these lines at the Rangpur Cattle Farm. But unfortunately, his policy was not continued.

Great credit is due to Rai Bahadur Rajeswar Das Gupta for the design and execution of a new type of plough which has been named "Rajeswar Plough" after him. It is an improvement on the plough used in Bengal which is antiquated and out of date. The adoption of the new plough would not only save time and labour but also increase production. The book should find a place in the curriculum of the Agricultural teachings and syllabus of our University as well as the State Government. The Directorate of Agriculture, West Bengal, should also encourage wider circulation of this

book written by one of the ablest officers of the Department. He was admired by one and all for his unflinching devotion to work, and his generous heart.

Rajeswar Das Gupta is no more with us. The best way to commemorate his work and memory is to push ahead with our plans for an all-round improvement in our agricultural system and carry the message of laboratory research and experiments to the very door of the farmer and help him to apply more systematic and scientific methods for crop production. Then and then only we shall breathe "the air promise-crammed."

—:O:—

TAMING THE TURBULENT TAPI

A new era of prosperity will dawn for the Surat farmer tomorrow when Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Planning and Irrigation and Power, Government of India, will formally open the Kakrapar Weir and Canal Project on the Tapi River, and release the first irrigation waters into the Chalthan Branch of the Left Bank Main Canal system. No longer will the farmer have to gaze towards the sky for merciful showers at the end of the monsoon season to save his crops. On several occasions failure of rains at the most crucial period has been a frequent phenomenon in this region. Henceforth water from the project which, incidentally, is the first in the Five-Year Plan to be constructed and put into operation by the Central Water and Power Commission, will be available in plenty when needed most.

Kakrapar, a tiny village 50 miles from Surat on the lower reaches of the Tapi river, has given its name to the project. It was once famous for *kankar* used for making roads, and because investigations on the Tapi first started here, this village became associated with the project.

Rising in the dense forests of Madhya Pradesh, the Tapi courses through Betul, Amraoti and Nimar districts for about 200 miles and enters the Bombay State a little beyond Burhanpur. Collecting the waters of numerous tributaries, it meanders another 250 miles through the Khandesh and Surat districts of Bombay State before emptying itself into the Gulf of Cambay. In the region of Kakrapar, the Tapi has dug for itself a deep channel with high banks. On both sides stretch miles of cotton and *jowar* fields and banana orchards.

RICH SOIL

As one travels from Surat to Kakrapar over a country track encountering jerks and jolts, and clouds of dust, one is sustained by the thought that the new road now under construction nearby will soon be ready. The black soil on either side of the road is rich and good for cotton, but its fertility cannot be fully exploited due to unreliable monsoons. The waters from the weir will now help overcome Nature's whims.

The Tapi's catchment area is 26,000 sq. miles with an average rainfall of 29 inches, nearly all of which

occurs during the monsoon, yielding a mean annual run off of 16 million acre feet. A small part of this water is today being utilised for irrigation.

Similarly, the basin's abundant timber wealth which can be converted into paper, rayon and plywood, besides being used in construction, is lying unexploited for want of power. Navigation too has suffered from neglect, being possible only up to Surat, a distance of 12 miles from the sea.

C.W. & P.C. INVESTIGATIONS

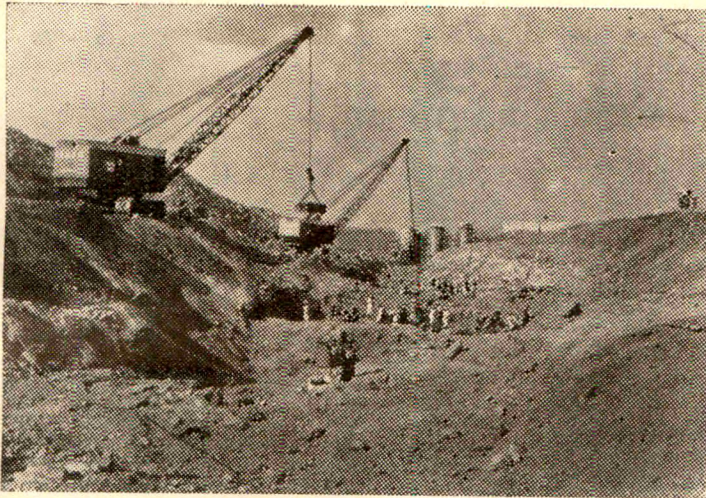
The Central Water and Power Commission took up the investigation into the scientific and planned utilisation of the waters of the Tapi in 1946. It was found that the basin could be conveniently divided into three parts, each of which could be developed independently without prejudicing an integrated scheme for the entire valley.

The lower portion of the basin possessed attractive possibilities and its development was given priority. The work has been divided into three stages. The first stage is further sub-divided into two parts. The first part provides for a Weir at Kakrapar and canal systems on both sides; the second which is under investigation by experts, includes the building of a storage dam to a partial height and canals to irrigate an additional area of 4,79,000 acres. Its completion will permit considerable perennial irrigation. The second stage involves the raising of the storage dam to its full height, and installation of hydro-electric power and transmission lines. The third stage envisages the construction of a 16-mile long power canal from the Kakrapar Weir to the river edge opposite Piparia village to take advantage of a 107-foot drop for generating more electricity.

THE PROJECT

On a massive rocky outcrop stretching across the river from bank to bank, the Kakrapar Weir is 2,038 feet long and the height above the deepest point in the river bed is 45 feet. The Left and Right Bank Main Canal regulators tower over the weir to a height of 53 feet. The length of the weir originally was 2,500, but it was reduced to enable a better off-take of the Right Bank Canal which is an important component of the project,

The noise and din of machinery mingled with the voices of some 2,000 workers echoed and re-echoed in the valley for wellnigh over a year in order to complete the Kakrapur Weir within the time set. It was a race against the clock and everyone—workmen, officers, staff and contractors—worked with martial regularity and unison.



Draglines at work on the Left Bank Main Canal. Machines are here seen excavating the bed and shovelling the earth for bank formation

The weir will command a gross area of 8,00,000 acres, of which 6,51,000 acres will be irrigated annually. The scheme is an economical one as the cost of development per acre is about Rs. 100/-. The increase in the yield of foodgrains will be about 1.6 lakh tons and of cotton 16,000 tons per year.

CANAL SYSTEM

The irrigation system fans out from two main canals taking off from the regulators on both ends of the weir.

Of the total length of 850 miles of canals, branches, distributaries and minors, 600 miles have been dug and the entire system is expected to be completed by June 1955.

The progress of the Left Bank Main Canal has been behind schedule because a layer of hard morrum and rock underground was encountered. It was drilled with holes and dynamited. In other parts of the canal system bull-dozers, draglines and tractors are busy in the work of excavation. Afflux bunds have been constructed on either side to form a reservoir.

The waters of the Left Bank Main Canal will be let

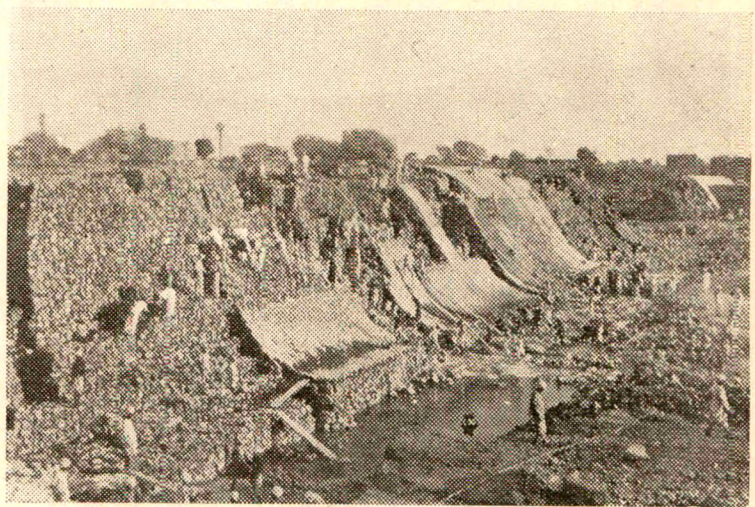
into the Moticher Khari which will serve as a canal for some distance. About half a mile above the Khari's confluence with the Tapi river, the Moticher Weir, a masonry structure across the Khari, has been built. This weir is 260 feet long and 48 feet high tapering from a base width of 299 feet to 24 feet at the top.

The country to be served by the canal system is traversed by several large rivers, necessitating construction of a number of huge and expensive aqueducts. Two major structures already constructed in the uppermost reach of Left Bank Main Canal are the Moticher Weir with spillway and an earthen dam at Ratania Khari. The number of masonry works on the canal system will exceed a thousand.

15,000 WORKERS EMPLOYED

Most of the work on the project was done by manual labour, but where the load, lift and operation by manpower was uneconomical, machinery consisting of dragline excavators, shovels, scrapers, etc., was used for economy and speed.

During 1951-52 the number of workers employed on canal digging reached a peak of 15,000. This helped considerably in giving employ-



Kakrapur Weir under construction

ment to a large number of persons from areas affected by scarcity and famine.

A large part of the equipment and stores was acquired from Disposals. All expensive and perishable stores were kept in godowns, while heavy material, like girders, plates and fencing, was stocked in an open yard,

Most of these will now be available for use on other projects.

Before work on the project started, a comprehensive soil survey of the commanded area was undertaken to determine the suitability of the soils for irrigation. This was done in the Project Laboratory at Kakrapar, which also tested concrete, mortar and engineering properties of soils.

The completion of the Weir at Kakrapar and the

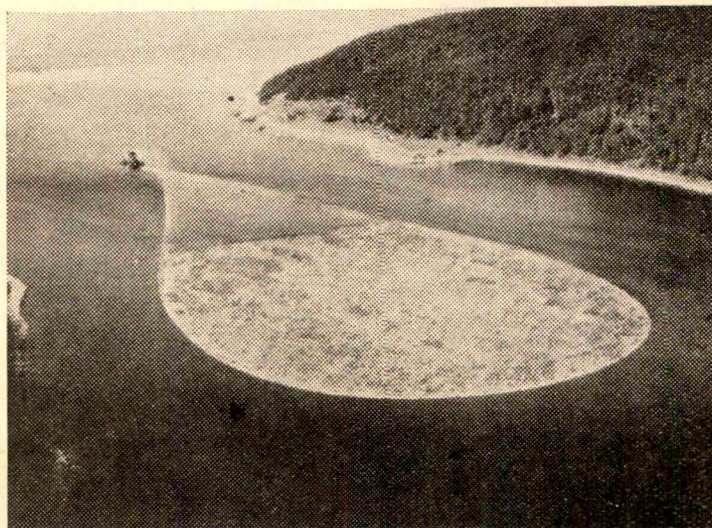
supply of irrigation water to the areas on the Chalthan Branch marks the commencement of the systematic development of this part of the valley. By the middle of next year another large tract between the Mindhola and the Purna rivers will be provided with irrigation facilities and by June 1955 channels will be ready to serve the rest of the areas on this project. So the first step in taming the wild and turbulent Tapi in the service of man has been successfully taken.—*PIB*

—::—

PAPER : FOOD FOR THOUGHT

By A. G. MEZERIK

THE universal hunger for knowledge today has created a new need, a need for greater supplies of the raw materials for paper-making, since the printed word still is man's best means of communication.



In Sweden logs are towed to pulp mills in great rafts enclosed by a boom, as shown here

The oldest known bit of writing in the world, the Presse Papyrus, is in the municipal museum at Istanbul. It dates from about 6,000 years ago and the first sentence reads: "Alas, times are not what they used to be. Everyone wants to write a book and children are no longer obedient to their parents."

A long time has passed since then but the situation seems to be just the same—excepting that more people want to write books. There is another exception too. Papyrus leaves are no longer the basic ingredient for the manufacture of writing materials. Along with papyrus leaves the world has used—at one time or another—bones, stones and wood, slabs of clay and metal, fabrics, palm leaves, and finally sheepskin.

Now the world has turned to wood pulp, and

green forests are as essential to the printer as is movable type. And not only to the printer, for whether for ideas or confetti, for a poem or wrapping paper, or for postage stamps or wallpaper—paper winds itself about our lives from birth certificates through death certificates. The need for more paper—and more sources for paper—grows almost by the hour.

Governments and international organizations are committed to fighting literacy. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other United Nations organizations are introducing new forms of education. Governments are exchanging knowledge and information. Every such action calls for books, newspapers and periodicals. Radio and television are newer forms of communication. They well may be in the long run most important, but now it remains true that more men, women and children in the world depend upon words and images printed on paper for their information and know-

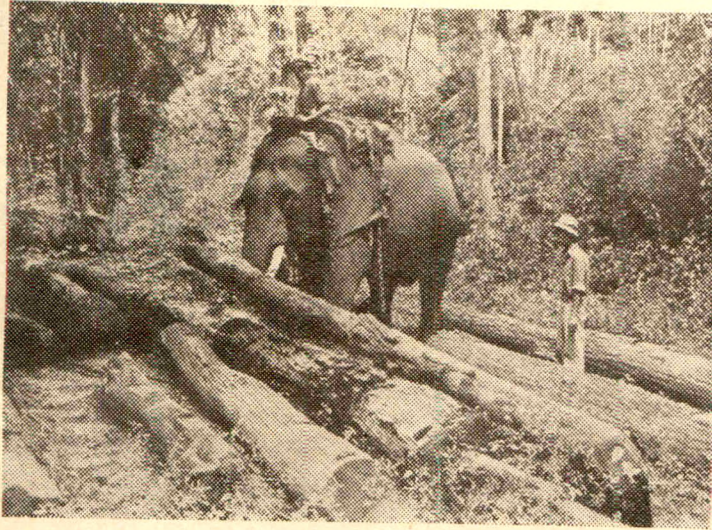
ledge than on any other means of mass communication.

As education removes the cobwebs of ignorance, a new kind of hunger is spreading across the globe. That hunger is for newsprint—for paper. The new famine is robbing millions of people of their mental nourishment. World organizations are mobilizing to relieve this famine. A newsprint shortage has been obvious for some time but the general boom in raw materials which took place in 1951, accentuated by stock-piling demands, created an acute crisis. It was then Unesco became alarmed. Inadequate supplies of printing paper available prejudiced the success of its basic educational program. Unesco approached the Food and Agricultural Organization and initiated a campaign to meet the emergency.

The FAO assumed the major responsibility for action to provide additional raw material. It has moved into the pine forests and out of them and around them in quest of a source of the needed paper

high quality were made in Java wholly from rice straw. On the basis of the technical improvement in the straw-pulping process, rice straw could be used to a much greater extent as a raw material in those tropical countries where there is an insufficient supply of pulpwood. But the fly in the ointment is that rice-growing areas rapidly are mechanizing their farming operations. Harvesting by machines such as combines will cause the farmer to switch to short straw varieties of rice which will reduce the supplies of rice straw before the pulping business gets started.

Bagasse, the residue of sugarcane, today is receiving the most widespread and intensive consideration as a source of pulp. The world's potential supply of bagasse—more than 33,000,000 tons—could do much to alleviate the newsprint shortage. Bagasse makes a good pulp, suitable for various kinds of paper, including newsprint, provided it is produced by modern methods and mixed with groundwood. However, it too

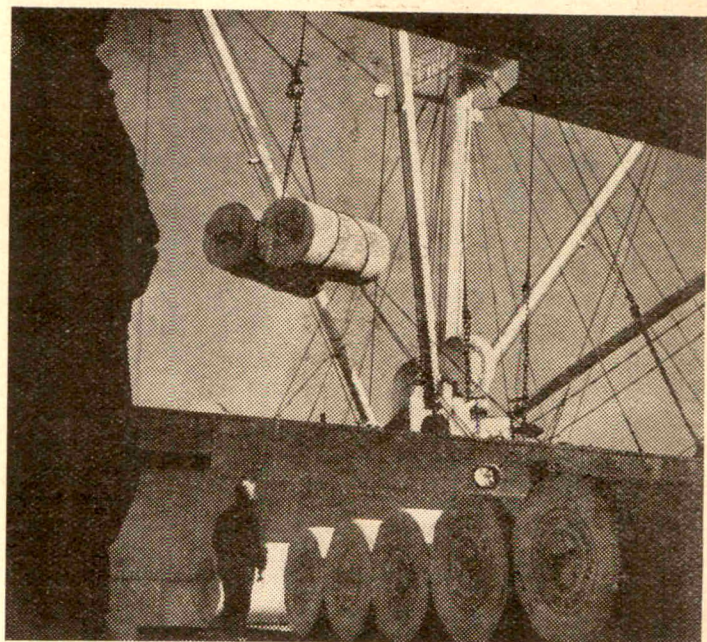


This team of man and elephant is taking one of the first steps in moving the raw material for paper-making from the forest to the pulping mill

for printing. The quest has reached back into time—once again touching the very papyrus from which we started. Egypt, as the year 1952 ended, announced it would again try to produce paper from the plant from which paper got its name—the papyrus, on which the Pharaonic Egyptians wrote. The search covers the land. It ranges all through agriculture, although to be sure, it does not now encompass the prospect of reintroducing sheepskin. The record of 300 sheepskins required by Gutenberg to print his Bible on parchment is in no danger of being challenged.

Other ancient agricultural sources for paper-making are not so immune. Wheat straw was employed in making pulp before wood began to be used. Methods were primitive and the product reflected it—being cardboards, corrugating papers and low-grade wrapping papers. However, the art of making pulp from wheat straw has lasted through the centuries with many small straw pulp factories still in operation. Rice straw is also a source for the making of paper—and of much better grade than is possible from wheat straw.

Before World War II, white papers of a very



From Canada, newsprint is shipped to many other countries. This picture shows great rolls being loaded for export

has drawbacks. Supplies will be limited as long as most of the world's bagasse is used as fuel to fire sugar processing and refining. Bagasse also has a relatively high pith content which must be removed before

actual processing.

It already is clear that, in spite of these and other difficulties, bagasse is going to be a useful supplement to wood pulp in those parts of the world which are in or near sugar-processing areas. Supplement is the word, however, because compared to the total pulp demand, its possibilities are limited to a ceiling estimated by experts to be about 10 per cent of the world's present pulp output. Today's production of bagasse pulp amounts to less than one per cent.

The same areas which produce bagasse grow bamboo, which already is the chief raw material for making pulp and paper in India. Of India's total pulp production of 128,000 tons, 60 per cent was made from bamboo in 1951. Bamboo has good fibre dimensions; it grows rapidly, and it produces a good quality of paper. In Burma, Pakistan, Indo-China and the Philippines, commercial plantations growing bamboo bring high financial returns.

Bamboo is a grass, as is esparto, which grows abundantly in northern Africa and in Spain. Esparto is shipped mostly to England and France for processing. Sabai is another grass. With two crops per year and a yield of about 3 200 pounds per acre, sabai today contributes about 22 per cent of the raw material for pulp production in India. Esparto and sabai are important locally—but that is about all. Along with the grasses, straw, bagasse and bamboo all can make a contribution. None can meet the ever-growing need for paper.

The world demand for pulp will continue to rise in the coming years at a rate of about five per cent a year. By 1960, the demand will reach—and it may exceed—54 000,000 tons, an increase of 20,000,000 tons over 1950. To satisfy this need it will take trees and forests. FAO has been looking at all kinds of trees in all kinds of places, seeking new forest sources for pulp.

One of the most promising future sources of pulp-wood from tropical regions is from pine plantations. Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans have demonstrated the practicability of obtaining very rapid growth and high volume yields from planted exotic pines. The world's largest man-made forest—Kaingaroa, in New Zealand—will shortly supply newsprint under a \$30,000,000 project.

In the green region of selva sweeping back from the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains, Peru sees a solution for its chronic shortage of newsprint in the wood of the cético, a native tree which grows in weed-like profusion along the banks of the Amazon, the Marañon and the Ucayali Rivers. In his *Woods of Northern Peru*, Llewellyn Williams says that the cético (genus *cecropia*), although designated a hardwood, is really soft and not very heavy. It is one of the fastest growing pulp trees, growing more than 30 feet in three years. The trunk is 10 to 12 inches in diameter.

Palms, of which there are hundreds of species, also are being explored. Palm woods vary from soft and spongy to extremely hard and heavy, sometimes with a density greater than that of water. It is possible that certain species of palms can be grown for their wood just as others are grown for oil, dates and coconuts.

Hardwoods are not being ignored. Australia's pulp production of 136,000 tons is based almost 80 per cent on hardwoods, while in the world as a whole only 8 per cent of wood pulp is made from hardwoods. Certainly there are possibilities. Eighty years ago, a raw material shortage forced the paper industry to discover and develop new resources, to use softwoods instead of rags as the chief source of pulp for paper. Today the search goes on to meet the ever-increasing pressure of world demand on the raw materials currently being used to produce pulp for paper. Plants, cotton linters, roots, reeds, grasses and many other agricultural products are being tested.

In the United States, at Savannah, Georgia, and at Lufkin, Texas, are factories which work for American, African, Indian, Finnish, Mexican and New Zealand manufacturers. They are searching for raw material sources—and included in their studies are palmetto, sugarcane, fibre, straw, bamboo, African bango and cotton stalks.

Around the world the search goes on—prodded always by the insistent need. When FAO, not long ago, offered to survey cellulose resources and help establish factories for pulping, 25 countries in the Far East and Mediterranean Europe replied, asking for missions to survey their potential capacities for producing paper and newsprint. FAO, as its work develops, gets to know more about the possibilities. They are not pessimistic. The world's forests, they say, are capable of supplying sufficient raw materials. It should be technically possible to achieve the necessary increase in production to meet prospective pulp and paper needs.

The traditional raw material for pulping is, of course, spruce wood which is concentrated in North America and Europe. These two main producing regions had an output of 8,000,000 tons in 1913; by 1950 their joint output had risen to just under 31,000,000 tons.

A long time has passed since the French scientist Rene Antoine Ferchault de Reaumur observed that wasps made their nests from wood filaments which resembled paper. His associates were skeptical when he suggested that man, too, could make paper from wood. When Friedrich Gottlob Keller, a weaver from Saxony, discovered wood pulp in 1844, he proved Reaumur right. By 1854, collars, cuffs and shirt fronts made of paper were on sale in New York City. Ten years later, aprons, hats, carpets, casks and floorings were being made of it. It was used to make

coffins (but the Persians had thought of that idea long ago), houses, and at least two churches, one in Oslo, the other in London.

Now there are 14000 uses and with every child who learns to read, a new consumer for paper enters the market. It will indeed take every kind of conservation, ingenuity and inventive resource to keep abreast of this demand. R. F. Taylor, a forester in charge of the Alaska Forestry Research Center, sug-

gested recently that Iceland's forests, practically nonexistent after thousands of years of grazing and erosion, might be regrown with conifer seeds collected in Alaska. Alaska thinks that could be done and Iceland wants it done. Who knows; one day a child in Basutoland in Africa may use a book, the seed of which was truly borne near Juneau, though the author lived in Paris.—From *American Forests*.

(Photographs by courtesy of American Forests)

—::—

MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Patriotic Movements and Associations of the Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

INTRODUCTION: RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

IN the history of India's freedom struggle, the patriotic movements and associations of the early nineteenth century should form a distinct and important chapter. It is a fact that the English established factories in Western and Southern India earlier than in Bengal. But from the cultural point of view, the people in Bengal came into close contact with the English earlier than others. Western thought, culture and education laid a strong impress on the minds of the Bengalis so much so that they began to think and act for our national progress on the pattern of the West. The signs of such development were palpable even before the systematic inculcation of English education to the generality of the people. Raja Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore, Radhakanta Deb, to name only a few, imbibed Western mode of thought and culture in the first decade of the century.

Rammohun Roy headed the progressive school of thought. His religious and social activities through the meetings of the "Atmiya Sabha," publication of religious books, issuing of pamphlets on social subjects, such as *Suttee*, and writings in the Press, had already made an impress on the minds of his co-religionists and the foreigners, mostly Christians. He assimilated the Western way of approach and reasoning so closely that at times he was hailed as a valuable addition to Christianity. But the Christians had to be disillusioned soon. Though he was a relentless critic of the religious and social habits of his countrymen, still at heart he was a staunch nationalist and ardent lover of his country and countrymen. Standing on this plane he came into conflict with the missionaries and challenged them to meet his arguments against the nefarious activities of the latter. Spread of Christianity amongst dependent people by vilification of their social and religious customs could not be deemed as an act of chivalry. Rammohun asked them why they would not prove themselves zealous in propagating Christianity in independent countries like Turkey, Persia, etc., and follow the example of the founders of Christianity.¹ He

I

envisaged the gravity of the problem even in the twenties of the nineteenth century. Since then more than a century had passed, the country had also attained independence, but the missionary activities have

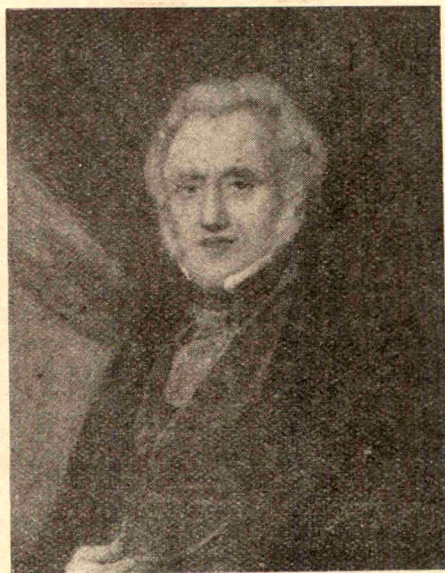


Raja Rammohun Roy

still remained a problem in the land. It may be safely said that our national movements and associations started, and very often received momentum, with our attempt to counteract this missionary menace.

1. *English Works of Rajah Rammohun Roy*, Panini Edition, p. 145.

Rammohun was a pioneer in other directions also. The Hindu College had only been started in 1817. Systematic English education necessarily could not make much headway. In his political work he depended more or less on his colleagues who were mostly privately educated and acquainted themselves with the Western thought beforehand. Rammohun utilised the Press, then in the nascent stage, to propagate his progressive views on subjects which required to be tackled for the rapid improvement of his countrymen. He found in James Silk Buckingham, editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, a true well-wisher of India. Rammohun's Bengali and Persian writings in the two respective papers, *Sambad*



James Buckingham

Cowmudee and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, were Englished for the journal and published in it almost regularly. The governmental activities in the early twenties were severely criticised in Buckingham's *Journal* as well as in the Indian papers. Minutes on the English and the Vernacular Press—one on English by J. Adam and the other on Vernacular by W. W. Bayley—reveal broadly the critical attitude of the Press, especially of *The Calcutta Journal* and the vernacular papers towards the various ugly measures and actions of the Government. Instead of mending their ways in the light of these criticisms the Government of the day thought it prudent to pass the Press Regulation of 1823, which sought to prevent the free expression of opinion by the Press.

The Damocles' sword had already fallen on James Silk Buckingham. His licence was cancelled; he was banished from the country by April 1823. Rammohun also did not sit idle. Along with his associates, such as Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and others, he sent a petition

to the Supreme Court against this measure. This proving ineffective, he sent an address to the King in Council in England, in which he dwelt on the virtues of a free Press. This address was likened to the *Areopagitica* of Milton for its lucidity of style, force of argument and for the defence of the freedom of the Press. Rammohun took a step forward. As a protest against the Regulation, he stopped publication of his Persian paper *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, after bringing out its last issue on 4th April, 1823. In giving reasons for the stoppage, he quoted two Persian couplets, the purport of one of which is:

"The respect which is purchased with a
hundred drops of blood
Do not thou, in the hope of a favor,
commit to mercy of a porter."²

A great votary of the Bengali language, Rammohun desired its rapid improvement. He thought that the universal use of Bengali was urgently needed for political reasons also. In a paper, "On the possibility, practicability, and expediency of substituting the Bengali language for the English," Rammohun pleaded, for 'the reading of the vernacular languages of India by the English,' for, that 'would give us a better chance of obtaining justice than we have ever had yet.' Some cogent reasons were advanced in support of his proposition. He wrote in conclusion:

"... Surely it is much easier for two or three thousand of them (Englishmen) to adopt our language and character, than to expect sixty millions of Natives . . . to give up that which have been used for centuries, and accept a new one."³

In a dependent country, to hold and propagate such a radical view bespeaks of the vigour and foresight of the man that Rammohun was.

GAURIYA SOMAJ

Though most of his countrymen could not subscribe to his radical views regarding religious and social matters as also could not appreciate the far-sightedness of his political views, they, however, formed themselves into an association early in 1823 to devise ways and means for the rapid development of the Bengali language and literature and for the neutralisation of the missionary activities. Both the followers of Rammohun and those belonging to the orthodox section of the Hindu community joined the association in large number. The former included Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Tarachand Chakravarty and the latter the renowned Sanskrit scholars, such as, Ramjay Tarkalankar, Kashinath Tarkapanchanan and Raghuram Siromani, as well as such other litterateurs and prominent Bengalis as Bhawani Charan Banerjee, Radhakanta Deb, Ram Comul Sen, Ramdulal De (Sarkar), Rasamay Datta and Kashinath Mallik.

2. "Rammohun Roy as a Journalist"—Brajendra Nath Banerjee, *The Modern Review* for August, 1931, p. 138.

3. *The Modern Review* for December, 1928, p. 636.

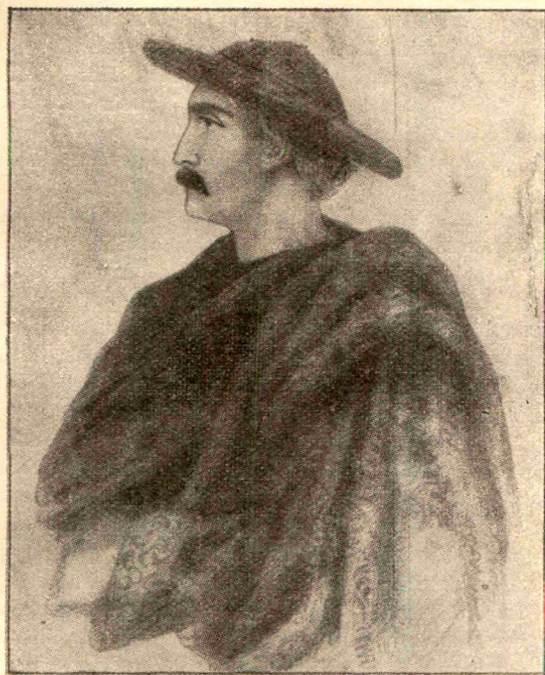
The Gauriya Somaj, rightly described at the time as "The Native Literary Society," issued a prospectus⁴ in Bengali in which its objects were explained in detail. The principal object of the society was the encouragement and diffusion of knowledge amongst our countrymen in their mother tongue. With this view the Society resolved that 'translations of works from other languages into Bengali shall be prepared and published at the Society's expense.' The prospectus proposes the following practical means for the fulfilment of this object in the following lines :

"We therefore beg to suggest, that the wise and well-informed men of this country should combine, and, as far as their respective abilities admit, or by the employment of pundits, and translators, the

twenty years, the English missionaries have treated the natives of Bengal.' The prospectus continues:

"What man of any observation is there who does not perceive its injurious operation on our existing laws, and who is uninformed of the lamentable condition of those who, deserting their own faith, have become native Christians? The missionary teachers, imperfectly informed of the principle of our Shastras, our *devtas*, and our institutes, have translated, as descriptive of them, detached passages; they have printed pamphlets against us, replete with most intemperate and abusing terms, and distributed these to the world . . ."

The attitude of the English officials towards the Hindus and their religion was also deplorable. 'Influenced by their disposition to consider us as followers



Dwarkanath Tagore

compilation or preparation of literary works, both local and foreign, which may improve the general stock of knowledge; and publish the same in the name of the authors or compilers; and we may thus produce a considerable set of works, in a short time, which will be of great general utility."

The second object of the Somaj is stated to be as 'to endeavour to check and suppress all deviations from law and morality amongst their countrymen.' To carry out this object the Somaj desired to compose and publish small pamphlets based on Hindu Sastras at its charge. The members of the Somaj deliberated on the subject from different points of view and the result of their deliberations has been couched in the prospectus. They referred to the manner, 'in which, for some



Ram Comul Sen

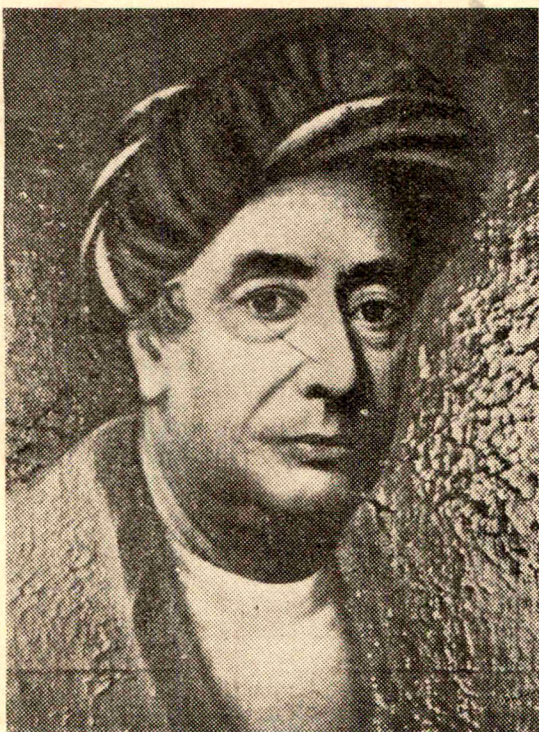
of a false religion, they withhold all countenance from our pursuits, and feel little or no interest in our welfare.' The Hindus therefore could not look for any considerable encouragement and aid from this quarter. They must rely on their own strength to counteract the menace. They proposed in the prospectus:

"It thus appears that the Hindu, who has always been submissive, humble and inoffensive, is now exposed to unprovoked attacks, and is injured in his reputation, and consequently even in the means of subsistence, by persons who profess to seek his good. As yet this cruelty and calumny have been little heeded, and scarcely an effort to repel them been attempted; had such conduct been offered to the Mussalmans, they would instantly have combined to resent it; and in like manner it is now incumbent on the opulent and respectable Hindus, who delight not in the abuse of their Shastras and practices, and who wish to cherish and preserve them, to consider well these circum-

4. Published in English translation in *The Asiatic Journal*, December, 1823.

stances, and upon full deliberation, to unite to publish replies to the charge made against us, or to represent our grievances to the government, by whose wisdom no doubt a remedy will be devised."

The Somaj was inaugurated on 16th February 1823, in the Hindu College Hall, with Ram Comul Sen in the chair. The prospectus was read and discussed. Ram-comul Sen and Prasanna Kumar Tagore were appointed secretaries. In the second meeting of the Somaj, a committee of management was formed with Ladly Mohun Tagore, Radhamadhub Banerjee, Kasikanta Ghosal, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Pandit Ramjay Tarkalankar, Radhakanta Deb, Tarini Charan Mitra and Kasinath Mallik. From the contemporary newspapers, we get the record of only four



Prasanna Kumar Tagore

meetings of this Somaj, which were held in a rotating manner. The Somaj succeeded in focussing the attention of many influential and opulent persons, and it was hoped that the objects of the institution would be more than fulfilled. Though nothing of the Society was heard beyond the middle of June, 1824, still the impetus that it gave to the propagation of knowledge through the publication of Bengali translations or compilations from foreign authors as well as of the Hindu Sastras, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas; English and Bengali newspapers, periodicals, books on polite literature and poetry, grammars, dictionaries and even maps. The members of the Gauriya Somaj are found to engage in this work of

public good in their individual capacity. The Somaj could not continue for obvious reasons. But the objects for which it was founded, remained uppermost in the minds of our leading and enlightened countrymen who were its members. Very many associations were started later for literary or cultural pursuits. But the Gauriya Somaj may be rightly called the precursor of them all. Late in the twenties, associations of a newer and more radical nature grew up, due to the spread of the new education. Henceforward the people were more and more conscious of the evil consequences of the mischievous missionary propaganda in the country.

THE NEW EDUCATION: THE ACADEMIC ASSOCIATION AND OTHER COGNATE BODIES

During the first decade (1817-27) the Hindu College mostly imparted only rudimentary instruction in English. The appointment of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the young Eurasian poet, as teacher of History and English Literature in the Hindu College in 1826, signalled a new era in the teaching of these subjects. His instruction made it possible for the Indian youths to be acquainted with the currents of modern European thought and culture. The students no longer took things as they were. They applied reason to consider *pros and cons* of every subject and tried to arrive at an independent conclusion. They became habituated to stand for reason as against prejudice. The spirit of enquiry was abroad. To Derozio's pupils were gradually unravelled the secrets of European superiority over the rest of the world in every sphere of life. They began to preach and practise things which were disliked by their elders. They started debating societies at which they freely discussed social, moral, religious and political subjects. This transformation in the outlook of the Bengali youth was brought about within four or five years of Derozio's joining the Hindu College. Peary Chand Mitra, a student-disciple of Derozio, gave the credit for this historic transformation to the inspiring instruction of Derozio in and outside the Hindu College. He writes:

"Of all the teachers, Mr. H. L. V. Derozio gave the greatest impetus to free discussion on all subjects, social, moral and religious. He was himself a free-thinker, and possessed affable manners. He encouraged students to come and open their minds to him. The advanced students of the Hindu College frequently sought for his company during tiffin time, after school hours and at his house. He encouraged everyone to speak out. This led to free exchange of thought and reading of books which otherwise would not have been read."⁵ "The impetus to enquiry and promotion of thought given by Derozio manifested itself in debating clubs, which were encouraged by Hare."⁶

The first and foremost of these debating clubs was the Academic Association started by the advanced students of the Hindu College in 1828, and over which

5. *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare*: By Peary Chand Mitra, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

Derozio presided. This Association met once a fortnight for literary discussion in the garden-house of Sreekrishna Singh at Maniktala, where later on the Wards' Institution was situated. The subjects discussed at the meetings included free will, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, the narrowness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attribute of god, the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of priesthood. In these discussions Krishna Mohun Banerjee, Rasik Krishna Mallik, Dakshinaraman Mukherjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanoo Lahiri, Radhanath Sikdar, Gobinda Chandra Bysak, Peary Chand Mitra as well as many others took an active part. David Hare, the main projector of the Hindu College and a true friend and advocate of Indian advancement, was a regular visitor to the meetings of the Association and encouraged the deliberations of the young men on the above subjects. Sir Edward Rayan, Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, used to visit the meetings occasionally. The example set by the students of the Hindu College was followed by those of the other seminaries also. We learn from a contemporary account⁷ that

"Seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science; and sometimes in politics; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great talents, . . ."

The last one evidently refers to the Academic Association, and its President Derozio. According to this account, Derozio was connected with most of the others as a member. It further says:

"In short, he lends a very able and active hand in raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency."

We learn also that

"The example thus set in English has been imitated in Bengalee literature, and two or three Associations have been formed principally of persons not connected with the schools above-mentioned, for writing upon and verbally discussing various subjects exclusively in the Bengalee language."

Students headed by Debendra Nath Tagore (later, Maharshi) and Ramaprasad Roy actually started an association in December, 1832, for the cultivation of the Bengali language.

This free discussion by the advanced students and young men soon led to activities that gave rise to a commotion in the Hindu society. Eating forbidden food, decrying idolatry, denouncing the social customs—constituted some of their chief planks of action to which the elders took serious exception. The latter made Derozio responsible for all this, and succeeded in inducing the Hindu College authorities to dispense with his services. The young men were subjected to various kinds of torture and humiliation by their guardians. But they were undaunted. They remained votaries of their cherished opinions all their life. They fought against social evils and religious bigotry with youthful exuberance. Eager to diffuse the new educa-



David Hare

tion amongst their countrymen, these youths started free schools in and around Calcutta. Some of them took to journalism, literature, teaching or trade as their profession while others accepted posts in various departments of the Government. Whenever they went, they instilled the spirit of honesty and truth into the body politic. This paved the way for the removal of long-drawn abuses prevalent in the public offices and in private life. These young men, better known as "Young Bengal", later on, became the leaders of the community in politics and social activities. The lessons of association or combination, imbibed in their youthful days, stood them in good stead in after life. Guided by the noble motives of patriotism, they established religious, social, cultural and political associations for the all-round improvement of their countrymen.

The educated Bengal youths soon spread into the mofussil districts of Bengal, and gradually all over

7. "An Indian Correspondent on the Native Improvement" in *John Bull*, December 11, 1830.

Northern and Central India as well as Assam as the emissaries of new light, education and culture. They also took lead in the progressive movements of these regions.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ELDERS

Since the establishment of the Gauriya Somaj, the elders of the community took upon themselves the task of safeguarding our national interests in politics. They soon had an occasion to protest against the



Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

governmental action. The jury system was first introduced in our law courts in 1823. Here was made an invidious distinction by the powers-that-be between the Christians and the non-Christians. It was stipulated in the law that 'the Grand Jury in all cases, and all jurors for the trial of persons professing the Christian Religion, shall consist wholly of persons professing the Christian Religion.'⁸ Rammohun Roy, the most progressive leader of the period, protested strongly against this measure. While in England, he even brought the matter pertinently to the notice of the Parliamentary Joint Committee set up for the consideration of the Indian affairs in 1832. Here the public mind was so

much agitated over this unjust measure that both the Hindus and Mussalmans joined hands with one another for the first time for seeking redress of this political grievance and sent a petition to the Government here as well as in England either for rectification or for withdrawal of this ignoble measure. One Mr. John Crawford acted as agent of the Indians in England and presented a petition on the matter before the Parliament on their behalf. It was due to the continued agitation in India and abroad that the Jury Act was so amended as to remove the invidious distinction from the Statute Book in July, 1832.

Next in importance was the colonisation question mooted in late twenties by the non-official Europeans. The Europeans had to live in this country on sufferance, licences being issued to them for residence here. They were liable to be banished from the land even on suspicion by the Government. They, therefore, could not be permanent residents and have any stake in the land. For the removal of these disabilities, the colonisation movement was started. In the public meeting held for this purpose in the Calcutta Town Hall on 15th December, 1829, Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore lent their cordial support to the cause. Dwarkanath even moved a resolution for abolishing the restrictions on the residence of Europeans in India. Rammohun supported this resolution. In their speeches they both emphasised the necessity of the Europeans living permanently in this country, as partners of the Indians in weal and woe. From personal experience, Rammohun said on the importance of European colonisation as follows:

"I am impressed with the conviction that the greater our intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs; a fact which can be easily proved by comparing the condition of those of my countrymen who have enjoyed this advantage with that of those who unfortunately have not had that opportunity; and a fact which I could, to the best of my belief, declare on solemn oath before any assembly."

Rammohun believed in his heart of hearts that European capital and enterprise, not to speak of Western education and culture only, would be fruitfully employed for the development of the country's resources, whereby the Indians would be largely benefited. But the Charter Act of 1833 and the invention of the steam engine conjured up together to belie these expectations of Rammohun and his friends. There was a party of elders, headed by Radhakanta Deb, who denounced the colonisation question; and the unforeseen circumstances that followed, proved their contention to be right.

Some sort of political consciousness was already in evidence in the newly educated in Bengal. Both the elders and the young men felt that their dependence on

8. Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements, p. 351.

9. The Asiatic Journal, June, 1830 : Asiatic Intelligence, p. 67.

others must end before they could rise to their full stature. And the process had already set in. In his "An Address to My Countrymen,"¹⁰ in 1831, Prasanna Kumar Tagore declared that

"The influence of liberty and truth was spread and is spreading far and wide, and nothing can check its course. There was a time when the natives of this country were looked upon as a race of unprincipled and ignorant people, . . . But look at the contrast now. Is it possible that at the present day an impeachment of such a dark character will be allowed to bear the slightest colour of truth?"

On the social plane the conservative Hindus came into serious conflict with the progressive school of reformers headed by Rammohun. The *Suttee* question was solved once for all by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General by the passage of the Anti-*Suttee* Act on 4th December 1829. The progressive leaders welcomed this measure and gave him an address of felicitation in the following January. The orthodox section also approached the Governor-General with a prayer to get the Act repealed, but failed to elicit a favourable reply. They, however, founded *Dharma Sabha* on 17th January, 1830, to conduct an agitation in India and England against the Anti-*Suttee* Act. They even appealed to the Privy Council for redress. But here also they could not succeed. At times the conflict between the Brahmo-Sabha, the religio-social body of Rammohun, and the *Dharma Sabha* of the orthodox Hindus grew serious. But the political grievances which both had to suffer equally, bridged the gulf of differences and they were united in no time to fight for the common cause.

THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833 AND AFTER

The 'reformist' and progressive activities of the Indians here and especially of Raja Rammohun Roy in England had their repercussions on the discussion over the renewal of Charter in the Select Parliamentary Committee there. The Charter Act was passed by the Parliament in 1833, and came into force early next year. By this Act the East India Company lost all its trading rights except those on salt, and the Indian Civil Service, a close preserve for the relations of the directors and influential share-holder of the Company, was opened theoretically to all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. But, practically speaking, only the Britons could take advantage of this innovation for a long time. The most important change introduced by the Act, was, however, the centralisation of legislative power for all India in the Council of the

Governor-General, who now came to be designated as the Governor-General of India instead of the 'Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal.' This important change neutralised the fissiparous tendencies of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, who had hitherto acted practically independently of the Central Government at Calcutta. The spirit of governmental independence percolated to the rank and file of the newly educated there. Decades had to pass before this separatist tendency could be removed from their minds and a national outlook evolved. Being centralised, the Government became 'national' before our new nationalism could take a concrete shape. A fourth member was added to the Governor-General's Council as 'Legal Member.'

The colonisation movement succeeded so far as the removal of the licence-system was concerned. After the passage of the Charter Act, the Europeans were eligible to be an Indian citizen *par excellence*. They could settle here permanently, acquire property rights, engage in agriculture and carry on trade in the country. But the greatest anomaly remained, and they could move here like "free" Britons, by which they boasted to call themselves. Their privilege of being tried by the Supreme Court of Calcutta both in civil and criminal cases, was kept intact. This led to serious racial antagonism between the Indians and the Europeans, afterwards. Even when in 1836, Macaulay, the first Legal Member, sought to remove this legal anomaly and racial discrimination partially by extending the jurisdiction of the Company's civil courts in the mofussil to try cases in which the Indians and Europeans were involved, the non-official Europeans in Calcutta held public meetings to denounce the measure and even then they nicknamed it as the 'Black Law.' This name persisted each time any attempt for the removal of this legal discrimination was made.

But the leaders of both the communities still acted together for the preservation of their common interests. The beneficent rule of Lord William Bentinck and his temporary successor Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe induced the Indians to unite and work for the good of their common Motherland. They did not hesitate to unite and protest against the administrative measures. The Press was set free in September, 1835. This gave no less impetus to free discussion of the State-measures.

Political associations soon cropped up to give vent to public feelings. Newspapers devoted themselves more and more to political discussion. Criticism of the public acts and measures as well as suggestions for the country's improvement became the order of the day.

10. *The Asiatic Journal*, August, 1931 : *Asiatic Intelligence*, pp. 260-1. ::b4



HOW AMERICANS MISREPRESENT INDIA

Some Samples

By PREM NARAIN AGRAWAL

"AMERICAN editors like to publish articles, etc., about India by their own editors, writers, journalists and observers, etc., who are visiting India off and on rather than by Indians," said an important man of the U.S. Embassy in India. I agreed because it is perfectly natural to rely more on their own countrymen and their writings will have a greater appeal to American readers. They also write in a suitable style giving those very facts most needed by them and in a manner which attracts their imagination at once.

But it is risky too, particularly in these days when earnest efforts are being made by U.S. at tremendous cost to win Indian friendship and goodwill. Misrepresentations, wrong facts, or exaggerations in their writings tend to create ill-will among Indians, and the critical section in India, not favouring increasing Indo-American friendship, make a capital out of even small things innocently written. They are likely to confirm all kinds of suspicions of Indians about American intentions. Naturally therefore, it is essential for American editors to be extra-careful in not publishing wrong things about Indian affairs injuring their sentiments, thus cutting the root of growing friendship between the people of the two great democracies of the world.

An impartial analysis of these references to Indian affairs is very revealing and sometimes it appears as if a deliberate attempt is made to misrepresent India even by most eminent and responsible men. Sometimes such instances are more harmful and we have to guard against them.

In this article I propose to give some concrete instances to give you an idea how and what misrepresentations are being made.

Even so responsible a man like the former U. S. Ambassador in India, who was always believed to be correct and who was expected to be more familiar with facts being on the spot often made grievously wrong statements.

In his article appearing in the *New York Times*, dated March 23, 1952, under "Asia Challenges U. S. through India," the former democrat U.S. Ambassador in India Mr. Chester Bowles wrote:

"Following the general pattern set in the point four pilot study at Etawah each project will lay heavy stress on increasing agricultural production."

Participating in a Columbia Broadcasting system programme "Capitol Clockroom" broadcast on January 18, 1952, Mr. Bowles again said:

"The U. S. is trying to help them help themselves. Horace Holmes (point four expert) went out there to help them . . ."

The pilot project work, Etawah, of which I am a resident, is not a point four work. Point four aid

implies financial as well as technical help but here there was more. In fact, on June 5, 1950, the President of the U.S.A. approved the act of international co-operation, authorising the point four programme. On September 6, 1950, the first annual appropriation of \$34,500,000 for the fiscal year 1951 became available on September 8, 1950. The point four programme became the responsibility of the Department of State by executive order.

Etawah pilot project work had been started in September, 1948.

It will thus be abundantly clear that point four came into existence after two years of Etawah work had started and nothing has yet been done by point four in any shape or form to take the credit.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who visited India early in 1952 as a guest of India Government, paid a visit to Etawah and wrote about its work in her world-wide syndicated column "My Day" appearing under Allahabad (India), March 19, 1952 date-line in this way:

"When our point four people first arrived the farmers thought only of digging a big canal for irrigation purposes, which would have been an expensive project, but it was quite evident that no money was forthcoming for this, so Mr. Holmes started by inducing them to try better seeds in small sections of their fields. Then gradually tube-wells were put down and more irrigation was possible . . ."

In the same column in the concluding paragraph she wrote:

"Altogether I was so interested by Etawah that I wanted to tell the whole world about what Mr. Holmes of the U.S.A. working for the point four programme has started."

It implied that when work was started here there was no proper scheme of work, people entertained wild ideas or hopes, enough money was not arranged for and it was Mr. Holmes who gave the lead in driving away the confusion and that he was point four man.

All of these are however wrong. Before the work started experts had a definite well-thought-out scheme and ample funds at their disposal for executing it. People never thought of digging a canal and wanted to know what they would do as a big canal with so many tributaries already existed there, tube-wells were put down to supply more water and at will. There was no room for confusion of any kind and experts started the work according to pre-arranged plan. The biggest mistake, bordering on mischief, is the suggestion that it was started by or under point four. As explained above point four had nothing to do with it and Mr. Holmes who is now working in India with point four was then an employee of U.P. State and was imported into

India to work here as an assistant and later joined point four.

The last paragraph where she says it was started by him is again wrong. Mr. Albert Mayer, an American town planner, who conceived it, planned it and put it into work and who still continues to work for it, started it.

When I brought to the notice of Mrs. Roosevelt all these facts she corrected her previous writings by writing the following under "Hyde Park," July 10, 1952 headline:

"I have a letter from a gentleman in India who points out that I was incorrect, rather left an incorrect impression when I wrote a column on Etawah, India. I am sorry to have been inadequate and I hereby correct it immediately, but I also wish to say that in short column it is very difficult many times to tell the whole story about anything.

"The project of Etawah was started by the Indian Government. Albert Mayer, an American architect, who is building the new capital of upper Punjab, was responsible for the early recommendations on which was to be done and has continued to watch over it with interest. The Government had engaged Horace Holmes, an American extension agent, and he worked in India for two years before our point four programme came into the picture at all. Later Mr. Holmes was kept on under the point four arrangement.

"This information was kindly sent me by Prem Narain Agrawal, M.A., who is an author and journalist of Ajitmal, Etawah, India. I am very grateful to him that he corrected the impression that I had created. I have mentioned Mr. Mayer on several occasions. He has been interested in and guided much on the building in this area and in other Indian areas."

Such mis-statements and half-hearted corrections by such eminent persons like Mrs. Roosevelt create a lot of misunderstanding and confirm various suspicions already existing in India. She corrected her previous writing but not all the facts and that too not in clear language.

When she visited Etawah she was in the company of the U. P. Governor and this fact she mentions in the same column from whom she could have easily ascertained these facts. But she relied on her own countrymen which put her in such an awkward position and did a lot of harm not only to her prestige in India but to Indo-American friendship and good relations. In her Allahabad, March 18, 1952 date-line column she gave the source of her information which she later had to correct in this way:

"The evening before on the train Mr. Holmes, who is the point four man, who started this work and whose training was given at Cornell University, came in to talk with me about what they were doing, so I had a little background to help me observe."

Evidently she was misled deliberately by Holmes with some intentions.

Her previous column appeared in Indian papers

but not her corrections. She did not appear to have made any effort so far to enlighten the Indian people about her corrections, leaving them free to form any opinion about her intentions, those of the Americans whom she represented. But Mr. Chester Bowles, the former U.S. Ambassador in India, did not deem it fit to correct his statements referred to above, despite my rather lengthy correspondence with him, and the verbal admission of the mistakes by his assistant, probably because of the official position he held at the time.

Though unusual for Ambassadors he wrote several articles about India and might have committed equally serious and damaging statements. In another article captioned "New India" appearing in the American Quarterly Review *Foreign Affairs* in October 1952, which came to my notice recently, he wrote:

"In addition there were 584 princely States. Of those only Kashmir, Hyderabad and Mysore were of significant size, while 202 had areas of less than ten square miles."

While the number of States is not exactly the same, his statement that Kashmir, Hyderabad and Mysore only were of significant size, is misleading. There were several other States of significant size like Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, etc.

At another place in the same article he writes:

"The answer lies largely in making more consumers goods available in the village bazaars at reasonable prices. There are tens of millions of Indians who have never owned a pair of shoes or a change of clothing. The market for new cooking equipment and simple comfort is almost unlimited."

It gives an incorrect picture. There is plenty of consumers goods now in the market, barring a few things, but Indians have no money to buy them. Indians could not own a pair of shoes not because there was a dearth of shoes but they never had money to spare for them. Now with slump coming in there is a general complaint everywhere in India that consumers goods are lying in shops and stores, and there are no buyers. It is true that the market for cooking equipment and simple comfort is almost unlimited but they have no money to buy it.

It may be argued that neither Mrs. Roosevelt nor Mr. Bowles are professional writers and such mistakes are possible. But the truth is that their views and observations carry far greater weight than that of an ordinary writer, hence, they should have been more careful in their writings.

But professional and experienced editors have done no better.

Another very important man of the same embassy very proudly gave me a copy of Mr. Ralph McGill's report on India containing all the columns written by him during his stay in the interior of India, which had also appeared in the American daily *The Atlanta Constitution*, of which he was the editor, challenging me to point out wrong facts and wrong impressions as

he was sure it cannot contain such things. He gave it to me when I was discussing wrong facts, misrepresentations, exaggerations, etc., in American and Indian press about Etawah project in which the U.S. embassy had an hand.

Since he was in Etawah district for the most part of his stay and wrote about it, myself being in between Ayana and Mahewa, the two areas where he stayed and wrote about, I can give the correct factual picture.

Writing of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, under New York City date-line appearing in *The Atlanta Constitution*, dated November 21, 1951, he says, "He sold his beautiful, spacious house and gardens." Evidently he refers to Pandit Nehru's famous Anand Bhawan afterwards called Swaraj Bhawan, which was the headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee for a number of years. It was not sold but given free of all costs to the Congress to house its head office. There is plenty of difference in selling and giving free.

Writing of Mahatma Gandhi under Karachi date-line appearing in his paper on December 1, 1951, he says, "He (Gandhi) was shot on Sunday, January 25, 1948."

Gandhiji was shot on January 30, 1948 and it was Friday and not on the date and day he mentions.

Under Ayana, district Etawah, U.P., headline appearing in *The Atlanta Constitution* on December 10, 1951, he writes thus:

"So great is the shortage of fuel that cowdung is made into cakes and dried so that it resembles and burns like the peat of Ireland."

Cowdung cake is not used because of fuel shortage but because of the quality of fire it produces. Its fire is more suitable for good cooking. It is so cheap and convenient to make and use during monsoon when woods get moist, giving more smoke.

Writing about Etawah pilot project work, which he came to see in particular to shout about, under New York City date-line appearing in his paper, dated November 21, 1951, he writes, "There our agricultural aid has brought many changes."

Again he makes reference to this work under Ayana head-line appearing on December 10, 1951, in the following words:

"... Who is in charge of the farm project being conducted here by the Indian Government. With point four assistance ..."

He emphasises American aid in this area again under Ayana date-line appearing on December 11, 1951, in this way:

"Here thanks to ... and his associates, Indian and American. The administration of American aid has been sound and productive."

But the fact is that there was no American aid either technical or financial in the Etawah pilot project area. Etawah work had been started in Sept. 1, 1948, two years before point four was formed in the U.S.A. and much before it came to India. Some Americans who

worked in this area were employed and paid fully by the U. P. State.

Under Etawah headline appearing on December 12, 1951, he says, "Etawah which is the smallest of 48 districts in the State called the United Province," and goes on describing the annual livestock fair of the Etawah district as "the largest fair in all India." He called it the United Province though its name was changed to Uttar Pradesh in 1949 under the new Constitution.

Etawah is not the smallest district of this State nor the annual cattle fair 'the largest fair in all India.' It is not the largest fair even in our State of U.P.

Appearing on December 13, 1951, under Ayana headline he mentions, "There are in India 48 such other States." He would have been correct if he had said there are 48 such districts in U.P. There are only in all, big or small, 28 States, like Uttar Pradesh in the whole of India.

At places we also find confusion of thought. Under Ayana headline appearing on December 13, 1951, he writes:

"There is an area which is semi-desert. Irrigation necessary. There are two canals flowing more than 300 miles through the areas, deriving from Ganga (Ganges) the river."

Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 17, 1951, writing about another village Andawa a few miles from Ayana, he says:

"The land in this area, which is the vast Ganges river valley, is very fertile, but arid. Aside from the monsoon which brings rain in the late June and into late August, there is almost literally no rain at all."

In the first paragraph if he describes Ayana area it is wrong since there is only one canal and the land is not at all semi-desert. If he means the whole of Etawah district, which has two canals, the land again is not semi-desert.

The second paragraph makes the confusion and description more evident. The whole of Etawah district, not village Andawa alone, including Ayana village, lies in the vast Ganges river valley and the land is very fertile. I should rather say the land lying between the two famous rivers Ganges and Jamuna, called *doab* land is the most fertile land in the whole of India and Etawah is situated in this area. It looks ridiculously inspired to describe it as 'semi-desert.' Rainfall continues from late June to late August and also in September. In December and January, again there are showers of rain and often more than necessary for canal-irrigated land.

Under Ayana headline appearing on December 18, 1951, he writes:

"There were letters to mail and so we drove along bullock cart ruts to the canal bank, which flows from the Ganges 300 miles through this parched land and along it to the Post Office at Auraiya 11 miles away."

"It has a bank, with a policeman on guard in a uniform like a soldier's and armed with a rifle."

The first paragraph is a sad and incorrect reflection on the postal system of India. It implies he had to go to Auraiya 11 miles away just to post his letters as if there was no Post Office capable of carrying his mail nearby. There is a Post Office in the village of Ayana itself and another five miles away, as quick in carrying mails as Auraiya Post Office. It is wholly incorrect to say he had to go there for the sake of posting his mails. It would have been reasonable to say that he went to see what it was like.

It is equally wrong to say that Auraiya had one bank only as described above with a policeman. Auraiya has more than one bank and the man whom he described as policeman was not a policeman but a *sentry* of the bank, employed to guard it. He seems to invent and develop a funny idea to boast American aid to impress his American readers. Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 20, 1951, he writes:

"The Indian masses were never given schools. . . . Now they are being given schools and assistance in learning. The U.S.A. is playing a part in it, though always with and under the Indian Government as is proper."

There were schools not only in this region but all over India even during the British days and in some villages compulsory primary education existed. Their number was constantly increasing and reaching larger number of villages even in the remotest corners.

I do not know what part he thinks U.S.A. is playing in it. I have already stated in the Etawah project the U.S.A. has not contributed a single pice. There is no justification to say so when there was no such aid in any form.

While writing about the Prime Minister, with whom he lunched he shows the same ignorance. Under Mahewa headline appearing on December 22, 1951, he writes, "Even Nehru's daughters attained, etc."

Pandit Nehru has only one daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He should have written sisters, to be correct who are two.

Describing his lunch with Pandit Nehru under New Delhi headline appearing on January 6, 1952, he says:

"So we talked, and his gracious sister, Madame Pandit Nehru, and his charming and attractive daughter chatted briefly."

He did not even know that his gracious sister, who has been Indian Ambassador in his country, should have been mentioned as Madame Pandit only.

While writing on general conditions of India, under Mahewa headline appearing on December 29, 1951, he writes:

"A good half of the population does not drink milk, because it comes from an animal."

It is true that a large number of our people do not drink milk; they do not drink, not because it comes from animal but because they cannot afford to do it or

they do not get it. It is funny to think in this way, because the cow is called mother from time immemorial for the simple reason that it gives sweet healthy milk. It has become a sacred animal to Hindus mainly for this reason and they have been drinking her milk for centuries.

Even a casual glance on the railway ticket from Etawah to Delhi, would have caught his eye that the distance between these two places is only 185 miles, not 296 miles as he mentions in his column appearing on January 1, 1952, under New Delhi headline.

These are some of the major and most glaring lapses which I have discussed here from the writings of a very keen and sincere observer editor of U.S.A., about whose facts the U.S. Embassy man in India was so sure. Others may be committing larger and more serious mistakes, depending on their preconceived notions, objectives and places of visit. Fed on such stuff by their own countrymen, neglecting the other side by the Indian writers, what the American public will think of the Indian can be very well imagined. When such material is distributed widely in India and the U.S.A. by responsible official American sources, it only indicates their complicity with anti-Indian propaganda, uprooting the feelings of Indo-American friendship and goodwill.

The effect of such irresponsible writings is that the general press in America begin to believe in so many things which are not correct, forming an altogether wrong idea of what India is today. This is the time when we need better information about each other so that we may understand them with greater sympathies and be more friendly. But such an impression among them, while it misleads the American citizens, creates ill-will amongst Indians when they know of such erroneous views of those, whom they try to befriend. It can be easily explained by Communists or others as anti-Indian propaganda to lower their prestige in the U.S.A.

The impressions the Americans are forming as a result of such writings can be best illustrated reading the following paragraphs from *New Orleans*, an U.S.A. paper, printed on December 30, 1951, under the headline "Point Four in Miniature—A Country Agent at Work in India":

"And by adopting modern agricultural equipment and knowledge to local conditions and religious laws, he turned the barren valley of Etawah into a bountiful garden."

Another paragraph runs as follows:

"It will kill the plants before they have matured and that would be taking life which we are forbidden to do"—they explained—"when Holmes wanted to introduce use of the soil-enriching legumes."

As explained elsewhere in this article Etawah is not a barren valley, it is the most fertile and best irrigated land in the whole of India nor the American experts have succeeded in turning it into a bountiful

garden.' In fact, these experts have caused more harm to Indian farmers than good owing to their unfamiliarity with Indian soil and conditions of agriculture.

It is equally wrong to suggest that Indians never knew of green soil-enriching crops or religion stood in their way. They have been using Sanai, Indigo, etc., as such for decades and no religious ideas came in their way.

In fact, in everything I read about India by American writers or journalists, I find some such information which may very well be described as 'intentionally or deliberately done' and the reasons for it may be differently interpreted by different parties. Even their own correspondents in India have been reporting incorrect and damaging facts.

In an article entitled "Point Four Props Farmers in India" in the *Christian Science Monitor* by its special correspondent, Mr. Gordon Graham, appearing on 20.8.51, it appears:

"For example, sometime ago it was suggested to the Etawah farmers that they should try green manuring with Sanai (sunherp). But the farmers would not plough the green crop in, as this would

require, because, as Hindus, they considered it sinful to destroy anything living before maturity."

So many are the misrepresentations in the writings of these few persons, and numerous persons and papers in the U.S.A. have written about Etawah! We can well imagine the number and extent of such samples. And all this is about Etawah. There may be many more places like Etawah and the cumulative result is just shocking to our imagination.

Herculean efforts on the one hand by the American government and such misrepresentations based on completely wrong facts, inventions and distortions on the other hand, are going together and I wonder if the result would be satisfactory to the liking either of the American people or their government or the Indian people, who now deserve better consideration, particularly after a lot of such misrepresentations indulged in by the then British rulers to prove India's incapacity for Swaraj, before the Americans for decades. Instead of counteracting this, such things continue only to undermine the future pleasant relations of the peoples of the two great democracies of the world. There is still time to think and be careful.

—:—

THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE IN OUR CONSTITUTION

By KUMARI SUSHILA RUDRA, M.A.

In our country for centuries, has the common man hankered and hungered for Justice. The one virtue which he admires most is "Insaf." The poets and bards of our ancient land have sung its praises, while legends tell us that the kings who have been revered and respected most were those who were imbued with a sense of justice. And now we find, according to the Preamble of the Constitution, that this much-sought-after virtue is almost within our grasp. For the Preamble of the Constitution states boldly:

"... to secure to all its citizens
Justice—Social, Economic and Political . . ."

Social justice is secured in our Constitution according to Article 17. "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of 'Untouchability' shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law." Thus we see one of the greatest ideals of the Father of the Nation is realised by this Article. By the removal of this social injustice nearly 50 million people are assured of their dignity as individuals.

Social justice is also attained by Article 23 as traffic in human beings and *begar* and other forms of forced labour are prohibited and punishable by law. Justice—social—is specially taken into account for the weaker people, in particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. According to Article 46, the State shall promote with special care their educational and economic interests and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Economic justice has not been fully realised. For economic justice is not to be found in Part III of our Constitution, namely, the Fundamental Rights, which are enforceable in a court of law if violated in any way. Justice—economic—is embodied in Part IV of the Constitution in the chapter dealing with the Directive Principles of State Policy. The articles therein are mere directives and principles which are to be followed and to be put into practice by each State. But no lawsuits can be filed against the Union or State Governments if they are entirely indifferent or negligent regarding these Directives.

According to Article 38, the State is to secure a social order for the promotion and welfare of the people. The Directive Principles lay down certain specific measures which are to be carried out in order to promote economic justice. There we find especially in Article 39 of the Constitution as follows: "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing—

- (a) That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- (b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;
- (c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;

- (d) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;
- (e) that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength."

The Constitution also secures economic justice in the case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement (Article 41): For women too special consideration is given and humane conditions of work secured and maternity relief. Economic justice is secured for children as well according to Article 24, and Article 39 (f) states that "childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."

Article 43 seems to be almost a Utopia in itself. It sets out to achieve through suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way "to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas."

Political justice is secured for the individual in the form of one of the most important Rights, Article 14: "The State shall not deny to any person equality before law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India." Thus every individual is justly treated as equal.

As regards employment in the State too, we find that justice is meted. Article 16 states according to Clause 1: "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State." This is indeed a great step forward since employment in government is no longer on a narrow communal basis as it was before independence, but is dependent on ability to be judged by a system of examination to be held by the Public Service Commission. Thus ability is the criterion for employment in the secular State.

According to the Directive Principle of State Policy, Article 44, "The State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India." But true political justice can only be achieved

in our country when Article 50 of the Constitution is put into practice: "The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State." For a certain amount of separation of powers is very essential for the success of a newly formed Democratic State like ours.

Social justice has been guaranteed by the State fully. But here we find the State striding and marching ahead, and a somewhat baffled and ignorant people slowly waking up to find, that overnight their traditions and customs and entire set of values have been changed by the State. But justice—social—must be preserved for the good of the nation. Thus it is for the individual to undergo a process of mental revolution and adjustment, while it is for the State to give every aid through a right system of education, to be able to make him realize the full implication and significance of the tremendous social change.

Economic justice is something which the individual cannot achieve by himself. The Directive Principles are like shining stars studded in the Constitution which the common man dare not even dream to touch. The gulf between the ideal and the reality is pathetic. It leaves the individual helpless and frustrated. It is here that the State must needs don the "Seven-League Boots" in order to meet the daily common needs of the individuals. It is in the matter of economic justice that the State should stride even farther ahead of the people than it has done in regard to social justice. For though social justice was the cry of the great reformers in our land in the nineteenth and till the first half of the twentieth century, yet within these few years since Independence they are looked upon as mere superficial reforms. Thus the cry of the hour in our country as in all other parts of the world is that of economic justice, and the State must realise this justice. But we must recall to mind the old dictum which tells us that State and Society are made up of individuals. Thus it should be indeed a matter of great enthusiasm and adventure for the State and Individual to tackle together this almost insurmountable Everest in Article 43.

Justice—political—has been guaranteed and a great deal has been achieved, but not enough, while there is a grave danger that these articles might tend to become mere dead letters, if selfish interest of individuals or party power-politics is allowed to get the upper hand.

—:—

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Quit English?"

I have read with great interest the article under the above title by Prof. Kamal Krishna Ghosh appearing in the June, 1952 issue of *The Modern Review*. I quite agree with him that even in free India, the former position of English should be retained and it should be begun soon after a child begins his vernacular. He has sounded a note of warning against growing deterioration among our

students particularly with regard to English. My experience from a long career as a teacher in Bihar is that though after Independence, the pass mark in English was reduced to 30 p.c. from 37½ p.c., the percentage of failure in English has shot up and the greater number of failure in the Matriculation Examination of the last few years was entirely due to English. If this is the fate

rs, what will happen to those going up for the School Examination (formerly, Matriculation) who will have read it only for four years?

With whatever end in view, we had been so long raising and teaching English—being our rulers' language or for Government jobs—we did not fail to perceive that it had been and would remain of great benefit for because :

(1) English is one of the richest literary languages the modern age.

(2) It is an international language, understood most everywhere in the world—in the Eastern and Western hemispheres as well as in the Northern and Southern hemispheres, and hence is most useful in world trade and world politics.

(3) It gives a wider outlook than Classics or Vernacular, and in it have been translated the best books of the world.

(4) In order to keep in touch with modern currents of thoughts, students all over the world should in addition to their vernacular, study the language of one modern progressive European nation. French or German may serve this purpose, but Indians have the best advantage to study English.

To-day independent countries are also doing this. Japan has made great progress through English education, and Turkey has replaced Arabic by French. In Thailand (Siam), students have to learn both English and French, because it had been surrounded by British and French colonies. Multilingualism is a necessity for the day. The common Indian student need not go beyond English for they have also to learn the Vernacular, the Mother Language and the Classical Language. As we must not forget that we are Indians and hence must study our language or languages forming our cultural background, so we cannot afford to forget that we belong to the modern age and must not lag behind the modern progressive nations.

Now if our matriculates read English only for four years, from 11 to 15 years, what will they do with this meagre knowledge? They will not be able to read and understand a most simple book or a newspaper in English, nor able to taste a bit of its literature nor talk with a foreigner. This would be a sheer waste of energy.

Let me say one word on the medium of instruction—a question Prof. Ghosh has evaded in his article. There will be no two opinions on the fact that in the school stage the vernacular should always be the medium. Many reformers are in favour of retaining the vernacular in the colleges too. But we already agreed to learn English as an international language. Why do we insist on it unless to get access to its rich storehouse?

allowed even if it is possible with the vast number of terms, for that is a discouragement to study the original works. It would not be proper to translate Darwin's *Origin of Species* into Hindi for our students' obtaining diploma in Biology. In the Osmania University where Urdu was the only medium, students could not follow the lectures of foreign visiting professors. Many of our students will seek higher education in foreign universities, hence education should not be too much vernacularised. Even English proves insufficient for some higher courses of the universities of England in which original French or German books have to be studied. Western thought loses much of its charm if translated into Indian languages and *vice versa*. For the same reason Sankhya, Jyotish, Ayurveda, etc., should be studied in original Sanskrit in the higher courses.

My views on the subject are quite singular. I say that neither Vernacular nor Classics nor English nor any language in particular should be the medium in the university stage. Whatever books serve best to teach the particular subject should be used, whether written in English, Vernacular or Sanskrit since the student is supposed to know all these languages. For them no particular "text-books" should be written nor any translated. The subject-matter is to be taught and not the language and the students should gather their knowledge from their professors' lecture-notes and books in any language approved by them. The individual professor's advantage to use a particular language out of the above three approved ones, is also to be looked into. If in any subject most of the books available be in English, the candidates may find it convenient to answer in English too. But it does not mean that they cannot answer in vernacular if they so like. In all non-language subjects, the candidate should previously fill in the form stating in what language he wants to answer the paper.

If we are to follow the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi, we cannot base our State on hatred, not even for the English people, far less for their language or literature. The Government of Bharat have not yet abolished English measures in space (yards, feet, inches) and weight (tons, pounds, ounces), nor have employed any clock-maker to construct clocks showing *danda, pala* and *vipala*, although they are not less scientific than the English system. We are still following the Christian Calendar, though Christians are a very small minority here. Perhaps every one wants to retain them for ever, for all-India matters. What harm is there in the English language, in the international numerals and the Roman Script which are at least easier to write than Devanagari?

SUDHIR CHANDRA MAJUMDAR



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SHRI K. M. MUNSHI DIAMOND JUBILEE VOLUME—Part I, *Bharatiya Vidya*, Volume IX, 1948: Published by *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1949*. Pp. 377. Price Rs. 15.

In this first part (all received by us up to now) of the Festschrift presented to the well-known President of the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan* by his friends and admirers on the happy occasion of his completing his sixtieth year, the editors have selected, for publication in the alphabetical orders of the authors' names, thirty papers bearing on different branches of Indian history and culture. The papers are of unequal merit. We propose to take up first the best papers which may be arranged under the head 'Indian Literature.' In the branch of Vedic exegesis Dr. V. M. Apte offers a new explanation of the symbolism of the goddess Diti, while Dr. H. R. Karnik gives similarly a learned interpretation of the Brahmana legend of the *Aptya-devatas*. Mention may also be made of the paper of Dr. Enrico Gerardo Carpani listing with his running comments twenty-one texts from the *Chandogya* and *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishads which illustrate the psychology of dream-phenomena in Vedic philosophy. In the field of classical Sanskrit literature, Dr. S. K. De (*The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre*) makes the ingenious suggestion that the variant *yamanika* signifying 'a covering' or 'a curtain' was the original form which was afterwards lost and replaced by the two familiar forms *yavanika* and *javanika*, of which the former has often been wrongly taken to be a proof of Greek influence on the Sanskrit drama. In another paper Dr. R. G. Harshe presents the text of two interesting, but fragmentary manuscripts on dreams together with a list of their book-illustrations numbering 113 in all. The former is a Jaina work not later than the fourteenth or fifteenth century; while the latter belongs to the seventeenth century. In another interesting paper, Shri S. V. Iyer introduces us to a Sanskrit play of the rare *vithi* type written by a Kerala poet shortly before 1750 A.D. More controversial is the paper of Shri S. L. Katre in which the author rejecting the sixth or seventh century date given for Harisvamin (the renowned commentator of the *Satapatha Brahmana*) by previous scholars, assigns his work to c. 54 B.C. in the time of Vikramaditya, the so-called founder of the Vikrama Era. This interpretation, the author claims, gives another support to the historicity of Vikramaditya of the first century B.C.; while it fits into "the grand Age of Vedic culture" under Pushyamitra Sunga. In the branch of mediæval literature Prof. H. C. Bhayani introduces us to a striking *apabhramsa* work of the class of *Samdesakavyas* belonging to the twelfth or the thirteenth century. This

is the *Samdesarasaka* of Abdala Rahamana of Multan (?), which, according to the author, is the first known Muslim contribution to the Indian literature and influenced the well-known work of Malik Muhammad Jayasi called *Padumavati*. Of more general interest is the paper of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in which the late lamented scholar gives a short list of parallel texts from Eastern and Western literatures under different heads. In these passages "identical doctrines have been enunciated as nearly as possible in the same terms and often indeed in the same idioms," thus suggesting their cognate origin. As regards other branches of Indian culture, social history is represented by a paper of Dr. B. C. Law on *Slavery as known to early Buddhists*, while science is represented by a contribution of M. M. P. V. Kane (*The Problem of the Introduction of Rasis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology*) and one of Dr. G. P. Majumdar (*The Genesis of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India*).

In contrast with the above the papers bearing on political history are devoid of any interest. Reference may also be made to a long and insipid paper on *Jainism in Gujarat* which is nothing but an undigested compilation of anecdotes, tales and authentic history with a distinctly chauvinistic bias and is unworthy of inclusion in the present volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL

IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA: By Luang Boribol Buriband. Translated by P. S. Sastri and A. B. Griswold. Published by the Chatra Press, 77 Rama V. Road, Bangkok. 1952. Twenty-five illustrations. Pp. 21. Price not stated.

This is an excellent little hand-book illustrated with 25 specimens of images, dealing very ably with the vexed question of the origin of the image of the Buddha. The author starts with the *chronicle* of the sandalwood image, attributed to Prasenajit, and very reasonably doubts if the tradition could have been current during the time of Asoka, though *prima facie* it is a legend coming into existence during the life-time of the Buddha. The author very frankly accepts the position that archaeologists agree that the first Buddha images were made shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, either in Gandhara or at Mathura and that the images of Mathura and of Gandhara began to influence each other, and "there is a merging of Greek plasticity with Indian ideals." Later schools adopt the same formula and gradually standardize them. With these preliminary discussions the author proceeds to examine the evolution of the various types of the Siamese schools: the Dvaravati style, the Srivijaya style, the Lopburi style, Early and Late Chiengsaen style, Sukhodaya style, the U-thong style and the Ayudhya style, demonstrated with appropriate illustrations. Altogether,

this little booklet comprises within a short compass a brilliant exposition of the evolution of the Buddha image which will be useful to scholars and students alike.

O. C. G.

RENNELL'S MAPS: 1. Bahar—(Behar) North, 2. Bahar—South, 3. Conquered Provinces South of Bahar—containing Ramgur, Palamow and Chuta-Nagpur, 4. Bengal and Bahar—in Warren Hastings' time, 5. Bengal with the Bhootan, Morung and Assam Frontiers in 1779, 6. Delta of the Ganges with adjacent countries on the East: *Printed between June and December, 1779. Photogravure reprints in Six Folio Sheets by The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta 12. Price: the set Rs. 12-8.*

The Book Company has done well to reproduce in Folio-sheets by photo-litho process the original Maps by Rennell which have become very rare. The Maps are not only invaluable to research-workers and students of history but also as records for the delineation of boundaries.

K. N. C.

LECTURES ON THE RAMAYANA: *By the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Published on behalf of the Madras Sanskrit Academy by S. Viswanathan. Price Rs. 10 (\$4, sh. 16).*

Srinivasa Sastri was well-known as an astute politician and a great statesman. But that he was a Sanskritist and an enthusiastic admirer of Indian culture and especially of the Ramayana is not known as much and as widely. The volume under review—unfortunately a posthumous one—is a testimony to this latter aspect of the character of Sastri. The volume consists of thirty lectures delivered under the auspices of the Madras Sanskrit Academy. We have here critical and analytic studies of the different characters found in the Ramayana. Though full of reverence for Rama, the learned lecturer looked on the hero as an ideal human being occasionally manifesting the frailties that are inherent in a man. He does not, like the old commentators, seek to explain away these frailties with far-fetched interpretations and he has clearly stated the reasons of his disagreement with the commentators. The lectures which are of absorbing interest contain copious quotations from the text of the Ramayana and numerous references to the commentaries with discussions thereon. It appears that the lectures were delivered extempore and the Madras Sanskrit Academy did a very good thing in making special arrangements for taking shorthand reports of the lectures, publishing them in book-form and thereby making them accessible to the reading public who will be highly benefited to go through them. One who reads the book will come to like the Ramayana and appreciate its value and importance. Books of this type and not merely dry scholarly studies are necessary for attracting the sympathetic attention of the people to Sanskrit literature as well as to the greatness of Indian culture.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BUBBLES: *By Satis Chandra Sinha. With two articles of Sir Jadunath Sarkar. S. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 1-C, College Square, Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 5.*

The book contains forty short articles or essays. The subjects dealt with in these essays range between social, legal, political and cultural. The author's views on these matters have been couched in easy and forceful but at times in a very caustic style. These essays have been written between June 30, 1948 and August

15, 1952 and necessarily cover the various problems that had raised their head during this period. India has attained independence. But the country has been divided. This has given rise to many unforeseen problems. Mass-scale transfer of population has been a problem very difficult to tackle. Other problems have also cropped up. One, most vital and important from our national standpoint, was the fixing of Hindi as *rashtra bhasha* or State language, which would take effect in the early sixties. Problems confronting the Hindu social frame also demand solution. Women's position in modern Hindu society is yet to be determined. Such varied subjects as 'private endowments,' 'Debottar property' and 'censorship' also deserve to be thrashed out. The author has written on these, as well as on many other topics. Some of them may seem trivial to the man in the street, but each one of them has some particular importance in our body politic. It appears from the book that the author is especially interested in matters cultural and those concerning the social position of women in the Hindu society. He has given the story of the Imperial Library, now called National Library, in a nutshell. His views on the Hindu code and other Bills and Acts affecting Hindu women, should be carefully considered by our reformers. The article on "Swayambar" is full of humour, and serves as a pointer to the problem of the marriage of modern educated Hindu girls. The two very thoughtful articles on "Compulsory Hindi" by Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, given in the Appendix, weigh the gain and loss that we have got to incur in our onward march to progress. It is regrettable that the balance is heavily on the side of loss. Our leaders should ponder hundred times before the use of Hindi is made compulsory in the affairs of the State, and it is made the medium in the higher studies in our Universities. The book deserves repeated perusal.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH STALIN: *By Louis Fischer. Published by the Associated Advertisers and Printers, Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The volume under review is an apt commentary on the universally held belief that truth is the first casualty of war—cold and otherwise. In a biography of Joseph Stalin running to more than 300 pages the author has not a single good word about the hero of his work. He has painted Stalin in the darkest hue. Yet it is a fact that the transformation of Czarist Russia from medieval backwardness to her present position during the comparatively brief span of a little over 25 years is due in the main to Joseph Vissarionovitch Stalin. The man who began with many odds against him, not the least damaging being Lenin's verdict that the former "is too rude" and his (Lenin's) proposal that he (Stalin) be removed from the General Secretaryship of the Communist Party, succeeded in capturing power after Lenin's death in 1924 and in retaining it for more than a quarter of a century, proves conclusively that he was quite a few cuts above the ordinary. Mr. Fischer would, however, have his readers believe that the success was due to intrigues, unscrupulousness, ruthlessness, treachery and the like. "Stalin's four simple rules of success," says the biographer, were—"any method is justified if it helps achieve the desired end; men must be discarded when no longer useful; alliances are made to be broken; ideas have no existence unless chained to the chariot of power" (p. 18). Few, if any, impartial observers, will agree with him.

Mr. Fischer has, however, done a very great service to the intellectual not tied to any 'ism' by revealing many facts about Soviet Russia which are blocked out or glossed over by the champions and spokesmen of the Soviet system. His analysis of Soviet foreign policy in the thirties (Ch. XIX) is interesting, pleasant and substantially correct.

Mr. Fischer points out and rightly at that, "From the Iberian peninsula, around the Mediterranean littoral, through the entire Moslem world except Turkey . . . and Israel, on to Southeast Asia, the defenses against Communism and other forms of totalitarianism are weak. It is in this mammoth region, inhabited by more than a billion persons living in the 19th, 18th, 17th and 16th centuries, that the rivalry between Russia and the West will rage with special fury for years" (p. 287). He proceeds, "Unhappiness fills the feudal regions from Spain to Indo-China and, in addition, much of Africa and Latin America. Everywhere a thin wealthy upper caste shamelessly flaunts its luxury under the eyes of the hungry, diseased peasants and shepherds who are deprived of the education, organisation, and political power to improve their lot. . . . Masters come and go, foreigners are ousted, national independence is achieved, but bread, rice, milk, medicines, water, shoes, shelter, schools remain in short supply. Loans from abroad reach the pockets of the haves; the have-nots have only their envy and hate" (pp. 287-88). Mr. Fischer points out that the only way to save this vast area for democracy is revolutionisation from below and guiding it into the 20th century. "Stalin's fate," he concludes, "is in the hands of the non-Stalinists. They can write history's verdict on him. They will determine whether his life was a success or failure" (p. 307). We agree and know what that verdict will be.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

SHOULD FATHERHOOD BEGIN AT FORTY? :

By E. Orson Brower. Published by the author. 1952. U. S. A.

It should not begin earlier that seems to be the opinion of the author. Citing the cases of many famous men the author has shown that their parents were all above forty when they were born. He subscribes to the view of M. L. Steckel that "the younger the parents the less favourable is the prognosis for the intelligence of the offspring" (p. 6). In the techniques of the measurement of intelligence he has suggested a new factor 't' by which he means "ability to find the important meanings in the commonplace" (p. 23). He also attempts to find biological justification in support of his theory that the later the parenthood begins the better it is in all respects for the offspring.

The book is written in a highly emotional tone and controversial spirit throughout. It seems as if the author is standing with a club in his hand ready to smash down anyone who dares differ from him. In spite of his many quotations and references to authorities the reviewer is of opinion that he has not been able to establish his thesis and the question that he has posed (the title of the book) still remains an open one. Though the facts presented in the book are of considerable interest to all, the style adopted by the author is neither pleasant nor commendable. The book, however, is a thought-provoking one and would have aroused greater interest amongst professional psychologists and biologists had the author chosen to present his views in a more sober and dispassionate way.

S. C. MITRA

BENGALI

MANO-BAIJNANIK: By Satyen Sinha. Published by Das Gupta and Co. Ltd., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta 12. Price Re. 1-8.

A modern drama deftly depicting certain psychological complexities. The author has been able to arouse and sustain the curiosity of the reader from the start to the finish. For a new writer—this is his first published work—it is no mean achievement.

RAUDRA-JYOTSNA: By Sushil Kumar Gupta. Published by Writers' Corner, 104/14 Gopal Lal Thakur Road, Calcutta 36. Price Re. 1.

A collection of thirty-two poems, most of which were published in periodicals. The poet is neither an escapist nor a propagandist. Conscious of the incongruities of the existing social order, he dreams of a brighter day and resolves to march ahead towards it with faith and conviction. His emotion is genuine and hence comes this directness of expression. Nowhere does he struggle to pose his 'modernism' with a queer jumble of words and halting rhythm.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

MARUKUNJA: By Mathurdas Tricumji. Published by Navajivana Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-4.

The author suffered for a long time from the fell disease of tuberculosis. He has, therefore, turned wisely his experience and knowledge, gained additionally from books as well on the subject, into a practical handbook on how to prevent the incidence of the said wasting ailment, and if one has succumbed unfortunately to it, then how to co-operate with Nature and the doctor, together with those best of doctors, Doctor Diet and Doctor Quiet, in overcoming it.

G. M.

MARATHI

KAMALAN: By Arvind Gokhale. Published by Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 3.

Shri Arvind Gokhale has made his mark in Marathi fiction and this book maintains his high reputation. Here the reader will find a well-got-up collection of twelve short stories, most of which have already appeared in popular magazines. Against the background of the social life of Maharashtra middle class, the writer depicts uncommon moods of common persons. It is through revealing the hidden links of emotional urges, rather than weaving novelty of situation that he succeeds in holding the interest of his readers. Unlike some, who overdo this psychological technique, he maintains a sound balance between plot and motive. This as well as keen observation, rich imagination and warm sympathies appear to be the secret of his craftsmanship. The book is sure to be hailed as a rich addition to Marathi short stories.

P. J. JAGIRDAR

GUJARATI

RASHTRA BHASHANO SAWAL: By Jawaharlal Nehru. Translated into Gujarati by Nagindas Parekh and published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 43. Price seven annas.

Panditji's views on our having a National Language are well-known. He has viewed the question fairly and impartially as well as practically and comprehensively. His thoughts are reproduced here faithfully.

K. M. J.

JIVATA TEHEVARO: By Dattatreya Bal-krishna Kalelkar. Printed by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 30. Price Rs. 2.

This delightful and instructive book has undergone a fourth edition. "Living Holidays" were noticed in its earlier editions. Kaka Kalelkar has added fresh material to this—the latest edition—and added new Holidays like Rashtriya Saptah and Azadi Din. Jayantis of several saints are also set out, along with their significance and the precepts they have left behind them.

(1) **AMINA** (4th Edition), (2) **ZANDEVAN-DAN:** By "Shayda" (Harji Lovji Damni). Printed at the R. H. Printing Press, Bombay-8 and Be Ghadi Printing Press, Bombay-1. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 455: 412. Price Rs. 6 and Rs. 5 respectively.

Mr. Shayda has a long-established reputation for writing popular stories on various subjects. Amina, which has passed through four editions between 1923 and 1950, is a story of social life amongst Muslims which approximates, if not fully resembles, Hindu social life, paints the picture of a new bride going to her husband's house, sandwiched in between her sister-in-law and mother-in-law and acquitting herself creditably in winning them over and in doing so complying with her mother's parting advice—not to spoil her good name—advice which she had made to sink in her, while suckling her at her breast. There are various incidents such as of singers and others portrayed also. The second book, *Salutation to the Flag*, is written as an appeal to the Indian Nation, not to open only their temples, built of brick and mortar, to the Harijans but to open the temples of their Heart, and give them free access and equality in all pursuits of life. It emphasises the creed of Mahatma Gandhi in no uncertain terms. It is found to prove as popular as his other stories.

(1) **RAJAJI**, (2) **RAJENDRAPRASAD:** By Ambelal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Published by the Brihad Gujarat Prakashan Mandir, Bombay-7. 1949. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket with blocks. Pp. 239, 274. Price Rs. 4-8 each.

Shriji Ambelal Joshi is an enthusiastic student and writer in addition to being an Advocate. He has planned a Greater Gujarat series of Books—Granthavali—in which he desires to publish the Biographies of all eminent men and women of India. Pioneer work he has already done, and the two volumes under notice testify to the fact that he has successfully passed that pioneer stage and entered on that of a practised writer. Rajaji and Dr. Rajendraprasad needed original biographies in Gujarati and Mr. Joshi has supplied that need. Almost all incidents in their lives have been set out here, with a sense of proportion and a terseness which are exemplary. He has not omitted to give due prominence to Rajen Babu's pleading for Hindi and has devoted a whole Appendix to it. We welcome his work and are looking forward to other works on similar lines.

MAHAN BANO: By Chandra Shankar Pranshankar Shukla. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay-2. 1948. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 140. Price Rs. 2.

The title of the book means "Be Great," and in support of that advice Mr. Shukla has given, in simple Gujarati, outlines of the lives of twenty-five men and women, European and American, basing

them on D. Carnegie's three volumes on the subject. The object is to put before a rising generation a picture of those who have acquired a name for themselves so that it may furnish guidance and inspiration to all who care to profit by it.

GURJAR MAHILAO, Parts I and II: By A. R. Bhimani. Printed at the Unity Printing Press, Bombay 1. 1949, 1950. Illustrated jacket. Cloth-bound. Pp. 200 each. Price Rs. 20 each.

Women of Gujarat, (45+48=93 in all) young and old, of the old and the new generation figure in this work, with their photographs, an attractive feature of it. The good that they have been able to do, in their own families and in public, Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, is deservedly set-out in the sketches of their lives below their photographs. The number 93 is too small and Shri Bhimani is planning further parts of the compilation. We wish success to him and his enterprise.

1. **MAHABHARAT:** By K. K. Shastri.
2. **NAMAVALI OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FORBES GUJARATI SABHA, BOMBAY:** By Janab Mohammed Umar Kokil.

Both published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay 4. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 80, 90. Prices Re. 1-8, Rs. 2.

The Mahabharat has been rendered into Gujarati verse by more than one poet of old Gujarat. In the first of the books under notice, the verses of poets Nakar and Vishnudas, comprising four *parvas*, Shalya, Gada, Saupatik, and Stri are edited by Mr. Shastri, a noted student of old Gujarati. The Sabha possesses a valuable collection of old Persian MSS. Mr. Kokil, a trusted and experienced hand at this sort of work, has catalogued them with short, informative notes. It is sure to prove of great use to research students.

GANDHI DARSHAN: By Bhanubhai Pandya, Published by Fulwadi Prakashan, Khambhaba. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 7. Price four annas.

A Gandhi drama in verse played by the school children of St. Xavier's High School, Bombay. It contains prophetic verses put into the mouth of Gandhiji when they were written (26-27 January), viz., "Take, take me as sacrifice" and within three days Mahatmaji was murdered. The *Darshan* offered is real and picturesque.

K. M. J.

A Monumental Work

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

Vol. I: Hindu and Buddhist Period

Vol. II: Islamic Period

By Percy Brown (former Principal, Government School of Arts, Calcutta). Both volumes profusely illustrated. Vol I, Rs. 22: Vol. II, Rs. 19-12.

This masterly review extends to every development of architecture in India from the earliest times and the sources from which they were derived. The volumes are beautifully illustrated by numerous photographs and specially prepared drawings and diagrams of the most important examples of Indian Architecture.

TARAPOREVALA'S

"Treasure House of Books,"

210, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY-1.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Trading Links of Old World Empires

Long before our days of swift transit and telecommunication the caravans were threading their slow and sometimes dangerous way across the deserts; and the mariners of different regions were braving the terrors of the seas. Edmund Roberts writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The history of civilization might be written around the story of trade routes between Europe and the East. During the course of centuries they have seen the camel and the packhorse followed by the age of sails; itself only to be superseded by the era of the steamship, and today the aeroplane has shortened the time of conveyance to days, as compared with the months during which goods were in transit in mediaeval days. Giant planes now cross in a few hours the very desert painfully trodden by the camel for centuries, such crossings in former days often lengthening into months.

The importance of these ancient trade routes in the story of human endeavour cannot be exaggerated, and historians and archæologists are paying increasing attention to them.

Shortly before the last war, British archæologists working in Lower Burma were concentrating on a study of one of the oldest of such routes, that between India and the Far East.

The route crossed peninsular Siam at the only latitude which provided sheltered anchorages on both coasts, which were at the same time connected by what were formerly deep rivers running from the narrow watershed, affording a nearly unbroken waterway across the peninsula. The ancient route begins at Takoapa (or Taikala), believed to be the site of the old mart of Takola, mentioned in the second century by Claudius Ptolemy, the famous Alexandrian geographer. The supposed site of the ancient port is an open sandy space, locally known as the "Plain of Monuments," on an island near the mouth of the Takoapa River. Several mounds were excavated, and the foundations of an extensive early Indian temple have been brought to light. Pottery and beads have also been found, proofs of habitation at some period or other.

After completing excavations in the neighbourhood of Takoapa, the expedition crossed to the east coast, following the old trade route leading to the Bay of Bandon. When this route was in use the crossing was comparatively easy, but the 20th century explorers found the task slow and difficult because of the low state of the rivers, which have silted up in the course of centuries. There were many rapids and shallows, all of which had to be negotiated with heavily laden boats. The villages along the route were reported still deeply impressed with Indian folklore and the tradition of an ancient Indian migration eastward.

South of the Bay of Bandon lies a remote city called Vieng Sva. It is enveloped by a dense thorn jungle and the archæologists had to hack their way through this before they could reach a moated enclosure with a ruined

central shrine. There a beautiful statue of Buddha was brought to light, and it seems that in the remote past Vieng Sva was populated from India. The next city *en route* was Chaiya, which thrived about a thousand years ago and where thousands of bowls, made of porcelain, have been unearthed.

Two other trade routes of lesser importance, subsidiary to this great highway from the Far East to India, have also been investigated.

Near the western terminus of one of these, ancient stone baths carved out of the living rock, and still overflowing with hot salt water from underlying springs, were found deep in the jungle. The existence of this thermal establishment would appear to indicate the former existence of a highly developed civilization in the neighbourhood.

The few facts mentioned above show what riches remain to be revealed to us of the history and development of the ancient trade routes of the world. Up to the present, only the surface of the ground has been scratched, so to speak. There is certainly no more fascinating study than that of the growth of these ancient trade routes, along which flowed riches of gold, silver, precious stones, linen, silks, incense and spices. Trade was one of the earliest growths of civilization, and the lines of intercommunication in Europe between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, which were in existence as long ago as the Stone Age, are clearly visible.

The trade routes of the ancient world frequently afforded to explorers the only practicable routes along which to travel. This was so in the case of Marco Polo, who traversed those of Asia. During recent years explorers have been paying considerable attention to these old highways, and among those who have traced certain of them are Dr. Sven Hedin, the eminent Swedish explorer; Sir Aurel Stein; and M. Haardt.

Actually how far back in the mists of antiquity these trade routes began cannot be definitely discovered. Sir Halford Mackinder, who made a study of their evolution, suggested that some of them began as "raid routes," and in several cases the evidence seems to bear out this theory. The Norse pirates of Northern Europe, for example, sailed out every spring in search of spoil, and came back in the autumn laden with the fruits of their forays. In Africa, again, the routes followed by early European explorers were those originally marked out by the Arab slave traders on their nefarious business. Testimony given by such men as Livingstone, relates to the terrible evidences of this trade that were found strewn the routes.

Long before the Christian era primitive commercial highways were in existence.

The Stone Age routes of Europe were touched upon in a previous paragraph. They came into being because the amber of the Baltic was in great demand. This led to the establishment of two well-trodden routes from that sea to the Mediterranean. Sir Flinders Petrie has proved that, further south, Gaza in Southern Palestine, mentioned in many places in the Bible, was a great mart

in ancient times, trading routes leading to it from the north and the south.

Early trade of this type was not confined to a small area, and it is astonishing to learn how widely scattered the products of the Old World countries became, undoubtedly by means of repeated exchanges. As a proof of this, what is believed to have been Irish gold has been found on the site of Troy, which was flourishing a thousand years B.C. In those days Ireland was one of the most important sources of gold in the world.

The two most powerful of the Old World empires to establish trading routes early in the history of civilization were Egypt and Babylonia.

In their cases it is possible that raids and forays marked the commencement of the interchange of goods. The fact that each had merchandise of value to the other may have been an accidental discovery resulting from the spoils of war but as time went on, it seems, the people discovered that peaceful trading was more profitable than constant fighting. Palestine lay between the two, and a great amount of merchandise passed through it, and whoever controlled that country had command of the routes leading to the east and the north, and then west to Europe. Thus for centuries there was extreme rivalry over the possession of it, which explains why the Israelites were always struggling for their freedom.

The earliest trade routes, therefore, were established, as it were, as a result of accidental discovery of the value of goods. Gradually, with the passage of time, these routes were extended further east, north and west, until both Europe and the Far East were contributing their quotas of wealth. Men became more venturesome, and the Phoenicians established the first great sea routes in the history of the world, sailing, we believe, as far west

as Britain. Overland another route traversed Asia Minor, East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route and linked up Europe. Pointing towards the East yet another route led to Persia, and the wealth of the Far East was brought to India, partly by the ancient route the British archaeologists have been exploring and then up the Persian Gulf and overland westwards.

The rise of the Greek Empire, which subdued Persia, led to changes and further developments in the routes, although their main directions were unaltered.

It was along the ancient trade routes between East and West that the riches of the world continued to flow in increasing volume. One of the routes led up the Red-Sea, which was dotted with important commercial stations, and overland to Alexandria; and an alternative route from the Indian ports led to the head of the Persian Gulf, as mentioned above, from whence the goods were taken overland by desert caravan. It is believed that nearly 2,000 years ago the Greeks were aware of the sea route to China *via* India, for their venturesome pilots thought nothing of the crossing from the Red Sea to India, accomplishing it regularly.

These two main sea routes were supplemented by the great overland route through Asia and China, which it is believed established contact with Western civilization early in the Christian era. In times of peace this route was far more convenient and quicker for the goods of Northern India and China than the ocean routes. The cost of travelling by-land was greater, but the expense was more than counterbalanced by the high value of the goods carried, which were generally light and of small bulk.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA

OR

AWAKENED INDIA

(Started by SWAMI VIVEKANANDA in 1896)

Now in its 58th Year

The premier English monthly, conducted by the Monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, devoted to universal religion and philosophy, culture, education, and art and other topics of national and international interest. It keeps its readers in intimate touch with the cultural side of Indian national life, both ancient and modern.

The journal is popular and is widely circulated all over the world and is esteemed highly as the following opinions will show:

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: "Admire its writings as contributions to pure Indian culture."

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN: I have been a regular reader of *Prabuddha Bharata* and can say that its sanity in dealing with religious doctrine and discipline has been its most impressive characteristic."

COUNT HERMANN KEYSERLING: I think *Prabuddha Bharata* is one of the most interesting and important magazines that one can find today in any country."

SUBSCRIBERS ARE ENROLLED FROM JANUARY OR JULY

Annual Subscription: India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5; Foreign 14 sh.; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

Three notable routes stretched westwards from China overland, and they converged on the important markets of Samarkand and Bokhara.

These towns were great junctions, for there the caravans from China, traversing the silk route, met those coming from India; and there, too, the termini of the routes from the West were met. These ancient trade routes linking East and West maintained their supreme importance until the 15th century, when the discovery of the New World and the Cape route to India and the East completely altered the course of world trade and for a period the sea became predominant.

The Cape Route to the East played an increasingly important part in the commerce of Europe, and for practically three centuries it was unassailed. Not until the cutting of the Suez Canal was transport once more diverted through the Mediterranean. With the discovery and settlement of the New World came the establishment of what was destined to become the busiest world sea route, that to North America, and a little later that to South America was established. Then, towards the end of the 18th century came the settlement of Australia; and this was followed in the last century by the Australasian route. Today, strangely enough, along the routes linking East and West, traffic is being diverted back once more overland, *via* the air, and at the present time aeroplanes are regularly travelling over the track of the ancient trade route between Egypt and Babylonia, one of the very earliest to be established.

A First Glimpse of South Africa

Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, New York, writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

On this rapid round-the-world flight, I did not intend to visit South Africa. Indeed, if the whole truth be told, I did not very much want to visit South Africa. And for at least two reasons. On the one hand, while recognizing that it is never possible really to understand a situation or people without personal contact, I felt that, through *Cry, The Beloved Country* and countless first-hand accounts, one had a reasonably clear and reliable picture of South Africa which observation could only confirm. One the other hand, what could a visit to South Africa possibly lead to? What can any of us do about it?

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE NATIVE AFRICANS

I have spent many hours visiting residence-areas of every type inhabited by 'non-Europeans'—the mining company compounds into which native labourers recruited from up-country virtually on an indenture basis are herded for nine-month terms and then shipped back home; the unnumbered communities of one-family homes, many of them quite new, some sponsored by government, others privately owned and operated, which seem to ring Johannesburg; some of the worst of the 'shanty towns' pictured in Alan Paton's book and film; the independent towns owned and operated wholly by Africans outside the municipal limits.

In any ideal community, the 'company compounds' and the system of labour-employment which creates them should not exist. Their worst feature is not the living conditions provided but the uprooting of young men from their communal existence in the rural 'reserves' and their transplantation into the demoralizations and dissipations of a great metropolis. Even this is not without its parallels in the life of migrant labour in the United States. The most hopeful feature of this thoroughly bad system is not the provisions for health, recreation and education by some of the more enlightened mining companies, but the fact that here, as elsewhere throughout Africa, increasing family migration is replacing individual indenture and that the increasing provision of family dwellings is making this possible. In Northern Rhodesia, I was told that close to fifty per cent of the migration from native communities to industrial centres is now by families.

Some of the communities of one-family homes for native Africans are among the most attractive 'garden villages' which I have seen anywhere in the world—well-built two or three-room dwellings with plenty of open space between and acres of open ground about, many of them with well-cultivated flower and truck gardens, adequately supplied with school and recreation facilities. By comparison, the sweltering tenements of our large cities are festering incubators of physical and moral disease. Even the 'shanty towns' struck me as far less unhealthy and undesirable living places than the tumble-down Negro shacks on the outskirts of almost any city in our own deep South.

By all odds, the most disturbing type of residence situation is the independent communities outside the metropolitan boundaries which are entirely owned, operated, governed and policed by the Africans themselves. Not primarily because of crowded and unsanitary living conditions, but because of the absence of minimal structures of law and order. These must be the principal breeding grounds of lawlessness and immorality.



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT

UNION DRUG

CALCUTTA

Scattered through the native residence areas are schools, playgrounds, and community centres, very largely church-sponsored, which, while far less plentiful and well-equipped than the ideal are less inadequate than corresponding facilities in many American cities. Even this present government with its futile cry of *apartheid* and vicious doctrine of race superiority is doing vastly more for its native population by way of health, educational and recreational facilities than I would have supposed; vastly more, be it confessed, than all too many American communities with congested Negro districts.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

In the States, we hear almost altogether of Dr. Malan and his Nationalist advocates of *apartheid*. Their grip upon South Africa today is far less secure than often supposed; their dominance over South Africa tomorrow is almost certainly doomed.

No one will venture a confident prediction of the outcome of the forthcoming general election, scheduled for April. Many believe the Nationalists will be crowded out by the Union Party (moderates) by a small margin. One of the leaders of the latter was quoted to me as saying he hoped his party would *not* come to power; their margin of control might be too slim to permit effective reversal of present policies.

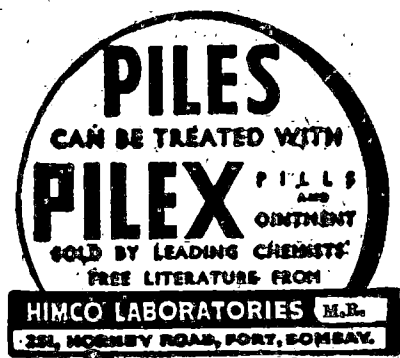
The severest and most unqualified indictments of the Nationalists, and *apartheid* are not being framed in Europe or America but in South Africa. Johannesburg is a centre of British rather than Afrikaaners influence. I have been reading every word of its two excellent daily papers. Their condemnation of Malan and all his works make Pittsburg's hatred of Truman and the New-Fair Deal seem, by comparison, mild approbation.

In any event, two facts about the future appear beyond challenge. *First*, the extremists within the Nationalist Party are gaining control of it. Whether they win or lose the next election, Malan will shortly retire and be replaced by a far more violent and irrational leader. Therefore, a Nationalist victory portends worse days for South Africa and the world in the immediate future. But, *second*, in the long run and probably not too long, the Nationalist extremism is doomed. Not only is the determined opposition of more moderate counsels and policies strong and steadily gaining strength. Extreme Nationalism is pitting itself against inexorable forces which in the very nature of the situation can be temporarily retarded but which cannot ultimately be halted. These forces are economic as well as political and humanitarian. Economic power lies largely with the non-Afrikaan elements of the population, indissolubly linked by tradition and by self-interest with foreign capital and overseas trade. Through these channels, the judgment and conscience of the world may make its influence most effectively felt within South Africa. The extremists, in the familiar Dutch figure, are desperate men, sticking their fingers into the ever more numerous and ever enlarging holes in the dyke. Many believe that, at least subconsciously, they sense this inevitability of history. The 'wave of the future' bears the cause not of Nationalism but of moderation.

Indeed, in the longer view, the most ominous current development on the African continent may be, not the temporary triumph of reaction in South Africa, but the pending Federation in Central Africa, which may impose on Northern Rhodesia and Tanganyika the scheme of white supremacy dominant in Southern Rhodesia, which is itself a projection of South-African attitudes and policies northward.

Even the Afrikaaners' leadership is by no means without its elements of light and vision. Certainly the most exciting and possibly the most promising conference I have had was with the Commission on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Areas within the Union of South Africa. The Commission was appointed by the present Government. Its nine members are all, or almost all, Afrikaaners. But they are scholars of competence and wide knowledge, several of whom have studied at first hand the race problem in the United States and elsewhere. They are engaged in a three-year inquiry, and expect to present their findings and recommendations by the end of 1953. Their assignment is to develop a comprehensive, long-range, and inclusive policy for the 'reserved areas,' the vast and potentially rich tracts of land mostly along the east coast which are reserved exclusively for native residence, and use where five-eighths of the native Africans still live.

I have seldom met a more competent or enlightened group of highly trained and informed social scientists. They have taken as the base-line, determinative of all their recommendations, 'the human factor,' that is, the welfare of the peoples concerned. And their guiding principle is that all proposals must hold in view and be devised to further the *total* advance of the population, not merely economic progress but economic, educational, social, cultural and spiritual factors in their organic unity (perhaps an echo of General Smuts' 'Holism'?). The fact that the focus of their attention is upon the 'native areas' and presupposes the continuing residence of a majority of the Africans within these 'reserved' territories opens their proposals to the suspicion of being 'enlightened apartheidism.' This they fully recognize and emphatically disavow. Their workrooms are crowded with maps, charts and data on every aspect of the African people, their potentialities and their problems. For example, they have detailed evidence of the well-nigh limitless economic potential of the 'reserved areas.' And recommendations they will sponsor supply great and soundly conceived plans for the progressive transformation of these areas. We know only too well the long step between formulation by experts and implementation by politicians. Nevertheless, this Commission is a heartening evidence that some Afrikaaners are seeking to conceive a worthy future for the Africans, and it may hold promise that, once the curse of white superiority dogma is surrendered, the best elements of Dutch and British ancestry might join hands in constructive measures. In any event, the forthcoming report of the Commission is worth watching for.



The Test of Democracy

Asian Opinion writes editorially :

The test of democracy lies in the quality of the citizens it produces. There can never be a strong government over a weak people. Therefore, the Parliament and the subsidiary legislative bodies will have to take into account the day-to-day difficulties of the people which create greater friction than decisions which concern only a section of some class. Thus the supply of good quality of wheat and rice is more important than the establishment of a car-manufacturing industry. The courtesy of a constable is more important than the well ordered and methodic speech of a minister. The words of an inspector from the enforcement branch mean more to the people than a debate in Parliament. For one law that the Parliament passes for the people, there should be ten laws to guide the officers who are to enforce it. This can be the only way to preserve the freedom of the people. Once it is said an old woman came to Delhi and complained that her property had been looted by some officers of the State in an outlying province of the empire. The emperor replied that that was a far-off place and he could not manage the affairs so well as he could in Delhi. "Then my lord" the woman replied, "you should relinquish your hold on that province and permit it to be transferred to some other state." The emperor thought over her remarks and sent a large body of troops to restore order in that province.

The conditions as they are today show that minor irritations are taking the form of *dark and arid mountains*. Nothing can grow on them and the soil is fast ceasing to be fertile for further progress. The ministers are also responsible for the prevalence of these conditions. They have been mentally receding from the society as it exists in the villages and cities and are living in the air-castles of their own. Casual visits and inspections mean nothing to the people. They should walk through the streets like ordinary citizens making their own sundry purchases, mixing with the people, exchanging views with them. It is these small gestures that work for greater popularity. They should personally purchase their requirements from Chandni Chowk, Kalva Debi and Harrison Road. Grandiose schemes mean little to the people till they feel their effects after a generation or so.

Mahatma Ji delivering a speech in Mayavaram in 1915 said :

"I am in a position to say that I am to be at war with my leaders. Whatever they do or whatever they say does not somehow or other appeal to me. The major part of whatever they say does not seem to be appealing to me."

In another speech he said :

"I do not want to be dragged in the carriage. There is a meaning in that. Let us not spoil our public men by dragging them. A charge is brought against us that we as a nation are too demonstrative and lack business-

like methods. We plead guilty to the charge. I give you a message : Establish Ram Rajya in Mysore and have your minister a Vashishta who will command obedience."

And then Mahatma Ji said in Bangalore, May 1951 : "God is with those whose garments are dusty and tattered. The dream of every Indian who loves his country should be not to glorify in language but to spiritualize the political life of the country and the political institutions of the country. I think the *political life must be an echo of the private life* and there cannot be any divorce between the two."

These are some of the important words of our Master. The laws must not divide the members of the Parliament and the people. Mahatma Ji and now Vinoba Ji have shown that greater changes can be wrought by mass contact than through laws. There is no compulsion and friction in direct contact. *There is the essence of democracy in the direct ministerial approach to the people, common citizens who love those who remain by their side.* The impression of Parliament that laws will bring about the necessary changes must go root and branch the sooner the better. The maxim of Mahatma Ji that the best government is that which governs least is all important and must be adhered to.

Atharva Veda (7.12) ushers the following prayer, "May the Samiti and the Sabha, the two daughters of Prajapati, concurrently aid me. May he whom I meet co-operate with me. May I O Ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled." The Vadas described Samiti and Sabha as the two daughters of Prajapati, eternal councils, and gave them the name of Narishta "mirth" or "most favourable to men." They gave the name Gramani to the leareds who attended and called them "Sayata Manva" those who wandered about, suggesting that the duty of Gramani was to wander from place to place to study the conditions of the people. Thus the members of our Parliament should learn a lesson from this. They should be wanderers like Vinoba Ji rather than the guardians of the people. They hold India in trust.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Interest on Saving Deposit 2½% Per Annum

Interest on Fixed Deposit 3½% Per Annum

for 1 year & over 1 year 4½% Per Annum

Branches :

College Sq., Cal.
Bankura.

Chairman :

JAGANNATH KOLAY
M.P.



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



Estd-1893

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chaim Weizmann

The passing of Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel, removed from our midst a phenomenal personality unequalled in our generation. He was not a theoretician of the Zionist movement. He was too educated, too wise, and perhaps also too skeptical to believe that it was possible to compress a national movement that was rooted in many centuries of suffering, struggle and hope into the constricting framework of a theory or an ideology. But all those who came in contact with him sensed that he was the bearer of historical forces, the repository of memories of a great past, sensitive to the sorrows of the present and conscious of the glory of the future. Having spent most of his life in western Europe, Weizmann never lost intimate contact with the milieu of east European Jewry from which he sprang and with which he maintained a tender and profound communion.

There already exists an extensive literature on Chaim Weizmann. Now, while all Jews, and important parts of the non-Jewish world mourn his passing, is not the time to evaluate his achievements and the debt which Jewry and the Zionist movement owe him. There had been times when parts of the Zionist movement disagreed with his political orientation. There were times when Weizmann disagreed with his own orientation. He was never a dogmatist in politics. He believed in adapting political policies to existing conditions. He was not a maximalist, in the sense of believing that the major part of the ideal must become reality in his own lifetime. Indeed he was aware of the threat to existing social values in the maximalist movements of our epoch—Bolshevism, extreme nationalism, fascism. It was in this sense that he often declared during the last years of his life that "I am not of the twentieth century. I am more nearly a man of the nineteenth century. I am perhaps one of the last of the liberals still wandering about in the world." It is possible that moods like these sometimes made him misunderstand certain activities and plans of the labor leadership in Eretz Israel, though, as a general rule, he gladly co-operated with the labor movement in the country in economic matters, in the preservation of the popular character of Zionism and in the defense of democratic principles.

Weizmann's non-maximalism in political matters should not be misunderstood. He was not a compromiser. His non-maximalism implied a preference for gradualism when he believed that more radical attempts to attain the goal might endanger the *Yishuv* in Eretz Israel or Jews elsewhere. He may have erred in his estimate of specific political situations, but in that case his error was motivated by a profound humanism and a deep concern for the welfare, the future and the good conscience of his people.

It was the above qualities that gave Weizmann his stature and that accounted for the fact that when the State of Israel came into being he was the sole undisputed candidate for the office of first president of Israel.

For many generations to come Weizmann's memory will live in Israel and in the Jewish people. It will be

a living inspiration and a goad to higher achievements.
—*Jewish Frontier*, December, 1952.

The Values of Mankind

Excerpts from the address of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the first President of Israel, at the opening of first *Knesset Israel* are reproduced from the *Jewish Frontier*, December, 1952:

It is with a feeling of deep reverence and consecration that I rise to open the Constituent Assembly of the State of Israel, the first *Knesset Israel* of our time, in this Eternal City of Jerusalem.

Today we stand on the threshold of a new era. We leave the dawn-light of provisional authority and enter the full sunshine of orderly democratic rule. This Assembly was elected by the whole body of citizens of Israel. In this election the will of the entire people was fully and freely expressed. Thus at the outset we are building on fair and solid foundations, foundations of freedom and equality, collective responsibility and national self-discipline. It was no longer an isolated band of pioneers, subject to foreign rule, who elected this Assembly, but an independent nation dwelling in its own free country.

This nation is to be conceived as the ingathering of the exiles, for there is not a Jewish community in the world whose members have not their portion in the State of Israel. In these very days, to our heart's joy, thousands and tens of thousands of our brethren from countries near and far are entering the gates of our country that stand wide open to receive them. It is our hope and prayer that this gathering in of the exiles will go on increasing and will embrace ever larger multitudes of our people, who will strike roots here and will work side by side with us all in building up our state and making our desolate places fruitful again. We shall make this our goal before all else and devote to it our best powers of thought and action.

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for

DIABETES

at All leading Chemists.

DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM

HIMALAYA DRUG Co.

251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY. M.B.

Heavy, indeed is the responsibility laid on us here in this Assembly. What we began this same day nine months ago we are bringing to completion this evening: the restoration of the realm of Israel. If we are using state forms that have been moulded by the experience of the enlightened nations of the modern world, we know truly that these forms contain a treasured essence of the heritage of Israel.

In the ancient world this tiny country of ours raised the standard of spiritual revolt against the reign of tyranny and brute force. The Law of Israel and the vision of her prophets founded a new ethic of the relations of man to man and led to a new ordering of human society. The authority of the King in Israel was limited by the law and by tradition. The prophets of Israel did not fear to utter rebuke and reproof to kings and princes, and with their inspired word for weapon they defended the poor and the oppressed, the stranger and the slave, the orphan and the widow.

The very principle of the institution of kingship was hateful to the spiritual leaders of the people. "I shall not rule over you, nor shall my son rule over you. The Lord shall rule over you," declares the Judge to the assembled people. The warnings of the prophet against the dangers of tyranny thunder from on high in the ears of the people to the last generation. In Israel, this rising up against the authority of one man derived from the noble conception that the people, naturally free and freely accepting the rule of law and just judgement needs no compulsion from above to live as an ordered society. The root principle of the constitution of that novel State was the limit set to the authority of the King, and it is in this sense that the ancient Hebrew policy was the mother of constitutional government in the modern age.

And now it has fallen to our generation to weld anew the links of that life of freedom that were snapped by a tyrant's force nearly nineteen hundred years ago. I know not why it is precisely our generation that has been privileged to bring about what all the generations before us longed for and cleaved to in the darkness of Exile, unless it be that we have earned it by all the hardship and weariness, the sorrow and tribulation that have been our portion for the last seventy years—years when our body was stricken limb by limb until finally one-third of the entire nation was annihilated. We have suffered torture and affliction such as befell no other nation in the world until at long last the prophecy has been fulfilled. "The remnant shall return." But because we are the remnant, no more than a remnant, a double and treble responsibility is laid upon us to fill the terrible void in our national life that has been created by slaughter of the best sons of our people, the guardians of her spirit and the bearers of her culture.

It is our people that once gave the whole world a spiritual message fundamental to civilization. The world is watching us now to see what we shall choose for ourselves in ordering our lives, in what shape we shall fashion our State. The world is listening to hear whether a new message will go forth from Zion and what that message will be.

A new message is not born without some travail of the creative spirit. It does not see the light without much toil and weariness, difficulty and pain.

Having taken part in the great battles of the human spirit, having shed our blood and given our lives for the liberation of many peoples, we have at length won the right to toil and labor in order to give expression to our distinct national identity and make our contribution as a free people among other free peoples to the spiritual treasure of the world.

First of all let us strive to strengthen our constructive resources by enhancing the position of science and research in the life of Israel. Science and research are the basis of human achievement. All the scientific capacity that we have displayed in every country in the world must now be mobilized to help build up our motherland. Yet, for all the decisive importance of science, not by science alone shall we win through. We have to build a new bridge between science and the spirit of man. "Where there is no vision, the people perish," and we see what scientific progress leads to when it is not inspired by moral vision—to the atomic bomb that threatens to destroy the entire planet.

All my life I have labored to make science and research the basis of our national endeavour. But I have always known full well that there are values higher than science, the only values that offer healing for the ills of humanity, the supreme values of justice and righteousness, peace and love.

This day is a great day in our lives. Let us not be thought too arrogant if we say that it is a great day in the history of the world. At this hour a message of hope and good cheer goes forth from this place, from this sacred city to all those throughout the world who are persecuted and oppressed and who are struggling for freedom and equality. A just struggle is indeed of avail. If we, the people of sorrows and affliction have been vouchsafed this event of today, then truly there is hope at the end for all who long for justice.

From this place we send our fraternal blessing to all our people dispersed in exile in the four corners of the earth. We stretch out the hand of peace to neighboring countries, the hand of friendship to all the peace loving peoples of the world. Our greetings go to all the States, great and small, that have recognized Israel, and a cordial welcome to the representatives of foreign States and to the religious dignitaries who have honoured this event by their presence.

Members of this Assembly! May your first gathering be blessed. Be mindful that the eyes of the entire Jewish people are lifted up toward you, and that the longings and prayers of past generations attend your steps. May it be given to all of us to be equal to our heavy charge.

The Growth of Labor Unions in the U.S.A

Organized labor unions in the United States claimed a membership of between 14 and 16 million workers in 1952. Although it is difficult to obtain exact membership figures, probably about one out of every three employees in non-agricultural establishments today is a trade union

আয়ুর্বেদ-বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈদ্য কবিরাজ প্রাণচর্চা
ডক্টর শ্রীপ্রভাকর চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম, এ ; ডি, এস-সি প্রণীত

ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা

এতদিন পর্যন্ত ভারতীয় কোনো ভাষায় ক্যানসার রোগের ধারাবাহিক চিকিৎসাপদ্ধতি লিখিত ছিল না। ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা সম্পর্কে ভারতবর্ষে ইহাই সর্বপ্রথম নিদান ও চিকিৎসা সম্বলিত পূর্ণাঙ্গ চিকিৎসা গ্রন্থ। মূল্য ৫ টাকা। ডাকমাণ্ডল যত্ন।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান :—রাজবৈদ্য আয়ুর্বেদ ভবন।

১৭২নং বহুবাজার স্ট্রিট, কলিকাতা—১২

member. In 1913, by contrast, there were nearly 2-3/4 million union members, which meant 1 out of every 15 such workers was a union member.

One hundred years ago there were few unions and they were small. The first national union was formed by the cord-wainers in 1836. Within the next few years other national unions were formed by the printers, the comb-makers, the carpenters, and the hand-loom weavers. The only one that still exists as a national union was founded by the printers in 1852.

Several times the various unions tried to get together in an over-all national association, but with no more than temporary success, until the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formed in 1881. At that time there were only 138,000 union members. By the end of the century there were more than half a million. But the importance of labor in World War I raised membership to about 5 million by 1920, of whom 4 out of 5 were in AFL unions and the rest in independent unions.

The growth of unions resulted in clashes between organized labor seeking to help the worker through united action, and some of the employers in big industries. Nevertheless, by 1920 the unions had succeeded in raising wages and limiting the hours of work.

For example, in 1909 average hourly earnings of workers in manufacturing were 19 cents, but in 1923, after the recovery from the depression of 1920-21, they were 52 cents. Allowing for price increases, the rise was still very significant. In 1909 the work-week was more than 51 hours, but in 1923, it was 46 hours.

In spite of these gains, the 'twenties were worrisome years for organized labor, and the depression of the 'thirties increased their difficulties. Some employers set up their own company unions. The membership of trade unions dropped to less than 3 million in 1933.

The government that came in at about that time passed laws guaranteeing workers the right to organize. The unions organized workers in some big industries where there had been little or no organization before. By 1935 some of the older unions had increased to as much as four times their 1930 memberships, and new organizations were formed.

During the years 1935 and 1936 certain unions broke away from the AFL and joined with some of the independents to form a separate national body now known as the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO). The unions in this organization put their effort into signing up members by industry instead of occupation, while the old-line unions emphasized membership according to trade.

As a matter of fact the AFL and the CIO worked on both industrial and craft bases, but the one put more effort into craft unionism and the other put more into industrial unionism, at least at the start. Today this distinction is not so clear.

At first some thought that having two national federations in competition would destroy them both. Instead there was a great increase in the membership of both. Just before the United States entered World War II, in December 1941, total union membership had risen to over 10 million, more than double what it had been in 1936.

This vigorous growth of unions led to a great increase in strikes. Many of these were for the purpose of obtaining recognition of the union or strengthening its position, rather than for the union's customary objectives of higher wages, fewer hours of work and better working conditions.

Under war conditions labor agreed to limit wage demands and to refrain from striking. Most unions followed their leaders and there were few strikes.

Competition between the CIO and the AFL died down. Organized labor took an active part, together with employers and the government, in strengthening the war effort. Labor officials took important government posts for that purpose. Labor-management committees worked together at all levels, including the top defense agencies of government.

And with employment increasing in defense industries, union membership also increased. In some industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft manufacture, membership doubled or tripled.

Going back from wartime to peacetime living did not generally result in the loss of union members, as had happened after World War I. Business remained good, trying to catch up with peacetime demands. But the number of strikes increased.

The objective of these strikes was to get higher wages, partly to make up for the loss of overtime pay, of which there had been a great deal during the war period.

After the early postwar disputes in 1945-46, both management and labor were looking for ways in which they could agree. In some industries they agreed that wages would go up or down with the cost of living as measured frequently and regularly by the United States Department of Labor. Many union agreements also provided for special old age pensions and other methods of protecting the health and welfare of the workers.

Today organized labor in the United States is stronger than it has ever been, even though many workers are still not organized.

WHAT LABOR UNIONS DO FOR THEIR MEMBERS

When a labor union is young it can do little more than fight for higher wages and shorter hours of work for its members, and spends much of its time and effort in increasing its membership. When it has more experience it is able to extend its activities. Most labor unions today are able to give their members much more in the way of service than they were able to give them ten, twenty, forty years ago.

Many labor unions publish their own newspapers and magazines to keep their members up to date on what is going on in the world both inside and outside the labor movement. Part of the newspaper or magazine is given to items of interest to the worker's family, such as marketing, cooking and fashions, and comics for the children. They report new developments in their own field of work and in their industry in general.

In many cases the labor newspaper tells its readers about what is going on in politics and labor, and explains what the developments mean to the worker. They discuss what is happening in the cities and States where the workers live so that they will be well informed.

The publications of the **SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE**, Amritsar in Punjabi, Hindi and English are sold almost at their cost prices. The first editions of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib in Punjabi and Hindi are out and Bheta fixed is Rs. 40, and Rs. 16, respectively. Printing of Gurbani in Punjabi is done through Photo Blocks. "Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in 1947" 20"×26/8" size, antique paper with pages 453 is sold for Rs. 8 only.

For further information and free copy of the catalogue, please write to the Secretary.

They discuss the problems of workers in other countries and the joint efforts of the international workingmen's federations in the free world. They thus arouse their readers' interest in the community and the Nation and urge them to register and vote.

The union holds meetings at which problems are discussed. At those meetings it might be decided to make a special membership drive in a certain plant, or to help support workers who are on strike in some other place so they can exist until the strike is settled. Relations with other unions or union locals are discussed, and officials of State and Federal labour departments are asked to visit and explain what the government is doing to help solve the workers' problems. Experienced union members make studies of living and working conditions in various parts of the city, or of how workers should be trained in new kinds of jobs. In this connection the major unions of the country have done an outstanding job of co-operation in the retraining and rehabilitation of union members returning as veterans from World War II.

Trade union leaders together with representatives of industry and the public have worked on price and rationing committees. As individuals many of them have served on committees for the selection of men and women for the armed services, and on committees for getting money for the war effort. Many labor union members today take a direct part in State and city governments.

Unions also have life insurance, health, and pensions programs. Many union-sponsored health insurance plans provide maternity benefits for women employees and for the wives of men employees. Some unions maintain homes for their retired members. Many own their co-operative stores. They finance improved housing projects for workers. They arrange radio programs and recreational activities for their members. They run summer camps for members and their families. They also conduct charitable drives, to provide expensive hospital equipment or facilities for the treatment of major diseases.

In fact the modern labour union goes into nearly every field of living in which its members are interested, and frequently into related fields which help people who are not members of the union.

UNION TIES WITH WORKERS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The interests of American labor unions go beyond the limits of the United States. They co-operate with workers in other countries, helping them to gain strength and develop into organized groups.

Shortly after World War II trade unions in many countries set up an organization known as the World Federation of Trade Unions. After a few years, however, it became clear that the Iron Curtain countries had taken over control of the organization and were using it to further Russian political objectives.

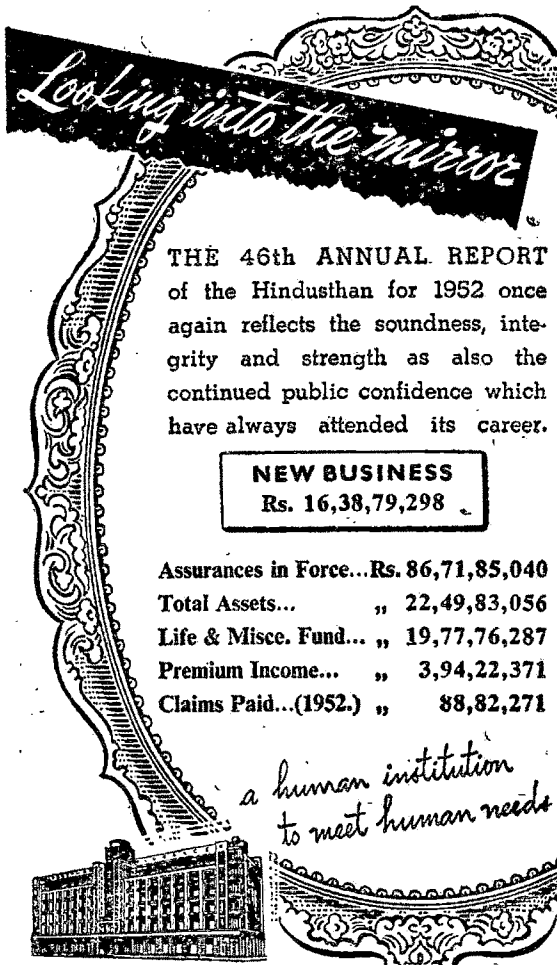
Thereupon in 1949 the free trade unions of the world which had been members quit the WFTU and set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), to support "the rights of all peoples to full national freedom and self-government" and to combat totalitarianism. This Confederation now embraces more than 50 million workers in about 70 different countries. It includes the largest labor union groups in the United States—the AFL, the CIO, and the UMW—whose leaders have been active in the organization since its inception. Members of the Confederation advise each other how to keep their unions free, and give aid, including goods and money, to help those who are not free to overcome their oppressors. They advise their governments on how to deal with other governments in labor

matters, and often take active part in advising their governments in international affairs. And they send their own representatives to foreign countries to help fight oppression.

Altogether in the past forty years organized labor in the United States has grown from childhood into manhood. It is now a powerful influence, not only in the affairs of the Nation but of the whole world.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES ABOUT LABOR UNIONS

One of the most important developments during the past forty years has been the way in which people have changed in the way they feel about organized labor. Throughout American history until about the time of the depression in the 'thirties the general feeling, as shown in both the law-making and the law-interpreting branches of government, was that labor unions interfered with the freedom and rights of employers. But these feelings slowly changed as people came to see that workers need unions, and that it is possible for labor and management to agree on their mutual problems.



Looking into the mirror

THE 46th ANNUAL REPORT of the Hindusthan for 1952 once again reflects the soundness, integrity and strength as also the continued public confidence which have always attended its career.

NEW BUSINESS
Rs. 16,38,79,298

Assurances in Force...	Rs. 86,71,85,040
Total Assets...	„ 22,49,83,056
Life & Misce. Fund...	„ 19,77,76,287
Premium Income...	„ 3,94,22,371
Claims Paid...(1952.)	„ 88,82,271

a human institution to meet human needs

**HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.**

Hindusthan Buildings, 4, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta -13



During the past twenty years or so Congress has passed laws setting forth certain limits to what employers and their workers may or may not do in their dealings with each other. It has tried to write into law what might be considered fair or unfair labor practices, and how management and labor should go about arriving at agreement about them.

These laws have had results. They are showing the way in which organized labor and employers have responsibilities to each other and the public, and how they may in time work peaceably together for the good of everybody.

Some of the present laws will probably have to be changed to meet changing conditions, but there is no question that during the past twenty years or so they have served a useful purpose. The relations between employers and employees have greatly improved, and organised labor unions today are one of the most important forces in American industry. They are a part of our national life.—*The American Labor Review.*

"Progressive" Taxes Based on Ability to Pay

When an American made a million dollars in 1900 he had just that much money to spend. Today he may earn a million dollars but he can keep only 16 per cent or about \$160,000 for himself. It is still a lot of money but no longer can he "live like a king" as his millionaire predecessors did.

Where does the remaining money go? It goes back to the Government in the form of taxes. The shift in the position of the rich in the U.S. has been striking, and the income tax is in great measure responsible for this levelling up of real purchasing power of people with varied incomes. The shift downward of the rich is socially significant. It indicates a consistent trend toward the middle, with lower income groups rising, top brackets coming down, and both groups shifting gradually into an expanding middle class. Economists the world over claim that the middle class is the mainstay of any country's economy.

The income tax—first introduced in the U.S. in 1913—at first assessed only one per cent of net incomes up to \$20,000, with a modest surtax for larger incomes. It was initially designed solely to raise revenue for the Government. Little did the Government then realize the steam-rolling potentialities of the income tax as a leveller of inequalities in the distribution of incomes. It was this realization, coupled with the idea that an individual should "pay" according to his "ability," which gave birth to the "progression" in the present American income tax system.

ABILITY TO PAY

The average citizen's "ability to pay" takes into account the number of dependants upon him, his public contributions, and expenses he incurs in procuring his income. The system is based on a sliding scale and puts the heaviest tax on those with the highest income. This is in essence the progression in the income tax structure.

To maintain a basic standard of living which is considered an absolute minimum for economic efficiency, a certain portion of the income is exempt from taxation. This exemption limit has been put at \$600 per person. For incomes above this level, a single individual has to pay taxes.

This ensure that the poorest, who is least able to pay, pays nothing. If his income is \$800, he pays only about \$40. If, his net income is \$280. The tax payment increases progressively as the income keeps mounting. Thus, a man with a net income of \$10,000 pays \$2,347; if his income is \$25,000, he pays \$9,362; with income of \$100,000, he pays \$63,541; and so on. A 1953 millionaire will pay about \$840,147 tax on an income of \$1 million.

One important feature of the American income tax law is that it takes cognizance of expenses which a family head to meet in supporting family.

DEDUCTIONS ALLOWED

This is reflected in the deductions that are allowed to such a person in the compilation of his tax return.

Distinctive Jewellery

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS

Jewellers and Diamond Merchants

167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET & BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM.

BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBINARI AVENUE
CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

A family head may deduct \$600 from his income report for every dependent member. For instance, a married man with a wife but no children does not pay any income tax if his income is below \$1,200. On an income of \$2,000 he pays only about \$160.

The deductions are even higher if the married couple has any children or other dependants. For instance, a married couple with two children and with an income of less than \$2,675 does not pay any income tax. Such a family on an income of \$3,000 pays only \$133. As they go up in the income scale their tax payments increase at a progressive rate but the rate is still considerably lower than those for single individuals in the same income group. For example, a married couple with two dependants and with an income \$25,000 pays only \$7,004, compared with \$9,362 which is paid by a single person. Or a four-member family with an income of \$100,000 pays \$56,032, compared with \$63,541 which is paid by a single person having the same income.

These deductions are based on the principle of ability to pay. It is obvious that married people, and those having dependants, have lesser payment ability than those who have no encumbrances.

The U.S. Government relies on each person to keep his own income records and to see that the full accounting is received by the tax department. Every year more than about 50 million Americans must figure out how much tax on their incomes they must give to the Government, and they must mail their returns by the midnight of March 15.

The actual payment of taxes is less painful to the individual American, since for the last ten years the Government has been using a "pay as you go" scheme similar to that applied by the Indian Government. Under this scheme a fixed portion of the tax is deducted from each employee's weekly wage by his employer, who turns it over to the Government. Those who are self-employed or are in business must pay their tax dues in quarterly instalments.

CORPORATION TAX

Just as the individuals pay income taxes, so do companies and corporations. If the net income of a business exceeds \$50,000, the corporation must pay a flat tax of 52 percent of its net profit. Lower tax rates apply to smaller companies. This has the effect of encouraging the growth of small, privately owned businesses in America, which, in turn, leads to the creation of more jobs, more employment, and, therefore, a greater share of the national income in the form of wages.

In the years since the first income tax was introduced in the U.S. more and more Americans have been made subject to the tax. Only one person in about 275 was required to pay under the first income tax law. Today, more than one person in three pays a share, large or small.

At the same time, the proportion of government revenue derived from the income tax has increased and the portion derived from indirect taxes, which usually ignore a person's ability to pay, has decreased. For instance, in the fiscal year 1953 (July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953) personal and corporation income taxes yielded about 69 percent of all U.S. Federal revenues.

America's tax structure as a whole still needs simplification, equalization, and revision, but it has come a long way toward mitigating the inequitable distribution of national income, and toward a more equitable distribution of the cost of a free democratic government. —American Reporter.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle. **SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL:** A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

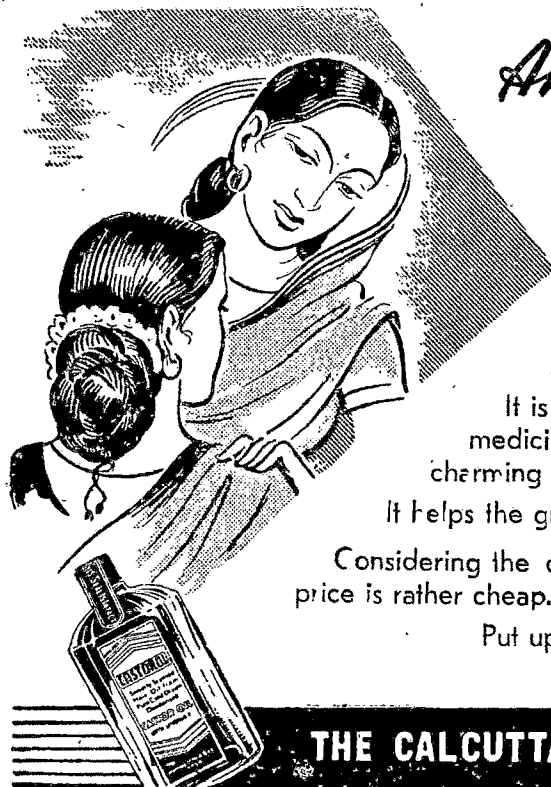
PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for FAMILY LIMITATION. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972



An Expert Advice ...

Why you should prefer

CASTOROL

Because :

It is manufactured from best and highly refined medicinal Castor Oil. Its perfume is unique, charming and lasting.

It helps the growth of luxuriant hairs and prevents baldness.

Considering the quality and quantity of this excellent hair oil, price is rather cheap.

Put up in 5 & 10 oz. phial.

THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO., LTD. CALCUTTA 29

New Horizons in Antibiotics

New York (MPIB)—Better understanding of the antibiotic drugs, and clues toward developing even more effective antibiotics, are expected to emerge from new knowledge of their highly complex make-up, outlined at a recent conference of experts here. At a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences, three scientists, Drs. P. P. Regna, W. W. Umbreit and D. W. Wooley, described the chemical structure of terramycin, streptomycin, and chloromycetin, and analyzed the ways in which they act against disease.

The structure of terramycin, an earth-mold drug effective against more than 80 diseases, was worked out after two years of study by a team of eight scientists. These were Dr. K. J. Brunings and associates of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., U. S. firm which discovered the antibiotic, and Dr. R. B. Woodward of Harvard University who pioneered in the synthesis of quinine and cortisone.

In "blueprinting" the structure of the terramycin molecule, the scientists found it to be unique among the antibiotics, and one of the most complex found in nature. Because of its complexity, terramycin cannot be synthesized commercially and will probably always be produced by fermentation, according to the team of chemists.

Determination of the structure of terramycin will help chemists to make minor changes in the molecule, some of which were described by Dr. Regna at the New York meeting, in the hope of producing new drugs with new medicinal possibilities. It also helps to show why

it is that terramycin goes to work in the body so rapidly and safely.

Pfizer scientists also are attempting to find out how so simple an organism as a mold can build so complex a substance as terramycin, and what raw materials it uses as building-blocks. If some of these raw materials can be supplied to the mold in already "prefabricated" form, terramycin production efficiency might be increased. —Medical and Pharmaceutical Information Bureau, New York.

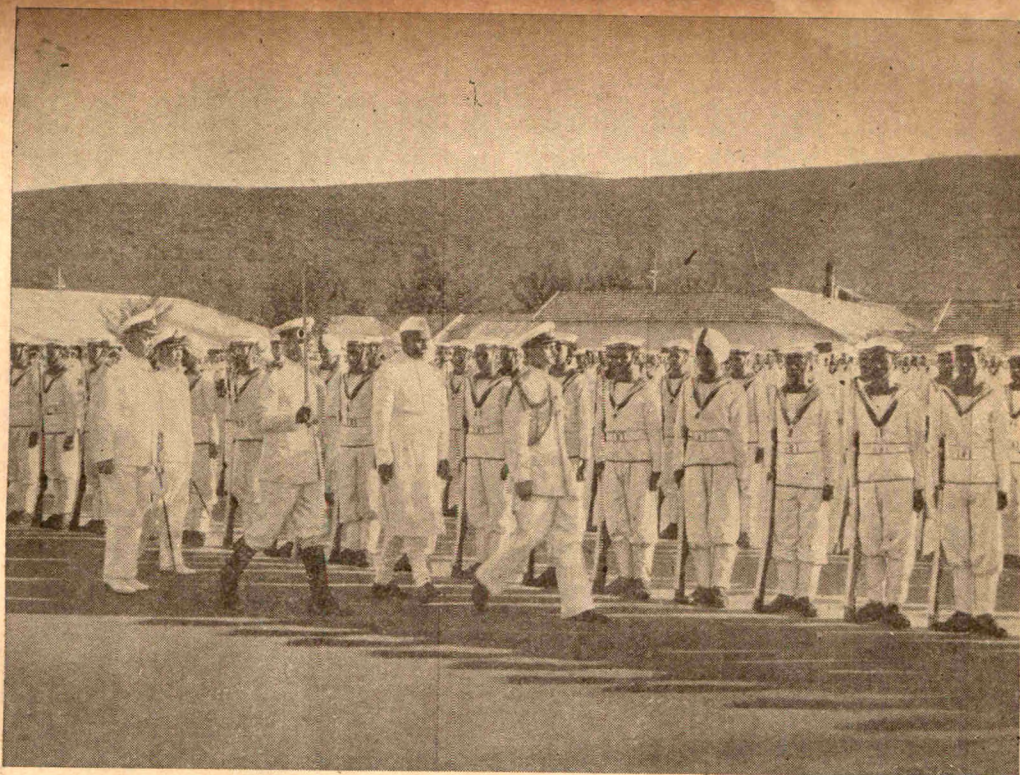
Ernest Hemingway Wins Pulitzer Prize

Ernest Hemingway won the Pulitzer Prize for his book *The Old Man and The Sea* in the 36th annual Pulitzer awards, announced on 6th May by Columbia University.

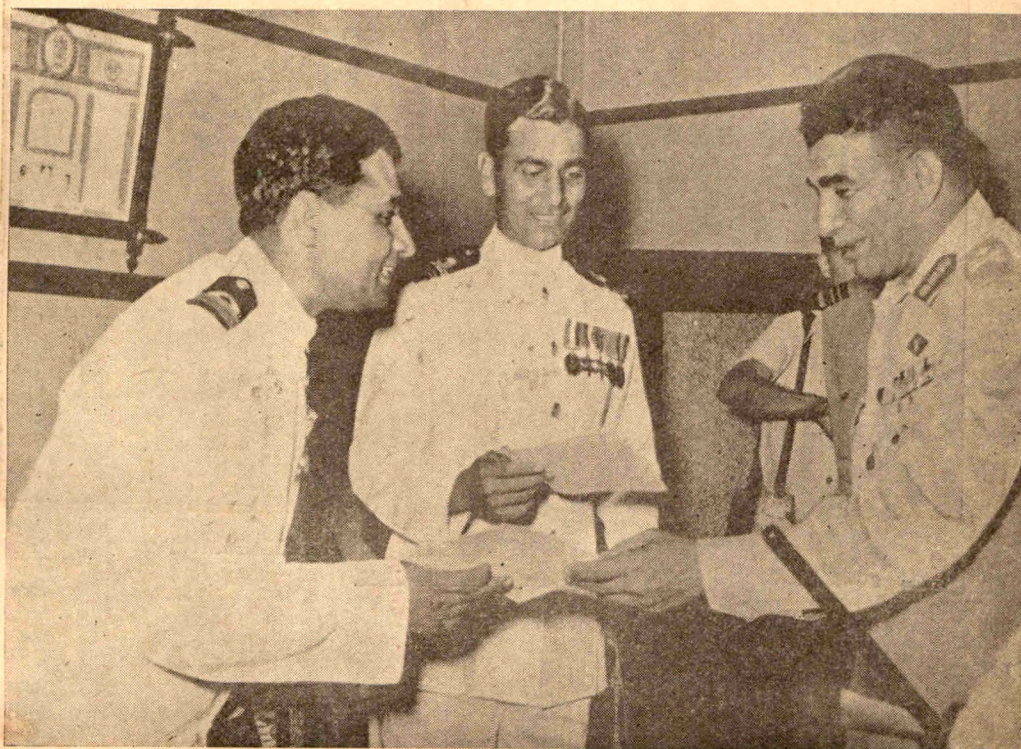
The prizes were established by the late publisher Joseph Pulitzer in a bequest to Columbia University for merit in the field of journalism and letters.

Hemingway's Pulitzer Prize was his first, although his reputation as one of America's greatest writers extends more than 25 years through recent history.

The Old Man and The Sea, in length no more than a good-sized short story, was an immediate best seller. It dealt with an aged fisherman whose efforts to land prize catch paralleled the fight of man himself against the imponderable.



President Rajendra Prasad inspecting a guard of honour, provided by the passing out trainees at the I.N.S. *Circars* during his recent visit to the naval base, Visakhapatnam



General Mohamed Naguib with Lt. Commander Inder Singh and Commander Kohli. During their Goodwill visits three ships of the Indian Navy, (I. N. S.) *Ganga*, *Godavari* and *Gomati*, visited Alexandria recently, where President Naguib was among those who visited I.N.S. *Godavari*



SAKUNTALA WATERING THE MADHABI PLANT

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Satindranath Laha

THE 'MODERN REVIEW'

OCTOBER



1953

VOL. LXXXIV, No. 4

WHOLE No. 562

NOTES

Unemployment

The Government of India has at last awakened to the fact that one of the major causes of the unrest and discontentment in the country is unemployment on a titanic scale. After the realisation, which has caused quite a stir, attempts are being made to ascertain its magnitude and to devise remedies for the malady. We have no doubt that figures would be forthcoming, of very doubtful accuracy as usual, and that various schemes and plans would be set on foot to waste vast sums in order to obtain minor reliefs. If the ailing party, that is the general public, takes an interest in the matter and attempts to face the problem, then that would be another matter altogether. For in the assessment of both the quantum and the causative factors, public help is essential. And without that assessment, no real remedy can be prescribed. That over-rated panacea, the Five-Year Plan, would be a mere quack nostrum. Therefore, the first step would be to arouse public opinion, overcoming its lassitude.

In most States, a sense of frustration is general, which in its turn is generating resentment against and lack of faith in the Congress Government. This sense of frustration is real, and is the reaction to nepotism, favouritism and corruption that is rampant in the administration, both at the Centre and in the States. Party and parochial considerations and personal influence, to say nothing of graft, has become the main factor in almost all appointments and contracts, without exception. A man may possess the highest qualifications or be highly efficient in business, but he stands no chance against the inferior person who has the capacity or opportunity to pull strings behind the scenes. This is the root cause of all frustration.

As a result of this frustration and resentment *very large numbers of the unemployed are becoming unemployable.* What is more, this is affecting the Employed person as well, lowering his efficiency by warping his sense of duty and integrity. The

Employees' efficiency being lowered the business, industry or institution is affected adversely and that in its turn effectively stops expansion. Indeed in most cases the drop in efficiency is so great that the concern or institution is obliged to retrench, instead of expanding and thereby providing further employment.

There are other factors too, some of them vital, affecting smaller concerns and institutions which are by far the largest sources of employment in the country. These have to be looked into with a real interest by a better type of official than the common stiff, wooden bureaucrat who owes his office to his—his father's—oily tongue. Today the big fish are swallowing the little fish, centralizing the concerns and institutions into restricted areas, with considerable reduction in staff and personnel. Wide areas are thus being laid bare of the sources of employment and large-scale unemployment is the inevitable result.

Then again there is the question of the *unemployable*. Prolonged idleness and loafing converts the most efficient person into a lack-a-daisical lout. And if there be no sense of discipline and a total lack of a sense of duty to start with, then such a person becomes a menace to any concern or institution in which he might be employed. Unfortunately our schools and colleges are turning out today masses of such young men. Mere provision of jobs or doles would be worse than no remedy in such cases, unless there is a rectification of their sense of propriety and responsibility.

In some States, particularly in West Bengal, there are vast numbers of uprooted humanity, with almost all moral values destroyed, leaving only resentment and greed. This human flotsam is being utilized for the basest of motives by treacherous politicians and vile human sharks for the furthering of their own designs. Thus the entire mass of refugees in West Bengal are fast becoming unemployables. Even amongst those who have been given jobs, a large majority are

becoming more and more inefficient and unfit for employment, due to their warped ideas on duty and integrity, and are corrupting the efficiency of such of their colleagues who are still useful. Here again stern remedial measures are called for, to prevent total corruption of a very large section of the population.

A school or a college, or any public utility concern or institution, can only produce more unemployables if the staff possesses no sense of responsibility or if there be some members of the staff who are either active disruptionists or have a degraded sense of moral values. In giving jobs to the unemployed, special care should be taken in the appointment of teachers, supervisors, superintendents and others who are likely to come into contact with or to control large numbers of people with immature or undeveloped minds. Else in giving a job to one unemployed the Government will be sowing the seeds for a tenfold production of unemployables. Now let us turn to the official reactions. First of all there is the A.I.C.C. directive as given in the news below:

New Delhi, Sept. 21.—Following the adoption of the resolution on unemployment at the Agra session, the AICC has sought the help of State Congress Committees and individual Congressmen in collecting accurate data on the subject.

The data will supplement the sample surveys which the Planning Commission has decided to carry out in certain parts of India.

Congressmen have been asked to take a personal interest in the problem and collect reliable data regarding the extent of unemployment or under-employment in their constituencies or areas.

The AICC has advised them to pay special attention in the course of their inquiry to the working of village and cottage industries which are faced with a slump and to recommend new industries which might be started in their areas to provide fuller employment.

The information collected from State Congress Committees will form the basis of schemes which the AICC hopes to prepare to solve the unemployment problem.

Needless to say the directive will be futile, the Congress being what it is today. The few, very few, Congressmen who can still rise above selfish and party interests will cry in the wilderness, unless they can rouse public interest.

Then let us see what plans the Government envisages to combat unemployment. On the same day as the above news, there appeared in the daily press the following report:

The Government requires 10 years to solve the unemployment problem in India.

Mr. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister, gave this reply in the Council of States to a question from Mr. Sundarayya, leader of the Communist Party, during a debate on unemployment which covered much the

same ground as a similar debate in the House of the People some days ago.

In Mr. Deshmukh's long written reply to the debate, notable for its academic analysis of the economic trends of the last few years, only two specific remedies to the acute problem found brief, passing mention.

One related to minor irrigation schemes upon which much emphasis has already been laid in the Plan. Their scope will now be further enlarged. The second was educating the rural masses by employing a large number of educated persons.

Mr. Deshmukh was not puzzled by the phenomenon of rising unemployment when the Plan was being executed. He explained it by the fact that, during the first two years, expenditure had been 30 per cent of the total against the 40 per cent envisaged in the Plan.

He relied on the hope that the full impact of the Plan would be felt soon. During the current year, for instance, expenditure was stepped up by 8 per cent as compared with last year. It will amount to Rs. 400 crores. During next year, it will probably be about Rs. 500 crores, even if the proposed modifications were not taken into consideration.

The Finance Minister was satisfied that, having overcome inflationary trends, Indian economy was now better equipped for intensive overall development. Conditions were favourable for increasing investment to a greater scale than contemplated in the Plan.

Earlier, members asked for a courageous approach of the unemployment problem which, according to Mr. Reddy, was approaching staggering proportions.

Replying to the debate, Mr. Sundarayya said that the Finance Minister had categorically refused the demand for relief to the unemployed. "It is not for me but for the hundreds of millions of the unemployed of this country to get angry with this Government and storm the bastion of reaction."

The way the Ministers had spoken on the problem, he added, proved the Government's complacency. How many decades did the Government want to solve the problem?

When Mr. Deshmukh replied: "Ten years."

It is useless to remind Mr. Deshmukh about the old saw regarding "Hope deferred." If things do not improve much sooner than the date put by Mr. Deshmukh for the millenium, then Mr. Deshmukh and all others of that ilk, excepting a few agile turncoats, will have to fly the country or else face liquidation. The main bulwark between Order and Chaos in the country, the educated middle-class man is facing an imminent collapse.

Urban Middle-classes and Moneylenders

The *Clarion* draws attention to the sad plight of the urban middle-class. No statistics of urban indebted-

ness had even been attempted but it would not be surprising at all if over 75% of India's middle-classes were found to be in debt, the paper writes.

Rising cost of living and unemployment drove people to borrowing. And the "ignorance of the law, the sense of shame and the urgency of the situation makes many a borrower an easy prey to exploitation by unscrupulous moneylenders. The debtors often sign a bond for very much more than is borrowed." The paper then refers to a case where a man signed a bond for Rs. 1700 for a loan of Rs. 100 only. Illegally, high rates of interest—sometimes to the extent of 25% per month—were charged. And the moneylender with his knowledge of the law knew how to evade it. He generally did not give receipts for the interest he claimed. The paper writes that cases were common where capital had been more than doubled or trebled by interest payments within a year.

As a way out the paper suggests the Government "to assist with loans, something on the principle of taccavi loans made to agriculturists. The security offered by the debtors would be their jobs, as arrangements for direct payments could easily, we think, be made by Government. Chances of non-payment would be reduced. In this way Government would be assisting the hard-hit middle-classes, adding perhaps a little to its revenue, and ensuring that debtors pay an interest which is reasonable and fair."

We are not in love with loans, having had long experience of Refugee and Rehabilitation schemes. Loans mean bribes and degradation. It would be better to devise a modified New Deal type scheme, to expand scope for work and profit. Co-operatives might be tried on a large scale.

The Five-Year Plan

Now let us turn to the universal panacea, the Five-Year Plan. Some time back there appeared in the *Asian Review* of London in its July issue, an interesting analysis of the Plan by Sir George Schuster. Sir George's long experience of India and his very deep knowledge of Indian economics makes the short analysis highly interesting. We give the following extracts:

"The main features as I see them are :

(a) India is an essentially agricultural country—(about three-quarters of its people dependent on agriculture)—and yet at present it is not producing enough food to feed its own people even at their present very low standards.

(b) The population is increasing at the rate of four and a quarter millions every year.

(c) On a long view there is no room to absorb great numbers of additional workers in agricultural production. Indeed if Indian agricultural industry is to make its best contribution to the Indian economy a reduction in the numbers on the land would be desirable.

(d) Therefore the great bulk of the working part of the 4½ millions added every year to the

population must be placed in industry or tertiary employment.

(e) Accordingly India needs a vast expansion of manufacturing industry if only as a means for providing bread-winning employment for her increasing population. (That is not the only reason for such an expansion. A greater proportion of industrial employment is necessary if there is to be any improvement in the general standard of living).

(f) But such an industrial expansion can have no sure foundation unless there can be first achieved a vast increase in agricultural production. This is necessary for a double reason. Unless more food can be produced it will be impossible to feed the increasing numbers employed in industry. Unless the purchasing power of the agricultural producer is greatly improved Indian industry will not be able to find markets for its products. (This is not to deny the possibility that Indian industry will be able to find export markets for some of its products. But this can only be a very small proportion of the total production if there is to be an expansion of industry on the scale which the national needs demand).

It is therefore necessary to concentrate first on the development of agricultural production.

It is because such a concentration is the main characteristic of the Five-Year Plan that I regard its broad lines as right. But the first five years must be regarded as no more than the first chapter of a much longer story of development—the first act of a much longer drama.

The essential purpose of this "first act" must accordingly be seen as two-fold: 1st: to achieve the maximum possible immediate increase in agricultural production. 2nd: to be a period of preparation for a great industrial expansion. Therefore, the practical questions to be asked are :

(i) What steps can be taken to aid the most rapid and effective development of agricultural production?

(ii) What can be done to "set the stage" for the great industrial expansion which should follow in the later acts of the Indian drama?

In the case of *agricultural development*, the Plan falls broadly under two heads, first, schemes for capital expenditure on works for irrigation and communications, and secondly, schemes for achieving a general uplift of production and life in the rural areas through measures such as the Community Development Projects."

Regarding the role of private enterprise in the field of economics, Sir George says:

"Private enterprise cannot hope to survive in modern conditions and in an educated democracy unless it can convince public opinion that it is serving the public interest in the sense that it is carrying out the necessary functions of production more efficiently than any possible alternative system. I speak as one who believes that it can fulfil this condition, but only if it handles all its operations with this need constantly in mind. I must express the further belief that the Government of India is right in deciding to leave a great part of the task to private enterprise. There are powerful critics in India who

argue that the Plan falls neatly between two stools and that planned economic development can only succeed if the Government has complete control of all the resources for investment, and they point to the examples of Russia and China. But India is a country in which the ruthless methods of Russia could never be accepted or work successfully. Nevertheless, the fact that such opinions are held and that the Congress Party is essentially a left-wing party makes it all the more necessary that leaders of private enterprise should accept a high conception of their role and recognize that if they adopt practices which lay them open to legitimate public criticism they may create intolerable difficulties for Ministers of the present Government who are trying to pursue policies of moderation and leave scope for free enterprise.

There is no simple answer to my question, "What can private enterprise do to earn the confidence of the Government and public opinion?" But a combination of a number of steps might gradually have considerable effect. They include a high standard of managerial efficiency in all grades; educative publicity about financial results and a fair basis of distribution; action by big industry in the public interest in such matters as encouraging the development of small industries; a proper interpretation of the functions of industrial associations; and finally encouragement for the building up of responsible Trade Unions.

It is a commonplace to say that there can be no satisfactory industrial development unless human relations in industry are satisfactory, unless there is a general will to work and a readiness on the part of employers to recognize their obligation to pay adequate wages and, on the part of the workers, to realize that the level of wages must be related to the work effort and to the productivity of labour. One of the greatest needs in India to-day is the growth of a responsible Trade Union movement. There is a long way to go before this is achieved; but, on the other hand, I saw signs which justify me in expressing the view that a hopeful start has been made. Here is a field in which there is room for much helpful collaboration between this country and India. The value of this is recognized by the Trade Union movement in both countries and I can only express the hope that the British T.U.C. will do its utmost to develop effective collaboration."

Village Industries and Indian Government

In reply to a question in Parliament on August 6, the Minister for Commerce and Industries, Sri T. T. Krishnamachari had said that the Government was considering the recommendation of the Planning Commission for the adoption of a policy of developing the production of edible oils through the village industry and the production of non-edible oils through the oil mills. In this connection another recommendation of the Planning Commission for the imposition of a small cess on mill oil for the benefit of the village

oil industry was also under the consideration of the Government, the Minister had said.

In reply to another question on the same day Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, had said that it had been decided that hand-made paper should be purchased for all demi-official correspondence of the Government of India. Of a total value of Rs. 4½ crores of paper purchased by the Government of India in 1951-52, hand-made paper had accounted for Rs. 90,000. No hand-made paper had been purchased in 1952-53 as Government had sufficient stock from the previous year's closing balance. The total value of paper purchased in that year was Rs. 5 crores approximately.

In an article in the *Harijan* on September 12, Sri Maganbhai P. Desai writes that these questions and their answers "tell eloquently well how lightly the Central Ministry take their responsibility to encourage and promote village industries. Apart from the patent indifference that is apparent from the answers, the more serious matter is where Sri T. T. Krishnamachari says that the recommendations of the Planning Commission are still not considered by the Government. . . . The indifference and delay revealed by the answers explain to an extent why unemployment is there in spite of the Plan." Pointing to the fact that the Five Year Plan had been put forward by the Government as their chief plank for the recovery of the national economy he urges upon the Government to hasten the implementation of their accepted policies laid down in the Plan.

We refrain from further comment. New brooms are indicated everywhere.

Community Project in West Bengal

Sometime back we had occasion to ask a high—and highly paid—official of the Project as to how the plans were developing. He said that he himself did not have anything much in the way of expectations where the Community Project was concerned, and so he would say that the results were not very disappointing so far. Needless to say we put no more questions. We append *infra* an extract from a recent issue of the *Vigil* more about the project. Unless a recasting of the plans and procedure is done while there is time, this experiment is going to be a howling failure in most States.

Sri B. K. Guha, Ex-Project Executive Officer, subjects the Community Projects administration in West Bengal to a close examination and his examination reveals some very instructive facts.

The writer notes that the early popular hopes and enthusiasm about the Community Projects had died down. The people had nearly lost all faith in the administration of the Community Development Projects.

Referring to the administration of the Projects of which he had personal experience, Sri Guha writes that

the duties of a Project Officer included everything except executing things. He was to work as a liaison between the Project and the normal state departments to which all allocations of money went. "The Project Officer," he writes, "is there to see that these monies are spent according to priorities determined by various departments in consultation with the Project Officer." The Project Officer had no control over those departments, which "do their utmost to have things in their own traditional way." Though responsible for everything relating to the Projects the Project Officer "can be frowned upon by any District Officer or Sub-divisional Officer." All his complaints were never seriously taken.

Another "important function" of the Project Officer was to act as a tourist's guide to visitors, mostly American "experts," who were "at best nothing more than salesmen of American machinery."

Sri Guha writes: "The various departments by their callous indifference do their best to ignore the very existence of the Project Administration." The District Magistrate was the District Development Officer, but "if he has got not the time or shows no inclinations to co-ordinate the different departments he cannot be blamed. Meanwhile the Project Officer becomes a spectator of departmental inefficiency, lethargy and heartlessness. . . . As long as the reports are sent in time with expert window-dressing nobody bothers about anything."

He cites various instances of departmental inefficiency and official bungling. An artificial insemination centre had been started with four bulls which had proved to be immature and meanwhile ten bulls giving natural servicing had been withdrawn. Illustrating the way the Departments moved Sri Guha writes: "When the Project officer asked the opinion of the Livestock officer about the bulls, the latter was clearly instructed by the Animal Husbandry Department not to give any reply. The Superintendent of Agriculture took a month and a half just to reply that he had nothing to do with the bulls."

The Agricultural Department did nothing more than pushing up "sales of manures on behalf of certain agencies and distributing seeds which very often do not go to the fields. Agricultural loans are given when the season is nearly over and that also to a fortunate few. Small irrigation schemes are undertaken under conditions that the beneficiaries would contribute one-third, now raised to half of the total cost. Contracts are deliberately made at an inflated rate and actual work is done at a much lower rate, the balance being shown as a book-entry for local contributions."

In another case a mobile medical unit had been started with the money of the Community Development Project. Doctors and assistants had been posted in a village without any medicine being provided. On enquiry it had been revealed that the Health Directorate "had not even drawn up any plans for work. So for full one month there was the doctor minus his medicine and the people getting bitter to the core." What was more

revealing was the fact that "when the doctor does get his stock of medicine and popularises himself to the village people he is transferred on some silly pretext."

Two primary schools have been completed but they could not be given recognition "because the district quota was already filled up." Nobody knew when the next quota was to come.

In view of all these Sri Guha says that the Government might as well abolish the establishment of the Project Executive officer. It would save a recurring expenditure of nearly Rs. 3000 per month.

Estate Duty Bill

The Estate Duty bill has now taken final shape. We were the first to point out the defects in the bill as originally framed, particularly with regard to the unjust burden on estates ruled by Dayabhaga laws. Those defects have been mostly removed.

New Delhi, Sept. 22.—The Council of States today passed the Estate Duty Bill as passed by the House of the People and adjourned till tomorrow.

The Finance Minister indicated yesterday that he would have to take the earliest opportunity to amend the provisions relating to exemptions in order to prevent evasion.

Under the clause as it stands, exemptions from Estate Duty is allowable in respect of an insurance policy on the life of the deceased for a sum not exceeding Rs. 50,000 for the purpose of paying Estate Duty. Another sub-clause provides that exemption will be granted in respect of amounts, not exceeding Rs. 50,000, deposited with the Government for purposes of meeting the duty on the estate of the deceased.

The second sub-clause had been introduced to meet the cases of persons who could not insure themselves due to over-age or other factors but would like to make a provision for payment of Estate Duty during their life time.

Mr. Deshmukh said there seemed to be a possibility of these two provisions being utilized cumulatively by an individual to escape Estate Duty up to the value of Rs. 1,00,000.

"I will have to take the earliest opportunity of bringing an amendment to this measure," he told the Council, though he would not say if he would bring forward an amending Bill in the next session.

Travancore-Cochin Assembly

The Travancore-Cochin Ministry failed to obtain a majority in the confidence vote, in the State Assembly, on the 23rd of September as given in the news below:

Mr. A. J. John, Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, today failed to win a confidence vote in the State Assembly.

The Rajpramukh later issued a notification dissolving the Travancore-Cochin Assembly with effect from tomorrow.

The news of the fall of the John Cabinet came as no surprise in New Delhi. According to informed quarters, Mr. John is expected to advise the Rajpramukh to order fresh general elections.

Pending this, the Ministry is expected to continue in office though it will not initiate any new policies. It will be in the nature of a caretaker Ministry till fresh elections are held.

The 47 Congress members and four Independents today backed the confidence motion. The 32 members of the United Front of Leftists, the nine TTNC members, the 10 Socialists and five Independents voted against it. One Independent abstained.

Mr. John's Ministry assumed office on March 12, 1952, though the general election did not give the Congress a majority in the 109-member Assembly.

The Congress, however, emerged from the elections as the largest single party in the Assembly with 46 members. They managed to get last year's budget passed with the support of Independents.

Now, after the fall, Congress has to try for a working majority at the elections, which have to be completed by March, 1954.

Law and Order in Calcutta

Following the deliberate defiance of law and order on the political front, serious outbreaks of lawlessness have happened in certain parts of the city, in which the ringleaders are professional criminals. Kidnapping, extortion of money by threats of violence, sometimes at the point of daggers or pistols, rape and theft have become more frequent than usual. In one case, the criminals raped the kidnapped eight-year old girl before abandoning her in a severely collapsed condition.

In a very suspicious case, a prominent upcountry businessman was found dead in a "Massage Clinic" of doubtful status. The newspaper reports said that the deceased went there in an inebriated condition and collapsed and died before medical aid could reach him. The relatives and friends were astounded at the news of the death and the circumstances under which the demise was alleged to have taken place. They, therefore, demanded that a *post-mortem* examination be made, as the deceased was not only a man of repute, but was known to his friends to be of steady and refined habits. It is said that on the examination no traces of alcohol or any other intoxicant could be found.

It has been stated in a public meeting of prominent businessmen that the deceased had expressed some apprehensions about imminent and serious troubles to his friends a few days before his untimely death. He did not state what he was afraid of nor did they attach any importance to his fears at the time.

The place of his death is said to be an ill-reputed house, and it is firmly stated by his friends that they cannot imagine his going there of his own volition. They say that the mysterious circumstances under which the death took place clearly point to a conspiracy and violence and ask for a thorough enquiry by the police in the matter.

"Coat, Necktie and Collar"

Pandit Nehru has at last removed his rose-tinted glasses and begun to see things in their proper light as the following news-item indicates:

New Delhi, Sept. 24.—Mr. Nehru today warned Ministers and officials against approaching the problems of the common worker and peasant with a "coat, necktie and collar mind."

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a conference of State Ministers of Agriculture and Co-operation in Parliament Hall, said that mere conferences would not help if the workers and peasants remained untouched by such activity.

"I am sometimes amazed about the way official work is done," he added. "There are several institutes of agricultural and forest research doing good work. But whatever work is done there is confined to the officers concerned and the four walls of the institute. It does not reach the common peasant."

He had come to attend the conference out of just formality and to wish it success, he said. The Ministers of Agriculture and others participating knew more about the problems of agriculture than he did. It was unnecessary for him to say that the question of agriculture was a basic and necessary one for the country. It was, however, clear that the country could not develop, however advanced agriculturally it might be, unless it was industrially advanced also.

Posing the question how progress in India should be measured, Mr. Nehru said: "In our Statistics Department people make charts and blueprints. They should do more of this kind of work. It gives us some picture of our country. But, ultimately, the only yardstick of measuring the country's progress is by examining the general appearance of the Indian peasant, the clothes he wears, the food he eats and the house he lives in. We have also to see how the children of the Indian peasant are brought up, what arrangements exist for giving them education and safeguarding their health. The country's progress can never be measured by policy statements of Ministers or officials."

In the not so-very distant past, the I.C.S. man touring in State through the countryside, used to receive petitions and dictate terms and directives. He used to consider himself omniscient and omnipotent—unless a superior was in the offing. He set the example for all his underlings, and hence came the tradition of the "coat, collar and necktie." This system, which was one of the root causes of the ruin of the common man, in the streets and in the fields, has persisted though the British Raj has departed. The Ivory-Tower tradition dies hard, be it garbed in Coat and Necktie or Gandhi-cap and Khaddar.

Sugar Policy Muddle

Vivek writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* that the extent of the "folly and rashness" of the sugar policy of the Government of India would be made clear even

to the uninitiated when one considered the Government's latest declaration of policy.

The Government had presented a supplementary demand for 7.25 crores of rupees for importing a lakh of tons of sugar which was necessary to hold sugar prices and maintain continuity of supplies. In this regard the Government had also announced the reduction of the import duty on sugar to a little less than half.

At the same time Government had urged the Parliament to agree to Rs. 2.06 crores for compensation to factory owners because the Government had undertaken that the sugar factories would get the previous seasons' price for the quantities they held, though a reduction of price was called for on the basis of the stock position.

Still another demand was for Rs. 3½ lakhs for payment as compensation to private exporters because 6300 tons of sugar had been exported at a loss in 1952-53.

Vivek writes: "... a government which went out of its way to spend two hundred and six lakhs to prevent prices from falling because of a large carry-over, finds itself within a few months allocating large sums of foreign exchange in order to reduce prices slightly and to hold them at the lower level! Truly a remarkable debacle, that does little credit either to Government's prescience or its ability to manage."

The policy of the Government helped the speculators. Sugar prices were not likely to remain stable by Government releases and direct sales. The import of a lakh of tons was not likely to lead to comparatively low prices and would, in any case, affect only sales in a few ports.

"In the next season, moreover," Vivek continues, "the production of sugar will probably not be high, for the cultivator is not likely to be encouraged when the price for the cane he sells is settled, while he sees the price of the article manufactured from it free, and the factory owner and the trader making even handsome profits than before."

Here, in West Bengal there is an attempt made by the Government to bring down the retail price of sugar all over the State. It is as yet too early to gauge the results of the plan, which is to persuade the normal trade-channels to accept the measure. Private feuds, cupidity of some traders, and the obvious lethargy of the consumer, are hurdles on the path. But prices are coming down.

British Goat Farm

A 180-acre goat farm in Britain which produces 10,000 gallons of milk each year from a herd of 100 goats is attracting the attention of doctors and agriculturists from all over the world, including the Far East.

Milk from the farm—situated at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, near Rugby—is sent all over England. The

farm also sends regular supplies of yoghurt bacteria base by air for manufacture in British Guiana.

Medical men visit the farm to study the potentialities of goat's milk for the treatment of tuberculosis and eczema and agriculturists are particularly interested in the way Mr. Gilbert Harris, owner of the farm, has used derelict land for milk production, which he hopes to treble in the next few years.

The idea for starting the farm came to Mr. Harris, a former R.A.F. signals officer, when he was stationed in Southern Arabia during the war. He suffered from malnutrition and was cured by goat's milk. After demobilisation he began keeping only a few goats, but following a local doctor's appeal for goat's milk for a sick child he turned over exclusively to goat milk production in 1950.

There are many tracts in India where a similar experiment might be successful.

South Africa Through American Eyes

Emmett Murphy, a young professor of anthropology who took the place of the well-known Professor Z. K. Matthews while the latter was teaching in the United States, had a year in South Africa at the University College of Fort Hare. Because he insisted upon treating white and Africans as equals, he and his wife were ordered to leave the country 44 days before their permit to stay expired.

In reviewing his experience, Emmett Murphy has given a balanced appraisal of the difficulties in South Africa, and the racial situation there. Pointing out that even in the College there was tension between black students and white faculty members, and recounting his friendship with the students, Professor Murphy declares: "*There is no area now left in the U.S. where Negroes receive treatment as stern and unfair as in South Africa.*"

"As the Nationalist Party and most whites in South Africa grow more extreme and harsh in their attempts to keep the blacks down," says Professor Murphy, "so the various African political organizations and most blacks get more extreme in their ambitions to remove the chains which have bound them and to assume control of their own destinies and their land. White liberals are being progressively squeezed out of power by the extremists on both sides, as are African and Indian moderates. Unless a new element enters the picture, we feel, a violent clash between the two forces is inevitable. The only thing that will be effective will be a quick granting of fundamental rights to non-Europeans and embarkation upon a huge program of social and economic progress for all the people. It is our opinion that at least 75 per cent of the Europeans are unswervingly opposed to this much."

U. S. and World-Policy

After the Korean armistice there has been a great deal of wrangling about the policy of the U.S. The following extract gives a good summary:

"Europeans are not always right, but are they wrong in believing the U.S. is too unbending? Largely for this reason, American stock is low, even among the most ardent anti-Communists. Europeans feel that Americans are unrealistic in their insistence on arming Europe, willy-nilly, before attempting to settle the cold war, or before being sure that a decent peace cannot now be pried out of the Russians. Secretary Dulles made one statement in a recent radio speech that particularly bothered Europe. He declared that even if the Russians ceased being aggressive, the European Defense Community would be just as necessary as ever. They would agree that unity ought to be pushed, but they see no reason for permanent costly armament if the Soviet Union could be brought to terms.

In Asia, the political conference to follow the truce will try to halt Communist aggression in the narrowest sense; or will undertake to find a basis for enduring peace through a solution of various questions. If Mr. Dulles means what he has been saying, the U.S. will attempt to limit the conference to issues Washington wants to settle precisely in its own way. This isn't likely to work, however, for some of the best friends of the United States will be just as eager to broaden the discussions as are the Communists. Japan is eager to renew its trade with Red China in order to bolster its shaky economy, and nations fearing Japanese imports will help it. There will be pressure to admit China to the United Nations at the expense of Formosa, not because other countries are pro-Communist, but because they believe peace will be more secure with the Chinese inside than outside. Few countries think that recognition of Red China means approval, any more than Washington thinks so in the case of Latin American dictatorships. Fourteen lands now recognize Red China: Afghanistan, Britain, Burma, Ceylon, Denmark, Finland, India, Indonesia, Israel, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. If the U.S. wins by economic threats, it will suffer.

Many countries are determined not to follow what they feel is U.S. rigidity. They reason somewhat along these lines. Suppose Red China can be persuaded to withdraw troops from Korea on the assurance that South Korea will not renew the war; that a narrow buffer zone be created at the Yalu; and that a United Korea be demilitarized, under international guarantees. Suppose then that China comes into the U.N. after a cooling-off period of six months or a year, and is thus responsible, on the inside, for the maintenance of peace. This could, by taking the heat off Indo-China, give the French the opportunity they increasingly desire, of ending the war there. Japan, safe from invasion through Korea, could avoid the rearmament its people do not want, while the fear of Japan would no longer worry Asian peoples.

You may not agree with any of this, but such ideas are seething in many minds, and if Washington has something better, that policy must be polished up

and brought out soon. The U.N. Assembly is going to get into the act, and through its sessions, along with those of the post-armistice conference, American spokesmen are likely to find that mere inflexibility will not suffice. U.S. prestige has already suffered badly through its abandonment of the International Children's Emergency Fund, and its threatened scuttling of the U.N. technical assistance program."—*Worldover Press*

Concessions to Oil Refineries

Mr. K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production, placed before the Parliament on August 23, the terms of the agreements entered into by the Government of India with the three foreign oil Companies, two American and one British, for the establishment of three oil refineries in India. The terms of agreement in the three cases were more or less similar.

The concessions granted included "a no-nationalisation guarantee for 25 years from the commencement of operation of the refineries, import concessions, foreign exchanges facilities and an additional duty protection to the products of the companies," reports the UPI. A guarantee exempting the refineries from the purview of the Indian Industries (Development and Regulation) Act for 25 years had also been given, if the Indian companies applied for such exemption.

The refineries would be owned and operated by what would be known as "Indian Company" sponsored by the foreign firms. Though the Indian investors would be given an opportunity to subscribe to the share capital of the Indian Company, the foreign firms would have the controlling voice.

Under the terms of the agreement the foreign companies had been assumed of fair and reasonable compensation should the Government decide to acquire the refineries after the expiry of the specified period of 25 years.

Assurance had also been given to exempt transfers of petroleum products from the "Indian Companies" to their foreign principals from sales tax, turnover tax or other tax of similar nature.

There will be no tax discrimination between these Companies and other Indian firms for ten years from the commencement of operations of the refineries or until December 31, 1965, whichever was earlier. For the same period an additional duty protection would be accorded to the products of the refineries by maintaining an import duty on motor gasoline at least annas two per imperial gallon higher than the excise on locally manufactured motor gasoline. No import duty would be imposed on crude oil and import duty imposed on any materials required for the refineries would not exceed 5½ per cent *ad valorem*. The refineries would be free to fix the prices of the products at any level higher than the landed cost and that tankers, regardless of flag, importing crude oil or products for the refineries or for marketing operations in India would be permitted to

lift products from the refinery for delivery to other ports in India.

The main object of establishing these refineries is stated to be the conservation of foreign exchange, and we have no doubt that a considerable saving will be effected thereby. But the price of petrol (gasolene) and allied petroleum products is climbing up to a prohibitive degree. We should like to be assured that a price reduction may be expected, so that the ultimate consumer, the general public, may become a beneficiary. Foreign exchange saved thus, would be spent otherwise, we have no doubt, by the spendthrifts in the Central Government.

State Managed Co-operative in Assam

The *Chronicle*, September 4, reports that textile goods worth Rs. 22687 had been stolen over a number of years from the Silchar Central Trading Co-operative Ltd., with the connivance of higher authorities. The report adds: "The Society came into being in 1948 with D. C. [Deputy Commissioner] Cachar as its Chairman. In 1949 goods stolen to the extent of Rs. 2761 was detected. In early 1950 same thing to the extent of another amount of Rs. 7300-10-2 was again detected. Finally, in the latter part of 1950 the total amount, i.e., value of the stolen controlled textile goods was detected to be at Rs. 22687-14-1. Audit, enquiry and inspection, etc., have duly been held and persons responsible have also been found out. But strangely enough no action for recovery of the money or punishing the responsible persons has yet been taken."

Assam Approves Financial Corporation

The *Chronicle*, September 11, reports that the Assam Assembly had approved the constitution of a Financial Corporation for Assam with an authorised capital of two crores of rupees. The Corporation would have a paid-up capital of one crore of rupees to be raised in the following manner: Assam Government—25 lakhs; Reserve Bank—20 lakhs; Scheduled Banks, Insurance Companies, Investment Trusts, Co-operative Banks or other financial institutions—30 lakhs; and other parties—25 lakhs.

The Finance Minister, Sri Motiram Bora, explained that the Corporation would afford facilities for financing medium and small-sized industrial undertakings of Assam with potentialities of further development.

Linguistic Provinces

A further step forward has been recorded at the All-India Linguistic States Conference, as is indicated in the news below. We are glad that at last Bengal's case has been given some recognition.

Vallabha Vidyanagar, Sept. 27. The All India-Linguistic States Conference unanimously demanded here this evening that the Government of India should proceed to redistribute the country on the linguistic basis after six months from the date of appointment of the Boundary Commission.

The two-day Conference concluded to-day. Dr. Lanka Sundaram presided. The Conference said by a resolution that there was "no question" of appointing a high-power Commission to decide about the feasibility of the linguistic States.

"The principle of the formation of linguistic States for the country as a whole is now finally settled and is no longer open to any further examination or discussions. The only question which now remains is its implementation without any further delay," the resolution said.

REPORT WITHIN 6 MONTHS

The resolution called upon the Government to appoint the Boundary Commission "forthwith" and said that the report of the Boundary Commission should be made available within six months from the date of its appointment and that the Government should immediately proceed to the redistribution of the country on a linguistic basis having regard to such factors as common economic life and geographical contiguity.

Temple Entry at Deoghar

After the assault on Acharya Vinoba Bhave's party at the gates of the Baidyanath Temple, by some fanatic *pandas*, the question of the basic right of temple-entry by the Harijans came very much to the fore. We are glad that here some firmness was displayed by the Bihar Government in the solution of the problem as the following news indicates:

Deoghar, Sept. 27.—Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, formally threw open the gates of the Baidyanath Temple for the Harijans today at 11-30 a.m.

Dressed in milk-white khadi with flowers and chandan (sandal paste) in hand, Dr. Sinha accompanied by Sri Mahesh Prasad Sinha, Information Minister, Pandit Pinodananda Jha, former Minister of Local Self-Government and Sri Gourishankar Dalmia M.L.C. (Congress) and about 800 Harijans, including some members of the State legislature, entered the temple from the main northern gate.

A number of high State officials, including Sri K. Raman, Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division, Sri Mithileshwar Prasad Sinha, Inspector-General of Police, Sri Sarda Prasad Verma D.I.G., C.I.D., Sri U. K. Ghose, Deputy Commissioner, Santhal Parganas accompanied Dr. Sinha to the temple. Several thousand citizens turned out at the temple gates despite inclement weather and drizzling rain to witness the solemn ceremony when Dr. Sinha entered the inner precincts of the temple with Harijans and offered puja to the deity. The whole ceremony was conducted in a peaceful atmosphere. Elaborate police arrangements had however been made as a precautionary measure.

The issue of temple entry came to the forefront with the assault on Acharya Vinoba Bhave on September 19 when he went with a large number of Harijans to the Baidyanath Temple which had for long been the citadel of Hindu orthodoxy.

Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha took it as a challenge not only to humanity but also to the Indian Constitution and announced his decision to enter the temple with Harijans.

Since early morning batches of Harijans paraded the streets of Deogarh today shouting the slogans "Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai," "Sant Vinoba-ki-jai" and "Behar Kesari (Dr. Sri Krishna Sinha) -ki-jai."

Pak Cinemas Close Down

PTI reports from Karachi on September 19 that all Karachi cinema houses screening Urdu films would be closed indefinitely from September 21 on account of shortage of Indian films, according to an announcement by the Karachi Cine Exhibitors' Association.

Pakistan producers were not in a position to produce enough pictures to feed the Pakistani Cinemas. West Pakistan had 250 cinema houses which needed at least 100 films every year. But Pakistan could hardly produce 10 pictures a year. Therefore, she needed to import about 90 films from India but the Government of Pakistan did not allow the import of Indian films since over a year now. Hence this crisis.

U.S.-South Korea Treaty

On August 8, U.S. Secretary of State, Dulles, and the South Korean Prime Minister had signed a Mutual Security Treaty between their two countries. *Reuter* reports: "The treaty which must be ratified by the Senate in Washington and the South Korean Parliament, declared that an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the signatories would be regarded as dangerous to the peace and safety of the other and both would act to meet the common danger." The U.S.A. would have the right to station troops in South Korea.

The South Korean Foreign Minister had predicted on August 7 that the U.S. Senate which was the only legislative voice on such treaties would pass the pact "without difficulty."

In a Press Conference held after the signing of the Treaty, Mr. Dulles said that no agreed plan for the reunification of Korea had been decided upon but he had his own private views on the matter. He was reported to have told that if the Communists had sought to turn the 90-day limit to the conference into "fruitless propaganda," the U.S.A. and South Korea might withdraw before the 90 days were up.

Commenting on the treaty Y. Pavlov writes: "Under this agreement, the U.S.A. is to continue the occupation of South Korea with its land, air and naval forces. And the agreement says plainly that the U.S.A. assumes (1) the right to maintain its armed forces in or in proximity to South Korea. The agreement does not concretize the meaning of 'in proximity'."

"This tendency of U.S. ruling circles to maintain military bases not only in Korea's territories but also 'in proximity' to Korea is symptomatic. It lays added

emphasis on the fact that the American military circles harbour far-reaching plans for conquests in the Pacific."

Speaking at Seoul on August 14, Dr. Syng Man Rhee said that it was South Korea's "wish and determination to march north at the earliest possible time."

In a declaration published on August 7 in New York the 16 nations with troops in Korea (the U.S.A., Britain, France, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Thailand, Turkey, Greece, Ethiopia, Belgium, The Netherlands, Colombia, The Philippines, and Luxemburg) had warned the Communists that they would resist any new attack on South Korea and said that in that event, they probably could not "confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea." *PTI* reports that though no names were mentioned the declaration "was regarded an obvious threat of action against the Chinese mainland."

Britain, however, made it clear that her signature to the declaration did not commit her automatically to war against China if the Communists broke the armistice.

In order to meet the criticism against Britain's association with the declaration, a statement was issued from No. 10, Downing Street on August 14 which stated that the terms of the declaration had been agreed upon in 1951 at the instance of the U.S.A. The declaration was concerned solely with what might be termed an 'unprovoked' breach of the armistice by the Communists. "If there were any breach of faith by anyone on our side, the Government would be entitled to reopen the whole question," it added.

Goondaism in French Indian Settlements

The *Bombay Chronicle* of September 8, reports: "Mr. Ramkrishnan, brother of Mr. R. Rama Srinivasan, President of the Karikal Youth Congress, which stands for the merger of the French India settlements with the Indian Union was bodily carried away into the French limits of Karikal on the evening of September 2 by a group of adherents of the Socialist Party, which is in power in French India."

The report adds that the family of Mr. Rama Srinivasan had migrated to India having been unable to bear the persecution by the pro-French elements. Mr. Ramakrishnan who had somehow succeeded in escaping told Pressmen that French goondas had been commissioned to carry the whole family into Karikal. He had lodged a complaint with the District Magistrate of Tanjore about the trespass of the goondas into the Indian Union.

This is by no means an isolated incident. We are beginning to wonder why this sort of thing is allowed to continue.

Anglo-Egyptian Talks

The latest news throws a more hopeful light on the Anglo-Egyptian tangle, as the following news

indicates. We hope the British authorities would show an understanding of the Egyptian Government's problem which is more a question of psychology than real-politics.

Cairo, Sept. 28.—An authoritative Egyptian source said today that Egypt had accepted all British proposals for a settlement of the Suez Canal base problem except that British technicians remaining behind should wear uniform.

The source added that Egypt had agreed on the evacuation of combatant troops in a period of 18 months, that 4,000 British technicians should help maintain the base for a period of three years and on allied re-entry to the base in the event of aggression against a member of the Arab League.

"But we cannot accept Britain's proposal that the technicians who stay should wear uniform," the source added.

"The talks which have so far been most successful may founder on this point, for we shall never be able to convince the Egyptian people that the withdrawal of British troops from the Canal Zone is complete."

The Politics of Suez Canal

Of all the great roadways of the world, the sea-road to India through the Isthmus of Suez is perhaps the most important, for it joins East and West, Asia and Europe, the two most thickly populated continents. Since its opening in 1869, its importance in enlarging the intercontinental route has been great. It facilitates access to raw materials from the uttermost parts of the earth and the opening of new markets for manufactured goods. If the Canal is blocked or efficiency impaired the whole western world is affected. Renan perhaps voiced the truth when he said in his welcoming speech to Ferdinand de Lesseps upon the latter's admission to the French Academy:

"The great sentence, 'I came not to bring peace, but a sword,' must have come often into your mind. Once the Isthmus was cut, it inevitably became a passageway, that is, a field of battle. So far, one Bosphorus had made for quite enough trouble in the world, but you have created a second which overshadows it in importance, for it connects not merely two landlocked seas but all the great oceans. In the event of a naval war, this is the point which the contending powers would struggle most urgently to occupy. You have set your seal on one of the great battlegrounds of the future."

In ancient Roman eyes, Asia was a fabulous source of riches and luxury. Trade on a truly international scale developed between the three important centres of civilization: the Mediterranean, the Hellenistic Middle East and the Far East proper (India and China). Rome imported from India perfumes, cloth, precious stones, spices and circus animals, but had little to offer in exchange. She paid in gold for an unfavourable trade balance, and eventually all the gold of the West found its way to Byzantium and India. In the Middle Ages,

the trade balance remained approximately the same. Egypt was the great meeting place where merchants from Genoa, Venice, and Catalonia met their Arab counterparts from all parts of Africa and Asia. The Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 cut off the ancient routes to Asia, until 1498 when Vasco da Gama opened a new sea route, around the Cape of Good Hope, to India. As a result, the Mediterranean was changed for three centuries from a passageway to a blind alley and the world centre of gravity gravitated towards the shores of the Atlantic and the Great Powers which bordered upon it.

The relationship between Europe and Asia underwent a radical change when the industrial revolution came into full force and steam navigation swept the sailing ship from the seas. Industrialised 19th century Europe was no longer content with Eastern spices and other luxury goods. It required raw materials for its factories, and foodstuffs in wholesale quantities for an expanding population which it could no longer support. Its exports were transformed to mass production goods, tools and machinery which had a great appeal to an East roused by its new contact with the western economy.

The East now appeared in quite a different light—not as the legendary and marvellous region of the past but as a no less precious reservoir of cheap raw materials, and at the same time a market for the West's growing industrial production. A new system of exchanges developed: Europe imported goods in the raw and sent them back manufactured.

The passage from England to India by the middle of the nineteenth century required, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, 140 days by sail and 90 days by steam, and the necessity of a direct route was increasingly being felt. The problem of the Suez Canal as Lesseps saw it in 1854, when he obtained permission to construct it from Mohammed Said, Viceroy of Egypt, was not so complicated. This was the age of liberalism with free trade and enterprise, lower tariffs and with unlimited possibilities of capital, credit and competition. Lesseps was able to count on financing his project through a private company to which savings from all over the world would contribute. In those days of peace and limited wars he felt that in case hostilities broke out the underlying economic agreements would be maintained. He thought that the Canal should not be looked upon as the property of any single Power, but as an undertaking shared by all mankind. Although Mohammed Said, and Ismail after him, preferred the Canal to belong to Egypt rather than Egypt to the Canal, they however maintained a strictly neutral attitude toward the Company charged with constructing it. They offered to nationalistic arguments to interfere with the work of the engineers and administrators. Lesseps never dreamed of asking for the establishment of a "Canal Zone," or a special body of police under his control. He had no fear

that the Egyptian authorities would violate his contract with them. And indeed his only administrative vexation which arose over the issue of employing *fellah* labour, came not from the Egyptians, but from a jealous Britain. It is only in the present century that violently anti-western Egyptian nationalism appears. Before 1869 the Isthmus was a stretch of desert, detached from the main body of Egyptian territory, even though Egypt's political frontier was 150 miles to the east.

Under the circumstances, Lesseps and Mohammed Said had little difficulty in reaching agreement upon the fundamental idea of the enterprise. Its main features are (just as they exist today) written into the original concession, signed on November 30, 1854. The concession was a personal arrangement with "our friend, M. Ferdinand de Lesseps," to whom was given full power to set up and direct a "universal" company for the piercing of the Isthmus and the exploitation of a canal between the two seas. The epithet "universal" indicates that the Company was free from any national bias. Rates were to be the same for all countries, with no chance for any one of them to obtain a special favour. The concession was made for a period of 99 years from the opening of the Canal, that is, it will terminate in 1968 when the Egyptian Government is to replace the Company, paying a sum, to be fixed by arbitration, for the installations and equipments.

Lesseps' real difficulties were neither technical nor financial—but political. Notwithstanding the solemn declaration of the founders that the undertaking was international in character, Britain was profoundly mistrustful and was afraid that under the cover of the slogan of international neutrality, France was trying to obtain a monopoly of communications between Europe and Asia. Lesseps sought to raise his capital of 200,000, 000 francs by public subscription. English hostility, instigated by Lord Palmerston, continued to the very end. The principles of availability to all and complete neutrality were not enough to satisfy the British Prime Minister, and Lesseps' attempt to obtain an international guarantee of neutrality was unsuccessful. Evidently, Britain wanted a privileged position, asserted by reason of the fact that English traffic would be the Canal's mainstay.

One year after the opening of the Canal, when Lesseps received a great reception in London, *The Times* wrote: "M. de Lesseps has come to a country which did nothing for the Suez Canal, but which, since the opening, has sent more traffic through it than all the other nations of the globe combined. This country supplies most of the money which will be paid in dividends to the shareholders. May this be a compensation for whatever errors we may have made at the start."

During the years 1870-80, 76 per cent of the total tonnage that passed through the Canal was under the British flag, and France which came next, had only 8.3 per cent, while the USA was insignificantly represented.

Having been outstripped by France in the creation of the Canal, England proceeded to make up for the lost time, first, by buying out the 177,000 shares held by the Khedive Ismail, and thus entering the Company's administration. Secondly, by effecting a military occupation of Egypt in 1882, Britain secured an effective rule over the country including the Isthmus.

The purchase of Ismail's shares however did not give Britain control of the Company, which had 400,000 shares outstanding. But with Lesseps' consent Britain achieved minority representation on the Board of Directors on a basis of friendly and loyal co-operation. The British occupation of Egypt seriously modified the Company's position, because the Khedive no longer held the reins. Although temporarily at least Britain accepted a status of neutrality, she intended at the same time to take advantage of the privileges gained by military occupation. Under these conditions, France all the more strongly desired an international covenant of some kind, and one was eventually adopted under the name of the 1888 or "Constantinople" Convention.

The principles of the Convention were largely based on the presupposition of neutrality or "free use." The Canal was to be kept open, in war as in peace, to warships and traders alike; no fortifications were to be built and no blockade allowed. The Khedive's Government, with the support of the Ottoman Government, to which it owed allegiance, was to insure the observance of these rulings. The validity of the Convention was not limited to the duration of the concession, but was indefinite. But by virtue of the military occupation Britain became obviously the actual guarantor.

Until 1920 this system functioned and it was Britain's chief interest to keep the waterway to India open. During the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, the freedom of the Canal was respected even by the belligerents, and also during the Italo-Turkish war of 1911. Although the Canal at that time was an Ottoman territory, Turkey did not oppose the passage of 12,400 Italian soldiers and three warships.

In recent years the political complexion of the Suez has undergone change. Since the second world war, the political map of Asia has greatly altered. An independent India has emerged, while Communist China has abandoned the West entirely. In the days of British domination, India's tariff policy was determined in London and that of China through the International Customs Union, headed by the Englishman, Sir Robert Hart. More than 50 crores of people are thus removed from the economic domain of the West. Middle-Eastern oil is a new and important factor in trade along the Suez. The character of north-to-south traffic has not altered for it is still composed of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods, mostly machines, railway equipment and tools, all directed to countries in the process of industrialisation. Although traffic from north to south has considerably increased in volume, it still consists mainly of raw materials. In 1913, raw materials came to 45 per

cent and foodstuffs to 31 per cent, with 5 per cent of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and 19 per cent miscellaneous. In 1952, manufactured goods represented 7 per cent, foodstuffs fell to 5 per cent and raw materials came to 86 per cent; but oil made up 83 per cent of the raw materials and 74 per cent of the total. The large decline in volume and degree of foodstuffs are due to the population crisis of an Asia which cannot feed itself, and the increase in oil is of course, a result of the sensational development of the Middle-Eastern Oil fields. Oil is now the main commodity of trade along the Canal and the construction of pipelines leading directly to the Mediterranean may partially improve the position. Oil is the main commodity in south-to-north trade. In view of the decisive role played by oil products in both peace and war today, the freedom and security of communications through the Canal is becoming more and more important for Europe and for the USA.

The largest part of the tonnage is under the British flag—33.3 per cent of the total in 1952. Even so this represents a great decline from the figures of 51.4 per cent in 1939 and 76.1 per cent between 1870-80. Britain still uses the Canal a great deal more than any other nation, and is therefore the Power most directly interested, from both a political and a commercial point of view, in its efficient functioning. Until 1939, hardly any traffic went under the American flag—only 0.15 per cent of the total. The second world war brought a considerable increase, however, and in 1952, 7.3 per cent of the tonnage travelled under the American flag. American imports through the Canal were 6,156,000 tons in 1952 largely oil and manganese; exports amounting to 4,079,000 tons were mostly grain on the way to the famine-stricken India. The USA is present now in the Near East with an accumulation of economic and political interests. The Suez Canal therefore cannot now be solved without the co-operation of the USA.

There are two sides to the military problem of the Suez Canal—the question of the defence of the Canal, and of the maintenance of free passage through the other seas and straits along the route. At present the Mediterranean background is not what it was at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Although Britain still has nominal control of the Isthmus and the road to India, her position is precarious and the whole system calls for revision.

Although the principles of the Constantinople Convention still hold good, it has undergone important modifications. According to the text of 1888, the Ottoman Government, which then held sovereignty over Egypt, was supposed to enforce the Convention. But Britain, by virtue of military occupation, was in actual control and has been ever since, under a different title. Article 152 of the Versailles Treaty transferred to Britain the powers given to the Sultan by the Convention. And it is on the basis of an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 that Britain occupies the Isthmus. After passing in 1914 from the status of a vassal to that of a British protectorate, Egypt

in 1922 acquired self-government and has been intolerant of foreign military occupation ever since. In October 1951, Egypt abrogated the 1936 Treaty, but Britain still occupies the Isthmus and will not consent to withdraw until the present makeshift arrangement is replaced by a permanent one guaranteeing the safety of a route which is indispensable to her status as World Power. For the Canal is still a vital link in Britain's system of communications.

The two world wars have taught England that the hostility or the hostile neutrality of a single one of the Mediterranean Powers can endanger the safety of the Canal. Any enemy that has a foothold on this narrow, winding body of water, so admirably suited for ambush and intrigue, can close it. For this purpose control of the military installations is not necessary. Twice in the course of the last war, England revived Vasco da Gama's abandoned route around the Cape of Good Hope. It is longer and more expensive, but safer, at least comparatively, from attack by airplanes and submarines. Some Britons say that Palmerston was right in opposing the construction of the Suez Canal. In 1926 Sir John Marriott said in the House of Commons: "Looking back after a considerable lapse of time, I am not sure that the British statesmen who opposed the Suez Canal from the point of view of both diplomacy and power were not right... If the Canal had never been pierced we might find ourselves in a stronger position today. And if this is true, how necessary it is for us to keep the route around the Cape and to see that the African coast, to both East and West, is free of foreign domination."

Up to the second world war, the completely free movement of traffic through the Canal was never questioned. The first Article of the Convention of 1888 established "free use of the Canal in time of war as in time of peace," and the Company assured it. But during the recent war in Palestine, the Egyptian Government has claimed a right to stop tankers on their way to Israel. This is a violation both of the original 1854 concession and the Convention of Constantinople, which is still valid. Egypt justifies her action by Article 10 of the 1888 Convention, which states that other provisions of the Treaty "shall in no case occasion any obstacle to the measures which the Imperial Ottoman (read Egyptian) Government may think it necessary to take in order to insure by its own forces the defence of its other possessions situated on the eastern coast of the Red Sea." It was under pretext of self-defence and the preservation of law and order that the Egyptian declarations of May 15 and 18, 1948, introduced the inspection of ships in Egyptian ports and the confiscation of goods destined to an enemy. The Egyptian plea is that she respects the idea "free use" and that she objects, not to the passage of ships, but to cargoes containing contraband goods sent to a hostile Power. But the free passage of a ship has no meaning unless it includes the passage of its cargo as well. Neither the Turkish Government, in the course of the Italo-Turkish war, nor the Allies in 1914

and 1940, raised any such arguments in order to twist to their advantage the text of an agreement truly international in spirit.

The problem of the Canal is thus a complex one, and the military occupation of the Isthmus is no solution. Although the Canal passes through Egyptian territory it has an essentially international character and cannot be run in any other way than an international spirit. In any future arrangement regarding the Canal, India should have a voice as she is now vitally interested in view of her increasing tonnage along the Canal.

World Bank Completes Six Years

It is only six years now since the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development started its operations. The Bank has achieved a fair measure of success in discharging its functions laid down by its founders, and has proved itself as an effective institution of international co-operation. The functions of the Bank are the mobilisation of world savings for making capital available at reasonable rates of interest over long periods for projects calculated to raise the productivity of the borrowing country; expansion of investment to provide capital for both reconstruction and development of the war-devastated countries, and also to organise mobilisation of economic resources in underdeveloped countries for raising the standard of living of the masses.

The Bank's Annual Report for the year ended 30th June states that with the admission of Germany, Japan and Jordan during the year, the membership of the Bank rose to 54, and along with it, the total subscribed capital to \$9,036 million. The table below indicates the trend of lending by the Bank during each of the last three years:

	1952-53	1951-52	1950-51
No. of loans	10	19	21
No. of countries	9	16	11
	(In million dollars)		
Loans sanctioned during the year	178.6	298.6	297.1
Progressive total of loan sanctioned	1,591.0	1,412	1,114
Disbursement during the year	226.8	184.8	77.6
Total disbursements to date	1,103	876.5	691.7

During the year under review, the World Bank made only 10 loans to 9 countries, whereas, in the previous year, 19 loans were granted to 16 countries. Similarly, in line with the number of loans, the value of the loans also shows a decrease, from \$298.6 million to \$178.6 million. This brings the total of the Bank's loans to \$1,591 million shared by 29 countries, in the preceding year. Two of the ten loans issued during the year under review were made in support of a broad range of economic projects. Agriculture, basic industries and transport benefited from a loan to Australia. In Yugoslavia, the Bank supported a group of projects calculated to improve the country's balance of payments.

The Bank gave loans to specific key industries, such as iron and steel in India, wood products industries in Finland and for a fertiliser plant in Iceland.

The share of Asia and the Middle East is only \$187 million, representing only 17.5 per cent of the total of \$1,063 million granted to all the five regions, namely, (a) Asia and Middle East, (b) Africa, (c) Australia, (d) Europe and Western Hemisphere. A year ago, the share of this region was even less at 14.6 per cent of the total. Nevertheless, the assistance given by the Bank to this still constitutes only a fraction of its needs.

During 1952-53, the total disbursements amounted to a sum equivalent of \$226.8 million. This sum, which covers new and existing loans, was the highest reached since the Bank commenced its lending operations for development. Total disbursements to-date amounts to \$1,103 million, of which \$1,014.5 million is repayable in US dollars. Due to an improvement in the supply position of goods outside the US., particularly in Europe, the Bank is now encouraging the purchase of materials and equipment from whatever source available at the terms most favourable to the borrower. The geographical distribution of loan expenditure on cumulative total basis reveals that to-date the USA has got the 69.8 per cent of the total expenditure made by borrower countries, Canada 6.5 per cent, Europe 17.5 per cent, Latin America 5.5 per cent, Africa 0.4 per cent, Near East 0.2 per cent and Far East 0.1 per cent.

The Bank sold new bond issues worth \$71.6 million. In October 1952, the Bank issued 19 year 3½ per cent bonds worth \$60 million at 98. Nearly \$20 million of this was subscribed by investors outside the US. In November 1952, the Bank floated in Switzerland 3½ per cent ten year Bank Bonds at 98½. The bonds amounted to 50 million Swiss francs or approximately \$11.6 million. The Bank further increased its resources by selling \$13.6 million of securities from its portfolio. The Bank's resources of non-dollar funds were increased by further releases of the capital subscriptions paid in by members in their own currencies, and equivalent amount of releases is \$26.6 million.

India has now become one of the chief beneficiaries of the World Bank. It has so far received loans aggregating \$109.8 million. The Bank gave three loans to India in 1949-50, amounting to in all \$62.5 million which was finally reduced to \$58.8 million at India's own request. In 1952-53, India received two more loans—one for a sum of \$31.5 million granted to the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Calcutta, and the other of \$19.5 million for further developments of the Damodar River Valley.

F. A. O. Report

In a review of the latest report of the Food and Agricultural Organization, the *Times* writes that the report showed that, taken as a whole world food supplies had caught up with the growing populations. World food supplies and world population were both 17

per cent higher in 1952-53 than in 1939. But "this can be a misleading generalization," the paper says, "Production had expanded rapidly in the most advanced countries—most remarkably in North America—but in the less developed regions progress was slow."

The more developed regions had more to export and had accumulated stocks while the less developed regions—notably the Far East—had in many instances lower consumption than before the war. In North-west Europe, agricultural production had gone up by 16 per cent compared to pre-war and in North America by 45 per cent. Inevitably, North America now provided a much larger proportion of the world's food exports.

In the U. K., production of grains and potatoes had increased more than in other countries of Northern or Western Europe in general, but, her meat and egg production was less. The increase in her milk output also was larger but in certain countries, the average yield of milk from each cow had risen faster since before the war and that yield was higher in Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The *Yorkshire Post* writes that the report had emphasized that the undeveloped countries themselves must try to improve their position. A large part of available public funds in the Asian countries was already devoted to agriculture. But domestic capital was quite inadequate for the purpose and private and public capital from abroad must come to their help. The paper notes that such help had not been sufficient and probably less than 40 per cent of the necessary extra capital was being provided.

The paper writes: "Somehow the difference has to be made up, possibly by a special U.N. fund for economic development. If the new report does nothing else, at least it draws attention to the size of the problem and the need for swift action."

Politics in France

France has been in the throes of unstable party politics ever since the return of peace. The Communist Party in France has been trying to bring chaos by all means in its power. The latest have been country-wide strikes, that paralysed the nation's work and transport. The strikes failed without attaining the objective. Thus writes the *Newsweek* of New York on September 7:

"France came up for air last week. The strikes that had all but smothered the country in stalled trains, stranded vacationers, undelivered mail, and uncollected garbage, collapsed as even members of Communist unions defied their leaders and followed non-Communists back to work. The Moroccan crisis that had threatened to bring civil war to the strategic French protectorate in North Africa blew itself out. The United States promised to support France in voting against bringing the issue before the United Nations, and

Foreign Minister Georges Bidault presented the Cabinet with a long-delayed program of political reforms for Morocco.

"Who won the strikes? Premier Joseph Laniel failed in his effort to impose some needed economies, and, in fact, half promised some additional inflationary wage increases. The strikers failed in their effort to overthrow the government. They got only 207 of the 209 petitions from members that would have forced the recall of the National Assembly from summer recess. The French people lost a bit more of their faith in everything. One Parisian, returning by airplane from a trip abroad, summed up the situation cynically: France had suffered, he said, 'just a little catastrophe.'"

War in Indo-China

Arnaud de Borchgrave, *Newsweek* correspondent who had toured Indo-China early this year, describes the situation in Indo-China thus: "Actually, the delta, with its 10,000 villages and 6,000,000 inhabitants (with 1,500 people crowded into each square mile), is a condominium. The French rule by day and the Reds by night.

"Almost all roads into the delta are sown every night with mines, which currently cause 60 per cent of the casualties in the north. A notable exception: the main road from Hanoi to Haiphong, over which 1800 civilian trucks ply daily—many of them with Communist shopping baskets. Gaps between the scores of concrete pill boxes along the delta's outer defense perimeter are so many holes in a sieve at night. A year ago, the Reds had about 15,000 men in the delta. Today they have more than 40,000." (*Newsweek*, April 20, 1953).

"When the French approach, the Vietminh vanish below ground only to pop up again half an hour after the French have pulled out. A French intelligence report on the village Le-Loi showed that the Reds have 400 feet of tunnels and 109 individual secret hideouts. All of these are 200 yards of the village, and mostly run under the flooded paddy fields. To find them is like looking for a needle in a stack of rice straw . . .

"The war, with 490,000 French Union and Vietnamese troops pitted against 400,000 Vietminh, has already cost plenty in men and money. France has the equivalent of twelve divisions tied down to Indo-China. It has lost 36,000 killed, including 1,500 officers, and more than 100,000 wounded, missing and prisoners. Tied up in Indo-China are 30 per cent of the French Army's officer corps and 43 per cent of its noncoms.

"In proportion to its strength, France's effort in Indo-China is far greater than that of the United States in Korea. So far, the war has cost about \$6,000,000,000—twice as much as the total aid received by France under the Marshall Plan. The drain is continuing at the rate of \$1,250,000,000 yearly for France. It amounts to 43 per cent of France's defense

budget. The United States pitches in to the tune of \$525,000,000.

"The Vietminh strategy is to bleed the French white, to avoid an all-out test of strength, and to run whenever outnumbered, or outgunned. Time and again, the French army chiefs believe a decisive battle is in the offing but it never materializes."

Mr. de Borchgrave writes that since 1949 the official French policy had been to create a strong nationalist government, friendly to France. "But small time functionaries have done their best to sabotage progress. 'In Saigon, our representatives have fallen into the all too tempting game of power and intrigue,' said a recent top-secret report to the government, drafted by four French parliamentarians after a trip to Indo-China." (*Newsweek*, July 27).

Lack of leaders was a reason. Nobody had the dynamic political prestige of Dr. Ho Che Minh. Bao Dai's prestige "ranges from bad to indifferent." And to make it worse Bao Dai was always at loggerheads with his Prime Minister, Nguyen Van Tam.

Speaking at a round table discussion at the annual conference of State Governors at Seattle on August 5, President Eisenhower "mentioned particularly Indonesia and India as areas which would be endangered if the Communists were able to complete the conquest of the Indo-Chinese States." (*Reuter*)

The Congress had voted 400 million dollars towards fight against Communism in Indo-China.

In an editorial on Eisenhower's statement, the *Leader* comments: "We are unable to understand how the perpetuation of French colonialism will conduce to India's security."

In an article headed "Why there is no Cease-fire in Indo-China," A. Kurov writes: "Edgar Faure, Minister of Finance and Economy, declared publicly in April of this year that 'France is not fighting for her own interests in Indo-China,' that on the contrary, France is 'greatly interested in having the war ended.'"

"The Indo-China war—and the French Ministers no longer attempt to hide the fact—is ruining France and making her increasingly dependent on the United States. Washington is taking advantage of this dependence, especially on supplies of American arms, to exert pressure on the French Government. It is not only insisting that France continue the war against the people of Indo-China, but is demanding supreme direction of the operations."

According to the writer, the American Government had also used the recent Washington talks of the three Western Foreign Ministers to obtain further French concessions on the Indo-China question. He writes: "*Le Monde* stated on July 21 that Bidault had consented to the so-called 'internationalization' of the Indo-China conflict, that is, to direct U. S. interference in the war. By this arrangement,

Le Monde pointed out, 'America is to assume the chief responsibility in the war and we will have to agree to her negotiating directly with Bao Dai.'"

It was on the insistence of the U. S. Secretary of State, Dulles, that the Navarre plan of operations in Indo-China was adopted. Mr. Kurov quotes *Paris Combat* which wrote: "The danger is so evident that one asks how a Government and an Assembly which had been alerted by alarmed public opinion can resign themselves to persisting in a venture of which we are no longer the masters. This absurd war is more and more coming to resemble a fool's venture."

The three-day conference of the Bureau of Asian Socialists during the second week of August demanded in a resolution, "cessation of fighting in Indo-China and the holding of free elections under international supervision for a constituent assembly to determine with outside interference the constitution of a free and independent Indo-China and the form of its future relationship with France and other countries." (*Hindu*, August 15, 1953).

Deposition of the Sultan of Morocco

The French Government deposed the Sultan of Morocco, Mohammed V, on August 20, for his nationalist stand and refusal to toe the French line and banished him to Corsica with his two sons. On August 15, he was deprived of his title of "Protector of the Faith" by the pro-French Pasha of Manakesh and tribal chiefs. The Sultan was accused by the French of leaning heavily on the side of the extreme nationalist movement, Istiqlal and secretly angling for American support against France. Talks of deposing the Sultan, first arose about a year ago when Marshal Juin had been the Resident.

Reuter reports that when the banishment order had been served on the Sultan, French tanks and armoured cars took up positions around the high-walled palace, blocking all roads leading to the area.

"Mass arrests were reported on the night of August 20, in various parts of Morocco including the detention of the Pasha of Meknes, a supporter of Istiqlal movement and Ben Jelloun, Secretary-General of the Democratic Independence Party, affiliated to Istiqlal.

"Some 300 people were reported arrested in Oujda scene of bloody rioting over the weekend after the proclamation of a new 'Commander of the Faithful' by 350 anti-Sultan chieftains."

The Sultan's cousin, Sidi Mohammed Ben Arafa, was proclaimed spiritual and temporal ruler of Morocco. How far he is a mere stooge of the French will be evident from *Reuter's* report from Rabat quoting French comments on the new situation in Morocco. The report, dated August 23, said that "relations between the Sultanate were said to be closer than at any time in recent years. Gen.

Guillaume, the French Resident-General mentioned at yesterday's Palace reception, the word 'protectorate' which had for some time disappeared from Imperial pronouncements in Morocco."

Sixteen Arab-Asian nations had approached the Security Council for a discussion on the recent coup in Morocco but on the persistent opposition of the colonial power, U. K. and France and the U.S.A., the matter failed to be included in the agenda.

The Trieste Question

Lately the Trieste question has been very much in the news. After the conclusion of the Second World War, Trieste had been divided into two zones. Zone A, including the city itself, had been placed under Anglo-U.S. military occupation and Zone B under the Yugoslavs. It was a temporary arrangement and the whole question was to have been settled by the U.N., but so far no agreement has been possible.

The recent happenings there have not been quite clear. Fearing Yugoslav announcement of the annexation of Zone B with Yugoslavia, Italian armoured troops had moved up to the frontier at Gorizia and Italian naval movements had also been reported.

On September 6, President Tito had called on Italy to cease military operations along the border and indicated his willingness to discuss the question at a round table conference. He had declared that Trieste should be internationalized and all its surroundings given to Yugoslavia. Rejecting the Italian accusation that Yugoslavia had intended to annex Zone B he had declared that that was "unnecessary as Yugoslavia was already in Zone B." He had clearly warned the Italians that Yugoslavia would not allow Italian troops to occupy Zone A.

Commenting on President Tito's speech, the *Times* writes that the Italian Government was not likely to look upon the solution put forward by him with any favour. However, speech had dispelled fears about Yugoslavia "plotting any forcible change there." The paper says that when hard words were left on one side the substance of what Marshal Tito had said "was calculated to be reassuring." The President had proposed a conference to discuss the issue though, true enough, the terms offered made it difficult for the Italian Government to attend such a conference.

The *Times* continues: "If there is to be a permanent international regime at Trieste, as the peace treaty envisaged, it will need to control a workable territorial unit and not merely the part that Marshal Tito's troops failed to seize in 1945 (that is, Zone A—Ed., *M.R.*). If the Yugoslavs refuse to give up an inch of ground then they are, in effect, insisting upon territorial division and it will follow that the Italians in the end will get the city and the port. But though Marshal Tito put his price high yesterday, he might bring it down in negotiation. His proposal of a conference needs to be taken seriously,

British Press on W. German Elections

The *Times*, in an editorial on Dr. Adenaur's victory writes that the result of the elections indicated that the Federal Republic was a success. The newspaper considered that the result pointed to the failure of Nazi influence and suggested that the general trend was not a drift to the Right but a shift to the middle. The results provided the "assurance of a stable and moderate government in West Germany."

The *Manchester Guardian*, while welcoming the results, cautiously remarks that "the victory has perhaps, been too much personal. Its individuality may raise an echo of that old cry 'Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuhrer'." Though the newspaper was sure that Dr. Adenaur had no wish to follow in the footsteps of Hitler, the same could not be said of the millions who voted for Dr. Adenaur. They did so because he was a strong man, a leader, and the one most likely to thrust Germany back to resounding greatness in the world. The victory might sound ominous to the French, the paper writes, but the French might find consolation in Dr. Adenaur's persistent efforts to keep on good terms with them."

The growing economic prosperity and the prospect of a secure and efficient government would induce the United States to look on Western Germany as good investment.

The *Daily Telegraph* writes that the election added "one more element to the strength which the West can now bring to any negotiations with the Soviet Union; and on the other side, Russian attitude may be a stiffened realisation that the Federal Republic is firmly committed to the West."

The *Financial Times* calls the result "a tremendous personal victory for Dr. Adenaur" but adds that it was also a victory for the doctrine of free enterprise. In that regard the paper gives much credit to Dr. Erhard, Minister for Economic Affairs of Western Germany. The paper writes: "The Christian Democrat's gains have indeed been largely at the expense of the extreme Right, which in Germany has not been notably associated in the past with the support of genuinely free enterprise. It is, therefore, not fanciful to see the German election results as not only a vote of confidence in the government but also to some extent as the triumph of a doctrine."

Chou En-Lai on U.N. Resolution

In reply to the communication sent by Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld transmitting the resolutions of the United Nations on the Korean Political Conference, Mr. Chou En-Lai, the Chinese Foreign Minister, said that in the view of the Chinese Government, the question of composition of the Political Conference had an important bearing on the consummation or failure of the task of the Political Conference, and it

should not be decided by one side unilaterally, but could only be settled through joint negotiations by the United Nations and the Governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Political Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai said, would be concerned with a much wider task than the armistice negotiations. The Political Conference would "negotiate the withdrawal of foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question." Its outcome would be significant not only for Korea but in promoting peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Therefore, the conference should not be restricted to the belligerent nations but should include neutrals. The U.N. resolution on the composition of the conference had "made an injurious distortion to Paragraph 60 of the Korean Armistice Agreement." The General Assembly in adopting that resolution had "allowed itself to be dominated by the United States," and had deprived three-fourths of the members of U.N. an opportunity to play their part in the peaceful solution of the problem.

Mr. Chou En-lai particularly regretted the exclusion of India from the conference, because India would "definitely play a positive part in the achievement of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question."

In view of all these considerations the Chinese Government was "not in a position to give full agreement to the resolutions on the composition of the Political Conference" and instead proposed that

"(a) Participating members of the Political Conference should be all nations on the two belligerent sides in Korea, including Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, and the following invited neutral nations concerned: The Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma.

"(b) The Political Conference should take the form of a round table conference. However, any decisions of the Political Conference must obtain the unanimous agreement of both belligerent sides in Korea.

"(c) The representatives of the Governments of China and North Korea be invited to be present at the General Assembly of the U.N. to conduct joint negotiations.

"(d) After the composition of the conference had been agreed upon, the two belligerent sides in Korea should hold consultation and make arrangements concerning the place and time of the conference."

The *Hindu* in an editorial comment on the U.N. Assembly resolution writes that "the present composition of the Assembly is such that no resolution unacceptable to the United States has much chance of success. If the Communists want the conference at all, they will have to accept the nominees of the United States."

Resurgence of Islamic Fanaticism

Mr. Avroo Manhattan writes in the *Free Economic Review* that while following the collapse of the Ottoman empire in the First World War, "Islam was made to tumble like an exhausted colossus," the second World War "provoked its sudden revival."

Following the first World War, Turkey the seat of the Caliphate, had initiated summary reforms banning almost all ancient Islamic traditions. These had been followed by many of the other Islamic countries. "The Mullahs were stripped of their influence to such an extent that Islamic clericalism, it was optimistically predicted, would disappear within the foreseeable future."

But that optimism had been belied. The conclusion of the second World War beheld the reappearance of the power of the Mullahs in an astonishingly brief period. The power of the Mullahs was no longer confined to the religious sphere. They were also now dominating the political field—a fact that portended an ominous future.

This power of the Mullahs was, in many instances, exercised for reactionary ends. To quote Mr. Manhattan, "In the domestic field, for instance, they can obstruct and often undo the work of progressive forces by cunning use of half-authoritative injunctions, e.g., by semi-officially condemning women's emancipation. This was done by a *fatwa* of the committee of the Al Azhar University, Cairo, which in June 1952, pronounced against women's right to vote."

Religious fanaticism was used by the Mullahs to enforce a veritable reign of legal and illegal terrorism. Often Mullahs having influence in the government of a country was able to mollify the opposition by the use of his religious influence, apparelled in political garb, as demonstrated by Syed Kashani in Persia at whose instance thirty-five Persian Senators had been refused admission to Parliament in November, 1952.

"Often the Mullahs resort to open terrorism. Movements controlled by them black-list people, condemn them to death, and often execute them. Thus in Turkey Muslim religious fanatics have death-lists of editors whom they condemned for 'organizing beauty queen contests' which are contrary to Islamic law. Turkish editors were actually shot. In Persia, the fanatical Fadaya Islam (crusaders of Islam) published in the Press list of public figures scheduled for assassination." Officials, Prime Ministers had been assassinated at clerical instigation. Khali Tahmassebi who had killed Premier Ali Razmara of Iran in 1950, was released by Syed Kashani, who embraced him with the greeting, "You are a brave son of Islam."

In Hyderabad, the President and eight other leading figures of the fanatical Muslim organization, Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen had been officially charged with 1,200 murders, 4,000 dacoities and 3,600 acts of arson,

in a conspiracy to establish an autonomous Muslim entity in Hyderabad.

Significance of the Developments in Iran

The American journal *Newsweek* wrote after the failure of the first royalist coup in Iran on August 16: "Someone, somewhere, somehow had bungled. A revolt that might have placed Iran securely in the Western camp, misfired or was anticipated and short circuited by its intended victim, Premier Mohammed Mossadegh."

The paper wrote, "Behind the coup lay a tangle of intrigue with Mossadegh and the Shah at the Centre. The basic facts were simple. The West saw Mossadegh, although personally anti-Communist, driven by economic pressure and domestic opposition into an uneasy and dangerous alliance with the Tudeh Party." The paper refers to certain incidents preceding the happenings as significant. In early July President Eisenhower had told Dr. Mossadegh that no more American aid would be given Iran, unless she had settled the oil dispute with Britain. On July 25 Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister, who had been exiled from Iran, had arrived in Teheran incognito. Though she had again been ordered out of the country she had succeeded in contacting her many friends in the court and in the army. On August 1, Brig.-Gen. H. Norman Schwartzkof, former American military adviser to the Iranian Government, arrived in Teheran to meet the Shah. (The Communists had charged him with complicity in the revolt of August 16). And on August 4, President Eisenhower had referred ominously to the danger of Iran going Communist.

On the other hand, Malenkov had referred to Iran, in very kind terms, in his speech on August 8 before the Supreme Soviet. Moscow was willing to realise 11 tons of Iranian gold and 8 million dollars held since the war.

The immediate background of the revolt on August 16 was the refusal of the Shah to sign a decree dissolving the Parliament. On the contrary, he had secretly signed three decrees dismissing Dr. Mossadegh, appointing Gen. Fazolollah Zahedi in his place and naming Gen. Nader Batmanghelitch, Chief of staff, in place of Gen. Taghi Riahi, and had gone to Caspian coast with his half-German wife, Soraya, presumably to be "safely out of range," should anything go wrong.

But the coup failed and the Shah had to move out of Iran. Pro-Mossadegh moles swept through Teheran. But when royal statues were toppled from their pedestals, Mossadegh took fright and ordered Gen. Riahi to intervene. "But there was no ammunition. By a previous order of Mossadegh the Teheran garrison had been issued only blank cartridges.

"The army and police laid into the anti-Shah crowds with such vigor that the royalists took cheer. . . ."

And the royalists struck again and this time they

succeeded. Gen. Zahedi came out of his hiding and proclaimed himself as the Prime Minister.

The Shah received the news of the success of the second coup from Hotel Excelsior in Rome. Mr. Allen Dulles, Director of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency, arrived at the Excelsior to greet the Shah. And from Switzerland came Princess Ashraf, the Shah's twin sister.

These sensational developments in Iran had in turn engendered a good deal of speculation if a second Korea was going to be enacted there. Iran had been the object of power-politics for long. So long the struggle for domination over Iran had been confined to Britain and the Soviet Union. Now a new power, the United States of America, had appeared in the scene. This partly sprang from the assumption by the U.S. of some of Britain's strategic responsibilities. "More important," *Newsweek* writes, "it proceeds from American development of the vast oil resources of the Arab States. . . . Thus Iran is now not only a buffer in the sense of military strategy. It is also a buffer in that it lies between areas containing oil reserves that are vital both to the Russians and the West."

According to the paper, the West was sure to intervene if Iran seemed to be going Communist. The Russians, on the other hand, could not be expected to accept gracefully an anti-Communist Government there. Still many forces militated against Iran becoming a battle-ground. "Russians, Americans, and British alike realize," the paper writes, "that the chips really would be down in the event of armed conflict in Iran. The stakes would be much higher than in Korea and the danger of a local struggle erupting into a world war proportionately greater."

Thus far the American view of the picture. Now let us turn to the other viewpoint. The *People's* diplomatic correspondent in New Delhi writes that it was no longer doubted in New Delhi that the Shah's return had been primarily due to Anglo-American machinations and to the "American-bribed army, which has executed the anti-Mossadeq coup." The U.S. Ambassador to Iran, Mr. Loy Henderson, played a significant part in this affair. The correspondent writes: "Breaking every known international law, the U.S. Ambassador told Mossadeq shortly before the aged Premier was thrown out, that he could no longer be considered Iran's Premier by the United States, as the Shah had dismissed him." Undoubtedly this intervention had affected Dr. Mossadeq's position adversely. The U. S. Consulate in Teheran was being guarded by the police and Americans dared not venture out because of the popular anti-American sentiment.

The people were growing sceptical about the Americans with the realization that the millions of dollars being given by America were not really

intended for the country's economic development "but for feeding the army and using it as an anti-Soviet force primarily." (*People*, 12.9.53). Meanwhile, the Government was in an embarrassing position because under the Iranian constitution Iran could not accept any grant, loan or aid from any country without the approval of the Majlis which was at present without a quorum.

I. Plyshevsky writes that after an exchange of communication between the U.S. Ambassador, Henderson and Premier Zahedi regarding the grant of U.S. aid to Iran, that country "would receive 23,400,000 dollars in the way of technical and economic aid for the current fiscal year (to end on June 30, 1954), 20,000,000 dollars in the way of military 'aid' and 45,000,000 dollars on the basis of the so-called 'Mutual Security Act' in the form of 'urgent and emergency aid' to the General Zahedi Government."

The obligations imposed upon the Iranian Government by the United States for these aids affected Iran's sovereignty and national independence. According to these obligations, all American officers controlling the aid had been granted diplomatic immunity. The American officials travelled unhindered throughout the country despite the existing rules for foreigners. The American administration had its departments in such cities as Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz, Meshed, Kermanshah, Resht, Gorgan and others. American "specialists" under the pretext of study were inspecting ports and strategic areas. The American aid administration was larger in size and more ramified than any Iranian ministry.

M. Plyshevsky quotes the Pakistan newspaper *Imroz* to say that a secret agreement had been signed between the United States and Iran at the beginning of 1953 envisaging the construction in Iran of air bases, strategic highways and petrol storages. A sum of 15 million dollars had been allocated for the purpose under the Point-4 programme.

Kuomintang Troops in Burma

The *Hindu* in an editorial comment on September 20, regrets that the United Nations resolution that the KMT troops in Burma "must be disarmed and either agree to internment or leave the Union of Burma forthwith" had been ineffective. The Burmese stand in the four-nation (Burma, Siam, Formosa and the USA) military talks at Bangkok for the evacuation of these troops had all along been quite reasonable. But the Formosan authorities had failed to agree to a reasonable solution. The Burmese Foreign Minister had described the nationalist soldiers as "bandits and traders in opium, who resort to widespread depredations."

The paper writes that it was not difficult to see why the guerillas had evinced no great desire to be evacuated. "The still unsettled conditions in Burma must offer

considerable scope to soldiery owning little allegiance to responsible quarters. The politicians in Formosa must be depending upon this force to make raids into the Chinese territory in order to annoy the Communists. There may also be the hope that it will prove useful against the day the Nationalists return to the mainland, if their hopes are realised. The fact that, in the process, the sovereignty of a friendly country has been infringed has been lost sight of."

Concluding the paper writes: "The expulsion of the intruders is a task to which Lake Success should address itself with all its vigour, as a vital principle is at stake, India, which is deeply interested in the restoration of normal conditions in Burma, a neighbour, will watch its efforts with sympathy."

The U. S. Government should also understand that on this depends the good will of Burma and all her sympathisers.

Indira Gandhi on U.S.S.R.

Giving her impressions of the U.S.S.R., Mrs. Indira Gandhi said that she had been most impressed "by the way everything there was constantly and visibly changing and improving with the result that wherever one went one looked into the future." The Soviet people were the most plain-minded and were not as fashionable as Parisians or Swedes. "They looked forward to a more comfortable and easier future but they had no obvious cause for complaint in the present," she added. In her month's stay she saw no beggars.

Entertainment was of a high standard and great variety and was marked by the absence of vulgarity or exhibitionism. There was the regular theatre, opera and concerts and the incomparable Russian ballet. Being accustomed to first-class shows the Russian audience was a good one.

The Soviet people had a great vitality and energy. They had faith in their plans and that gave them self-confidence—"enormous self-confidence and enormous pride in their achievements." Women shared fullest equality there. They got equal wages and were not debarred from any work, however hard. They had the added privilege of paid maternity leave.

There was "great friendship for India and her efforts for peace," Mrs. Gandhi said.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 14th to 27th October, 1953, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,

Editor

ON THE GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF ECONOMICS

BY DR. H. G. P. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., B.COM., LL.B., PH.D.

'GANDHIJI—AN ECONOMIST?'—the reaction of the academic economist, brought up in the tradition of Adam Smith and Ricardo to the above query, should not be expected to be favourable, if not actually vigorously hostile. Gandhiji is for them essentially a saint, at best a politician, but an economist?—that's too much. What does he know of the delights of Marshall's equilibrium price or Keynes' Euclidian geometers? He has not worshipped at the altar of Pigou or Mill, the very first exercise for any devotee, who wishes to be initiated into the mysteries of Economic Science. It is a fact that Gandhiji read Marx's *Das Kapital*, as late as in 1942, during his imprisonment in the Agha Khan Palace in Poona and his naive reaction on finishing that mighty work was, "I think I could have written it better, assuming, of course, that I had the leisure for the study he has put in," which to the communists would appear almost as a nasty dig at the genius of the great Master.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that no single person has influenced the trend of Indian economic thought so much as Gandhiji. If we compare the writings of Indian economists, say, only a decade ago, with their writings now, it will be clear that the distinctly important place accorded to small and medium-sized industries in India's economy now, can largely be accounted for by the influence of Gandhiji's thought; for the Western economic science from which most of our economic precepts are derived, does not attach any importance to such industries.¹

And gradually we find that a distinct school of economists is springing up, deriving inspiration from the humble shrine of Sewagram which is trying to sort out Gandhiji's economic ideas and place them on a scientific basis. Admittedly, at present Gandhian economic philosophy is still in its infancy and has been subjected to much destructive criticism, the usual fate of all contemporary thought. On coming across a book entitled *The Post-mortem of Gandhism* (Gandhivad Ki Shavpariksha) by Yespal, we were instinctively reminded of Karl Marx and *The Close of His System* by Bohm-Bewark, written long before Karl Marx had actually opened up his system. Little did Reybaud know in 1852, when he wrote the magnificent lines, "To speak of socialism today is to deliver a funeral oration," that he was delivering his funeral oration just on the eve of the birth of the child he was lamenting, and that a century hence the corpse would be very much alive and kicking.

Gandhiji never meant to write any treatise on economic theory or on applied economics, either. As a practical reformer, Gandhiji thought primarily in terms of immediate reforms but he has gradually developed

what is definitely and distinctly a system of thought. Thus, Gandhism is not just a series of disjointed maxims of policy or a catalogue of urgent reforms and remedial measures. There is a philosophy, an ideology, if we like, behind all the reforms he advocates; or to put it differently, even as Capitalism and Socialism have their own fundamental assumptions, so, too, Gandhism has its own fundamental assumptions. The Gandhian system of economic thought cannot be adequately appraised merely in terms of current economic theory which rests on certain limited assumptions. It is a challenge to those assumptions themselves.

METHOD OF ECONOMICS

Many people feel that Gandhiji used the irrational and hence unscientific methods in his study of problems—his study was descriptive as well as prescriptive. The burning of foreign cloth and the directions of the 'Inner Voice' being quoted as the most conspicuous examples. The essence of the matter is that Gandhiji always used the three-fold method of science—observation, reasoning and verification—but he supplemented it by the rules of morality and dictates of conscience because the conception that man is primarily a rational animal is partially wrong. The belief that man would naturally follow the dictates of reason was accepted throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th century. Even today many reformers take it for granted that once men see the unreasonableness or injustice of any situation their reason will move them to correct it. Sometimes it certainly does. But more than sixty years ago rationalistic optimism began to be tempered by certain discoveries, notably those of Pavlov and Freud.

Pavlov, a Russian scientist, showed that man's reflexes were surrounded by environment. Sigmund Freud, a Viennese Doctor, showed that man was impelled by drives and motives he might never be conscious of. As a result of these and other researches in Psychology—which has aptly been called the last 'citadel of human ignorance'—man came to realise that while he possesses the faculty of reason, he rarely develops it or allows it alone to guide him. What he had called to be thinking was shown to be almost always rationalised feeling; it was conscious and subconscious desires and appetites, not his reason, that commonly dominated his behaviour. Hence, his use of the conscious and subconscious or unscientific method carries a 'scientific' authority. In other words he had the power to visualise things in correct perspective because to have vision is to have more than knowledge or power; it is the ability to comprehend not only with the mind but with the heart as well, to have a sense of perception which cannot be explained in terms of 'fact' and 'reason'.²

1. J. V. J. Anjaria: "The Gandhian Approach to Indian Economics" in *Indian Journal of Economics*, Ranade Centenary Number, January, 1942, p. 256.

2. "Economics: Gandhian Style" by Brij Gopal Gupta in *Careers and Courses*, monthly for October, 1952, p. 806.

DEFINITION OF ECONOMICS

Whether Economics is to us a subject of thrilling interest or a dismal pseudo-science, depends upon ourselves. If we come to it with liberal minds, seeing what has been definitely accomplished, we find the discussions dull and the conclusions dubious. But if we come to think of man's long struggle to master his own fate, then the effort to solve economic problems, seems a vital episode in human history. And the future of economics, the question whether man will ever succeed in establishing a serviceable science of economic behaviour, becomes one of the crucial issues on which hangs the doubtful fate of human kind.³

Gandhiji regarded economics as indivisible from political, legal, social and other such aspects of life. For all these aspects of life are not really separate from one another. A man is not merely an economic machine or a political animal or a legal unit; nor is he any one of these at single point or time. He is all these things at one and the same time and all the time. Economics, in his opinion, could not be considered in isolation from the multi-sided facets of the prism of life since all these aspects have something without which life is incomplete and the conclusions are unreliable.

"I must confess," he declares, "that I do not draw a sharp or any distinction between economics and ethics. Economics that hurts the moral wellbeing of an individual or a nation is immoral and therefore sinful. Thus the economics that permits one country to prey upon another is immoral. It is sinful to buy and use articles made by sweated labour."⁴

In this he is in that long line of philosophers right from Jesus Christ and Shri Krishna in ancient times up to Carlyle and Ruskin in recent times, who have preferred welfare to price and morals to money.

His definition of economics is unique and characteristic. For him economics is neither "a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life" (Marshall); nor "the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses" (Robbins). He differs from Prof. Cannan's aim of Economics as "the explanation of the general causes on which the material welfare of human beings depends." He considers Prof. Pigou's economic courtyard consisting of "that part of social welfare that can be brought directly or indirectly into relation with the measuring rod of money," too qualified and too small. For him the best political economy is care and culture of man—a combination (both horizontal and vertical) of individualism, socialism and idealism—one that will admonish its own mischief.

THE OBJECT OF ECONOMICS

Here we are confronted with the fundamental question of the object of political economy. Right from Adam Smith up to Robbins, the classical economists have

held that Economics is the pure science of money and hence it is to be divorced from all other sciences. In their zeal to maintain the purity of their science the classicists have ardently fought against any attempt of co-ordination of economics with equally important sciences of religion, sociology, law and ethics. Perhaps Senior best stated their viewpoint defining political economy as "the science which treats of the Nature, the Production and the Distribution of Wealth;"⁵ wealth being defined as scarce material goods, having the power of satisfying wants. But it made no difference whether the goods were beneficial or harmful. The science of economics was to be perfectly neutral. Rigidly carried out this concept requires the economist to be entirely indifferent to the ethical quality of a given demand. Thus Cairnes holds that "the science is neutral, as between social schemes in this important sense. It pronounces no judgement on the worthiness or the desirability of the ends aimed at in such systems."⁶ With characteristic frankness, H. J. Davenport reveals that

"Peruna, Hop Bitters, obscene literature, indecent paintings, picture hats and corsets are wealth, irrespective of any ethical or conventional test, to which they may or may not conform. Being marketable, price-bearing, they are wealth. So likewise of service, in no sense is economic productivity a matter of piety or of merit or of social deserving."⁷

After being told authoritatively by Prof. Davenport that obscene literature and indecent painting also constitute wealth, no wonder that the perplexed layman turns over the pages of the dictionary to brush up his knowledge of English, only to find to his dismay that the word wealth has been derived from the root 'weal'—meaning prosperity and wellbeing!

HUMANITARIAN ECONOMICS

The first broadside against the classical economists was fired by Sismondi, the father of the Critical School, who declared that the real object of the science should be man or at least the physical wellbeing of man. To consider wealth in itself and to forget man was a sure way of making a false start.⁸ Then followed the Romanticists, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin and J. A. Hobson in England and H. D. Thoreau in America. "Both in definition of the elements of wealth, and in the statement of the laws which govern its distribution, modern political economy has been absolutely incompetent or absolutely false"—declares Ruskin in the Preface to *Munera Pulveris*. Thoreau, the American philosopher, summed up his idea of social good in restricting material wants to the simple things in life—simple food, simple clothing and simple shelter plus plenty of leisure to philosophise. Instead of

5. W. N. Senior: *Political Economy*, p. 6.

6. J. E. Cairnes: *The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy*, p. 37.

7. H. J. Davenport: *Economics of Enterprise*, p. 126.

8. Gide & Rist: *History of Economic Doctrines*, p. 177.

3. "The Prospect of Economics" by Wesley C. Mitchell in *Tugwell's Trends of Economics*, p. 3.

4. Y. I., 13th October, 1921, p. 325.

this idea America was building up a false set of social standards :

"We worship not the graces—but Fashion," cries Thoreau, "the head-monkey in Paris puts on a traveller's cap and all the monkeys in America do the same."⁹

In Ruskin's Essay "Ad Valorem" one comes across the magnificent Peroration : "I desire to leave this one fact clearly stated. There is no wealth but life; Life, including its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of happy human beings; that man is richest, who having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal and by means of possessions over the life of others."¹⁰

Gandhiji's viewpoint regarding economics is very akin to the above. For him life is more than money and hence "that economics which disregards the moral and sentimental considerations, is like wax-works that being life-like, still lacks the life of the living flesh."¹¹ He thinks that

"That Economics is untrue which ignores and disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international trade."¹²

It may be pointed out here that the concept of such 'human economics' is not an out-dated romanticist fad. Pigou and Marshall, though essentially classicists and revelling in abstractions, had to treat economics from the point of view of human welfare. The most ultra-modern American Institutionalists following the lead given by Auguste Comte, started, what is popularly known as the 'Positivist' movement in Economics. They are welfare economists and hold that economics and ethics cannot be separated into two independent fields. As Albert B. Wolfe writes :

"Economics as the science of production, distribution and use of opportunity or of wealth and services, is essentially a science of means and ends. But ethics is also fundamentally, perhaps we should say, the science of means and ends; of their relative value and significance and their mutual functional relations. If there is a disagreement between economics and ethical valuations, one or the other is at fault. The economist's avowed reluctance to consider ethical or social value is an error of judgment, for human attitudes and human activity, the narrowly economic included, involve the adaptation of means to aims, ends, and purposes."¹³

Similarly Gandhiji discussing the relation of ethics and economics clearly indicates this 'Positivist' spirit :

"The religious principle requires that the debit and credit side of one's balance sheet should be perfectly square. That is also the truest economics and

therefore true religion. Whenever there is any discrepancy between these, it spells bad economics, and makes for unrighteousness . . . But the majority of mankind do not understand this use of economics to subserve religion; they want it only for amassing 'profits' for themselves. Humanitarian economics, on the other hand, for which I stand," Gandhiji declares, "rules out profits altogether."¹⁴

The inclusion of human values in his scheme of things is one of the characteristics not only of Gandhiji's economics but of his whole philosophy. An economics based on human values is a sure and effective challenge to this world where money and profit are the sole considerations. Callous exploitation, tragic unemployment and 'sweated labour' are common occurrences in the reign of the almighty dollar. The West has tended to emphasise the ideal of material progress above everything else. The value of an individual is often judged in terms of bank balances, in terms of what he *has* rather than what he *is*. Human values are thus commercialised. Everyone talks of his rights than his duties. Honesty is only the best *policy*. As Prof. Kumarappa bitterly points out :

"The factory workers might be made into minced meat, but the machinery of meat-packers of Chicago could not be stopped to save the life of a labourer."¹⁵

To counteract such callous and immoral disregard of humanity, the ideal of human economics, Gandhiji declares thus :

"Khaddar economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of human factors. The former concerns itself with the human."¹⁶

It would indeed be a happy day for the world at large when we subserve economic behaviour to ethical considerations. We must admit the truth of the contention of the Archbishop of Canterbury that "Industry and Economic activity are not ends in themselves to be pursued without reference to the main ends of human society or by methods inconsistent with it."¹⁷ We must realise that the satisfaction of man's material needs which is the function of industry, ought to be ennobled by the spiritual purpose to which it contributes. Mere materialism would not pay. In spiritualism lies the fate of this dismal globe, where too much of materialism has led us to our never-ending conflicts. The principles of simplicity and non-violence as applied to economic life seem to be quixotic to an ultra-modern-mercurial world of today which intoxicated by its own genius is heading towards the path of destruction and ruin. Historian Toynbee has stated that twenty-one human civilizations known to history have gone down and if we do not turn our back to the precipice by adopting Gandhian principles ours will be the twenty-second. There is basic material for sober reflection by the destiny-holders of the world because his prescription is based upon eternal values which were the same yesterday, today and for ever.

9. H. D. Thoreau : *Walden or Life in the Woods*, p. 156.

10. John Ruskin : *Unto the Last*, p. 156.

11. *Y. I.*, October 27, 1924, p. 344.

12. *Ibid.*, December 26, 1924, p. 421.

13. "Functional Economics" by Albert Benedict Wolfe from R. G. Tugwell's *The Trend of Economics*,

14. *Y. I.*, 1927, p. 316.

15. J. C. Kumarappa : *Why the Village Movement*, p. 10.

16. *Harijan*, 10th December, 1938.

17. The Archbishop of Canterbury : *Christianity and the Industrial Problem*, p. 10.

BASIC EDUCATION AND CHILD WELFARE

By MARJORIE SYKES,

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha

THE members of an international conference in our times come literally from all over the world. The so-called "advanced" countries are represented side by side with the so-called "backward" countries, "rich" countries alongside "poor" countries. The delegates, both in their personal and in their representative capacities visualise the subjects under discussion in widely different settings—social, economic, cultural and religious. It is likely that almost every individual member of this child welfare conference has a different picture at the back of his mind of the actual children whose welfare he seeks. The children of Manchester and of Madras, of a farmstead in Canada and a village in Kenya, differ in many ways much more fundamentally than their costume and their physical features and colour. Yet if there were no common bond at all, no interests shared, an international conference of this nature would have no meaning. One of its main tasks is surely to define common concerns and to see how the experience of workers in a number of different local settings can be pooled to enrich the whole.

DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

Public discussion of a national education policy for India was stimulated by the Congress Party's acceptance of ministerial office in the Provincial Governments in 1937. The educational conference, on whose initiative the objectives, principles, and methods of Basic Education were first tentatively defined, met to confer with Gandhiji at Wardha in October, 1937. The report of the Zakir Hussain Committee which was then set up was endorsed by the Haripura session of the Congress in February, 1938, and the Hindustani Talimi Sangh was brought into being in order to implement it. I quote from the resolutions of the Conference:

1. That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.
2. That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.
3. That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.
4. That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

Briefly outlined the development of the work has been as follows: During the years 1938-40 work began

in basic schools planned for the age group 7-14, in Sevagram village and also in a number of Provinces under Government and private auspices. During the political crisis of 1940-42 however almost all these experiments came to an end with the exception of the group of Government schools in Bihar and the Sevagram School, which carried on with difficulty in very disturbed conditions until the end of 1944, when a new phase began with Gandhiji's release from jail.

In January 1945, after an interval of nearly four years, an All-India Basic Education Conference met at Sevagram. Its work and findings were inspired by the new vision and conviction which Gandhiji had reached after long thought during his imprisonment. The title chosen for the conference report, *Samagra Nai Talim*, is an indication of the nature and scope of this vision. Already in 1937, the Zakir Hussain Committee had made it clear that it recognised the importance in education of the first seven years of life, but that its specific plans were limited to what might be immediately possible. In 1945, the thought of the conference was focussed on two main issues:

1. That the principles which were proving their worth in the education of school children must and should be widened and applied to an educational programme covering the whole span of human life in all its aspects. It must be education for, through and throughout life.

2. That this *Nai Talim* (new education), as Gandhiji preferred to call his plan, was bound up with a new conception of the way in which society should develop; it was seen as the means to the establishment in India of a new and juster social order within whose framework a richer individual and community life would be brought within the reach of every citizen.

Neither of these issues was new to the workers; they had been raised and included in the report of the 1937 Conference. But from 1945 onwards they were embodied in new experimental work. Adult education was taken up, also the education of the pre-school child; plans were made for the adolescent period of life and in 1947-48, the first "Post-Basic" classes were started in Sevagram and Bihar. As a result of these experiences working syllabuses and plans of work have been drawn up for covering the education of parents in the home and of children of all ages from birth to eighteen. 1952 has seen the first beginnings of experimental work on *Nai Talim* principles at the University level.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

The whole of this programme of education is based on a conviction that it is possible, in Gandhiji's

words, to give "a true education, which draws out and stimulates the spiritual, intellectual, and physical faculties of the children" by means of work in a productive craft for the satisfaction of one or more of the primary needs of human life. The work must be productive and useful, or it will not be fully satisfying to the child's emotional and social nature; it must be a social undertaking done in co-operation with others, or it cannot be done properly at all; and it must be thorough, honest, and intelligently planned, if it is to stimulate the intellectual faculties and train the character.

The crafts which have been used most successfully as the centre of the work programme are gardening leading to agriculture, card-board work leading to carpentry and metal work and, most of all, the entire process of cotton manufacture from the growing of cotton to the weaving and dyeing of the finished cloth. Side by side with this major centre of education schools stress the importance of a similar intelligent practice of life activities, such as programmes of sanitation, health, and the planning and the preparation of food. The co-operative life of the school also expresses itself naturally in the observance of the social, national, seasonal and religious festivals by means of which the child's imagination and social understanding is strengthened and deepened.

The development of this type of education in India has been governed at every point by considerations of the primary needs of the Indian nation. The picture in Gandhiji's mind and in the minds of his co-workers has been that of the Indian villages with their under-nourished, poverty-stricken populations, whose local crafts and social traditions are being slowly crushed out of existence by the impact of an alien civilisation and of political and economic policies, which take no account of the welfare of the primary producer. Gandhiji's social and economic teaching cannot be understood, his educational teaching cannot be understood, unless they are both seen as the outcome of his concern for the oppressed and his search for a way of truth and non-violence in social life, which would restore to them the possibility of self-respect and of true welfare. He found this message in the gospel of work and self-reliance, and he applied these principles to the teaching of children side by side with the training of adults.

AIMS AND METHODS

Let us translate this ideal into concrete terms. Child welfare in *Nai Talim* must begin with Adult Education. "All the time and money spent on child education is liable to be completely wasted if the parents of the children do not understand their responsibility for the welfare of their offspring. It is the parents who must provide the child with a happy home, meet his daily needs, look after his health and comfort and guide his moral and spiritual develop-

ment. All parents are educators whether they are conscious of it or not. Their all-pervading influence determines the direction of the child's development in the all-important years of early childhood. The education of the parents is therefore the first step in the education of the child." Adult education in *Nai Talim* does not mean first and foremost the removal of illiteracy; it means the training of village adults to enable them to provide better food, cleaner and more hygienic houses, healthy and more sufficient clothing for themselves and their children. It also means the inculcation of habits of personal cleanliness which will then be passed on to their children, and habits of social co-operation in the village community by which the children's social outlook will be moulded for good. The means of this adult education are the actual work of the villager and his daily needs and problems, his water supply, his drainage, his panchayat, his quarrels and his social and religious customs. For the village woman, education must begin with the daily round of work in her own home and show how for the sake of her children every item of it can be improved.

It follows from this that the education of a pre-school child in *Nai Talim* begins at home and centres throughout the child's home. In early childhood the child is inseparable from his home and surroundings. The school building is less important than the teacher's contact with children in their families and at their games in the village streets. The pre-basic school is less a school than a community centre for parents and children where the older children for a few hours each day work and play under the guidance of the teacher, learn how to help each other, acquire standards of personal cleanliness and self-reliance in meeting their daily needs, and then with the teacher's help carry this knowledge back to their homes. The equipment tools and playthings of a pre-basic school are in harmony with the life of the village of which the school is a part. They consist of things that can be made in the village by the villagers with local materials, and their educational value depends not upon their costliness but upon the intelligent way in which they are planned and used. The children's delight in imitation of the real work of its parents, digging, sweeping, vegetable cutting, cooking, watering the garden, is given full play as it is in the Montessori system of child education. The ideal is that the village schools should be such as the village community could build and equip for its own children out of its own resources, thus carrying out in this field also the principle of self-reliance and self-respect. Expensive material equipment such as is sometimes provided in city "Montessori" schools is out of place in our villages, where such training must and can be given by simpler and more natural means. The principles of self-reliance,

and of harmonious interaction between the development of the school and the development of the whole village community, are of greater educational importance than an abundance of material equipment.

The syllabuses of pre-basic, basic and post-basic education are built step by step, upon these foundations. It is not necessary to go into detail here; they are all centred in the provision of urgently needed goods and services, and directed to the building up of self-sufficient co-operative communities of work in which the personal talents of every individual will be developed and used. They are integrated programmes covering every aspect of rural community living, and they are based on the premise that education is for the good of all alike, not for the personal aggrandisement of a few. This in itself justifies the name "New Education" (*Nai Talim*) for the spirit of the conventional education which India has so far undergone is a spirit of personal privilege. Education for village boys has nearly always meant an escape from the problems of the village into a privileged individual position. The goal of *Nai Talim* (New Education) is identification with the life of the community for the development and enrichment of the whole.

THE INTERNATIONAL VALUE OF NAI TALIM

Basic Education was designed as education for a nation of village communities, and planned in detail for Indian village children. It is obvious that many of its detailed programmes are not for export. One is bound to ask, however, whether it has anything to contribute to the discussion of child welfare on an international level. I believe that the answer is "Yes."

In saying this I am not thinking specially of the emphasis placed upon co-operative, useful work in the educational programme. This is happily a feature of modern methods of child education throughout the world, and the nursery schools, the Montessori schools and kindergartens, and activity schools of many different kinds, are in this way recognizing and catering for a fundamental need of child nature as such. The great importance of approaching the child not as an isolated individual but as a member of a family group, a living social organism, is now also widely recognized. The distinctive contribution of *Nai Talim* lies elsewhere—it lies in the content we give to the word "welfare."

The philosophy of Basic Education is a vigorous protest against the assumption that "welfare" must be synonymous with national abundance. Perhaps more than any other system, it gives a major place to work for the supply of material needs, believes that such work is potentially the most powerful educational instrument in the world, and yet at the same time it believes with equal conviction that "man does not live by bread alone" and that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things that he possesses."

This is not a contradiction, it is a natural consequence of the motivation of work not by personal greed but by the service of the whole group. Neither child nor man can ever find true welfare or lasting satisfaction if he measures his wants and his achievements by materialist standards alone. Welfare surely must be measured by the power to achieve personal happiness and serenity, and for these things social and emotional satisfaction are of far greater importance than material abundance. The highest intellectual, artistic and spiritual development of man is possible in great simplicity of material possession; it may well be that it can be strangled by excess as surely as it can be stunted by privation. Delight in simple things, a glad acceptance of a very moderate standard of material living, is an essential of true welfare. If we are really concerned with the welfare of the whole world family of children, this is the only practicable as well as the only right way to attain it. Let us beware of the glib phrase "raise the standard of living," and ask ourselves what it really implies.

The second contribution that Basic Education has to make is closely related to this. It is of little use to adopt in the schools the methods and ideas which have been described, unless one is striving at one and the same time to refashion society on lines consistent with these ideals. A distinguished American educator on a visit to Sevagram somewhat ruefully commented that American schools all too often labour to develop the co-operative spirit, and at the same time to qualify the children to "make good" in a competitive "go-getting" society outside. Those who are concerned with the welfare of children cannot escape the responsibility to think out the implications of their concern for society as a whole, to take their decision and to act on it. It is calculated that something like 6 million children, destitute, uprooted, torn from the security of the family group, deprived of affection and robbed of any chance of stable growth, are today the victims of our national greeds, suspicions, hatreds and wars. They are the most tragic and horrifying casualty of all. This is what we do to the helpless and innocent by our failure to take seriously the greed and injustice of our common ways of living. *Nai Talim* declares that a just and peaceful society is possible and attainable by the ways that Gandhiji and his followers have described and worked for. Instead of dismissing them as "escapist attempts to put the clock back," our situation demands that we give them the most serious consideration. In *Nai Talim* education and social work are not separable: the social consequences cannot be ignored. Child welfare is a part of the welfare of the whole human race, and the one cannot be achieved on a world scale without the other.*

* Paper presented to the International Study Conference on Child Welfare, Bombay, 5-12 December, 1952.

EMPLOYMENT, MORE EMPLOYMENT !

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

It is but proper that the problem of employment is now being given the foremost place in all our schemes of national planning. It is one of the main directive principles of our Constitution that "the citizens have the right to an adequate means of livelihood." It is, therefore, a constitutional obligation on the part of the Government to provide gainful employment to every able-bodied citizen of India. We are glad to notice that the Government of India and the Planning Commission have recognised the urgency of the problem and have placed before the public certain schemes for finding more avenues of employment in the country. Instead of always talking of unemployment in negative terms, we prefer to discuss various points relating to the positive aspect of providing more employment to the wholly unemployed or partially employed people of India. We also deprecate the tendency on behalf of certain political parties in the country to exploit even a common problem of this nature for political or party purposes. The programme to observe the Independence Anniversary as "Anti-Unemployment Day" was, to say the least, unbecoming of any political party. Although we ourselves have been critical of the achievements of the Government and desire that the pace of progress in the economic sphere should be quickened a great deal, we are convinced that it is unpatriotic to under-rate our successes and observe the Anniversary of our Freedom as a Black Day. Our achievements in various fields of national progress compare favourably with those of any country in the world. But we do not desire to rest on our oars; the Congress and the Governments are fully alive to the economic problems and are determined to do their best to solve them to the best of their ability.

The Planning Commission have circulated to the State Governments an Eleven-Point Programme for combating Unemployment in the country. This programme includes the provision of adequate assistance to the establishment of small industries and businesses, the training of technical personnel, development of road transport, slum clearance schemes and the construction of houses for the low-income groups in urban areas, and the setting-up of work and training camps for re-orienting the outlook of the educated classes. This programme is meant to be a short-term measure and should, therefore, be judged as such. It can provide certain "first-aid" steps to save the unemployment situation from worsening further. In

order to plan for full employment, as a long-term measure, the Government will have to think of certain radical changes in its educational, industrial and commercial policies. Merely trimming the leaves and pruning the branches will not serve as a lasting remedy to the deep-seated malady of an under-developed country like India. We will have to adopt and execute a bold policy of industrial decentralisation throughout the countryside in order to absorb the idle labour-power in the rural as well as urban areas. We are not against large-scale industries as such; our basic or key enterprises will have to be on a big scale. But the consumer goods industries like textiles, oil-extraction, paper-making, flour-grinding, rice-husking, *gur*-making, etc., will have to be organised on a small-scale or cottage basis so that every citizen of the country may be able to find fruitful avenues of productive work and employment. All further expansion of large-scale consumer goods industries, therefore, must stop: processes of excessive mechanisation or rationalization should also be rigidly controlled by the State in order to save the people from being thrown out of employment still further. The Government must also demarcate categories of commodities to be produced by the large-scale, small-scale, and cottage industries respectively. In these days of national planning it would be short-sighted and even suicidal to allow the large-scale and small-scale enterprises to enter into unfair competition with each other for the survival of the fittest. This old doctrine of *laissez faire* is now dead as dodo and the Government of India must provide the fullest scope for the speedy development of small business and industry in India with courage and conviction. To try to solve the problem of fuller employment by expanding big business is like ploughing the sands. At present all the large-scale establishments in the country employ only about 3 million people with a total investment of approximately 1,200 crores of rupees. Where is the money for further investment in the large-scale sector in order to absorb a substantial portion of surplus labour in India? And even if we are able to find the money where are the markets to purchase these mill-made goods? Conquering markets in foreign countries through Imperialist methods is out of the question, and purchasing power within the country could be increased only by organising fuller employment to millions of people through decentralised industrialisation. The Government has,

of course, accepted this policy in the Five-Year Plan. But we are not yet in a position to say that there are any visible signs of the implementation of this policy.

The Commercial policy of imports and exports also needs further examination from the standpoint of providing fuller employment to the masses through the development of new industries in India. It is not an inspiring sight to see most of the New Delhi shops full of foreign articles at a time when we are seriously planning to build up the economic structure of our country by undertaking ambitious schemes of industrialisation. It is true that the people should imbibe the spirit of Swadeshi and patronise home-made goods. It is also true that the Indian manufacturers should take special care to improve the quality of their products and should not try to misuse the spirit of Swadeshi among the poor consumers. It is, however, equally necessary that the Government of India should once again scrutinise the long list of articles which are still allowed to be imported from foreign lands. It is argued that a few consumer goods are allowed to be imported so that the quality of goods may not go down. It is an argument which fails to carry conviction. If the Indian producers are given a wider scope of selling their goods, more manufacturers will enter into production in accordance with the well-known economic laws and mutual competition would tend to push up the quality of products. We see absolutely no reason why consumer goods like second-hand clothes, bottled and canned fruits and vegetables, crockery, biscuits and cakes and confectionary, artificial silk fabrics, handloom and book-binding cloth, hosiery and toilet goods, etc., are still being imported by us. We have also allowed a number of foreign firms to run consumer goods industries within the country with the result that our own industries with wholly Indian capital have suffered a serious set-back. In this connection, the Government should review the working of foreign-owned units in the manufacture of soaps, chocolates, fountain-pen inks, tooth-brushes and pastes; cold drinks like Coca-cola, etc. The Store Purchase Policy of the Union and State Governments also requires radical changes with a view to patronising Indian-made and specially cottage-made products even though they may be costlier in the beginning.

Above all, our educational policy must undergo

far-reaching changes. We welcome the scheme of the Ministry of Education to open a large number of one-teacher schools in the rural areas to absorb thousands of the educated unemployed youngmen in India. But is this enough? What about the ever-growing number of matriculates and graduates that still continue to be manufactured every year by the existing type of schools and colleges. The number of passes in the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. and B.Sc. examinations during 1949-50 was 2,78,400. In 1951-52, the figure had swollen to 3,74,900. In Uttar Pradesh alone the number of students passing the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations was 1,50,000 in 1952; in 1953, it had increased to 2,59,000. What is the Ministry of Education doing to stop this rising flood of educated boys and girls in our country? The present type of schools and colleges imparting the so-called liberal education have had their day: they must now cease to be. It is almost a crime against society to permit their expansion further. Our new educational institutions should be in the nature of occupational institutes or Polytechnics which prepare our boys and girls for specific vocations in life. There should be the closest co-ordination and integration between our educational and industrial programmes. The Government or the Planning Commission must indicate from time to time the types of courses for which there is likely to be a growing demand for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. Admissions to various technical courses will then be adjusted and regulated accordingly by the educational institutions and the guardians. Although education is a State subject under the present Constitution, the Ministry of Education can do a lot to revolutionize the existing system of education which is wholly unsuited to the vital needs of the nation. It is, of course, risky to try to move too fast; but the risk in not moving fast enough is also a potential danger to the new type of democracy in this ancient land of ours.

Gandhiji had told us that to a poor and hungry man God could appear only in the form of bread or a bowl of rice. To millions of our unemployed countrymen, the National Plan can have some meaning only if it gives them work and bread. Instead of asking for "Light, more Light," they want us to provide them with Employment, more Employment.



YUGOSLAVIA SHAPES HER DESTINY

Welcome to Her "Good Will Mission"

By AJIT KUMAR BOSE

New Yugoslavia has been successful in drawing world's attention towards her. The reception that was accorded to the recent Yugoslav "Good Will Mission" clearly indicates India's lively interest in her.

Yugoslavia is the land of the South (Yug) Slavs. It consists of six Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia and is the largest country in the Balkans having 16 million population covering one lakh square miles. There are four main languages—Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian—which, though similar to each other, have distinctive qualities.

Yugoslavia is surrounded by Austria and three Soviet countries from the north up to the east—Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, by Greece and Albania on the south, by Adriatic Sea from south up to the west and by Trieste on the west. She is rich in natural resources and beauties—rivers, forests, mountains, oil, minerals, ores, etc.—sufficient for her developments in industry and agriculture.

The ancestors of the Yugoslavs were inhabitants of the Carpathian Mountains situated in the north. They began to settle in the Balkans in the 6th century. Since the 8th century there developed the Slav civilization which reached its peak in the 13th century.

But subsequent centuries were the days of decline and darkness. The riches of the lands allured foreigners to invade. The Turks invaded Serbia, one of the strongest States. Of course, Serbians resisted fiercely, but they were ultimately defeated and their country fell in the hands of the invaders in 1389. Their invasion continued for long 500 years and the patriotic Slavs did nowhere yield without fighting. As a result, the Turks took a century to conquer Bosnia (in 1463) and Herzegovina (in 1483) and no further they could advance. During the rest of their long domination the Turks could not rule peacefully; they had to face resistance in various forms within their conquered territory even. Thus, of course, the Turks could be prevented from penetrating further ahead, permitting the rest of Europe to develop. Besides, Yugoslavia was invaded from the north by the Austrians and the Hungarians who also occupied some parts. Italy had also an eye on the Dalmatian Coast always.

In spite of these the South Slavs retained their individuality and cultural identity, and the Montenegrins, who could never be conquered, were a constant source of inspiration for patriotism. While powerful movement for the unity of the Slavs was growing

stronger, various forms of resistance, including guerilla fighting, developed in the 16th century. Since the early part of the 19th century and onward, fight for independence had been gathering momentum. In 1804, Serbia revolted successfully. But it was only after World War I that Yugoslavia became completely independent of the Turks and of the Austro-Hungarian imperialism as well.

But political independence brought no change in the day-to-day life of the people; for the most part their lives remained hard. Despite her great natural resources Yugoslavia remained one of the poorest nations in Europe. Illiteracy was high, average span of life was very low and want of employment was widespread. Yugoslavia was mainly a source of raw materials at cheaper rates for the foreigners. On the other hand, of the total capital invested in industries, whatever Yugoslavia had, foreign shares were 92 per cent in cotton mills, 100 per cent in matches, copper, lead and bauxite, 70 per cent in merchant shipping, 76 per cent in sugar and 55 per cent in coal. Workers' conditions were far below human level. The Monarchy in the country, subservient to the greedy foreign investors, was impotent to solve the basic problems.

Three-fourths of Yugoslavia was agricultural, cultivation being carried on old methods by impoverished peasants. The rich peasants and the big land-owners, who made up only 5 per cent of the population, held majority of the lands. Almost half a million were landless workers and the share-croppers were also of an equal number.

Consequently, during the period between the two World Wars, a strong movement to transform the Government of the country and its economic structure for the benefit of the people developed. The Yugoslav Communist Party affiliated to the then Comintern, took the leading part under the Moscow-trained leaders like Marshal Tito. Other radical political parties and individuals, students, trade unionists, etc., joined them and formed the People's Front ultimately to fight the fascist invaders.

In the meantime, after the Moscow-Berlin non-aggression pact of alliance, Nazi-Fascist Governments began to trample one country after another till the whole of the West Europe and Balkans, excepting Yugoslavia, went under the heels of Germany and Italy within a very short period. Despondency overtook the world. The war was then on the point of taking a turn.

As stated, Hitler planned to attack Russia on

May 15th. As a prelude to that attack, on March 25, 1941, the Royal Government of Yugoslavia signed a pact of alliance with the fascist powers in Vienna and thus surrendered the country's independence. But, on 27th March, the people rose in protest; they wanted no truck with the fascists. Belgrade's streets rang with the cries: "Better war than Pact," "Better death than Slavery!" The Royal Government was overthrown and the pact was repudiated, though, of course, U.S.S.R. and the Comintern were then acting as faithful allies of the fascist aggressors.

On April 16th, 300 German bombers swooped down on Belgrade, the Capital of Yugoslavia, leaving behind them more than 25,000 dead and a ruined city. The war against Yugoslavia began on a full scale with invading armies attacking not only from Germany and Italy, but from their satellites Hungary and Bulgaria as well. Thus attack on Russia was delayed, preventing Hitler's army from reaching the gates of Moscow before winter set in. Undoubtedly it was of tremendous help to Russia.

Yugoslav people continued to fight, guerilla resistance spread everywhere. Before the end of 1941, there were 41,000 partisans, fighting at first with farm implements and such arms as they could capture from the enemies. Their number had increased to 400,000 by 1944 and by 1945 the guerillas were transformed into the regular Army of National Liberation with 800,000 partisans. As a result, Germany was forced to keep more than a million men to fight the Yugoslavs. Thus the fighters against fascists in other fronts, including Russian, were amply helped. By 1944, the Yugoslav National Army liberated three-fourths of their country mainly with their own efforts.

No help was given to Marshal Tito and his forces at the first instance. Instead, the disguised collaborators of the Germans like Mehailovick were given assistance. At last however, the Liberation Army was recognised. After suffering and sacrifice the fighters for Yugoslav freedom came out successful.

But unfortunately, Marshal Tito and his forces were cursed by the U.S.S.R. and its satellites as collaborators and "agents" of Anglo-American powers, though subsequently, by the force of events, they also fell in line with the allied powers and dissolved the Comintern at the dictates of the same Anglo-American powers.

The South Slavs are now united under one banner, the banner of the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia. A new social order has been established on a new economic and political structure. But the foundation of this republic was laid in the midst of the war. The new state was created step by step as village after village and city after city were liberated, by electing Peoples' Committees. Thus the basis of the Peoples' Government was formed, with powers to administrate and manage the entire

economic, social and cultural affairs of the respective locality. Late in 1942, the representatives of these Peoples' Committee met and formed the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia, the AVNOJ, which again met on 29th November, 1942, in the Bosnian Mountains. In this meeting a Provisional Government was formed—the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia—and a programme was adopted calling for broad social reforms and a government organised on federative principles.

On November 11th, 1945, after liberation, a Constituent Assembly was elected by secret ballot. On the 29th, this body proclaimed the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia. After two months' discussion, on 31st January, 1946, the Constitution of Yugoslavia was adopted and the Constituent Assembly became the first regular National Assembly, which would be elected by popular votes every four years. The second Assembly was elected on March 26th, 1950.

The National Assembly, the supreme body of State authority in Yugoslavia is composed of two houses, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities, having a Presidium and the administrative agent. Each of the constituent republics has its own Assembly and Presidium. The Executive branch of the government is headed by the Prime Minister. Both are appointed and recalled by the respective Assembly.

As provided, at the meetings of the Peoples' Committee reports on current progress are made and plans for the future formulated. Local citizens are allowed to attend such meetings. They may discuss and criticise the members of the Committee openly in the public and have the right to demand explanations and pass judgments on the Committee's works. Unsatisfactory members may be removed by the people at any time. In 1949, there were 8104 village committees with a total membership of 119,804. They are helped by hundreds of thousands of members of different councils. Thus the common people of Yugoslavia participate in the political life and day-to-day social activities of the country.

Apart from trade unions, which are free to look into the interests of the workers, workers' councils are elected to participate in the management of industries. At least three-fourths of their members must be workers. In 1950, these councils were given more powers. Thus the Federal Government, in direct contrast to the Soviet bureaucratic centralism and State directorate, is divesting itself of the direct control of the major share of the country's economy and industry.

Yugoslavia adheres closely to the Charter of the United Nations and firmly believes that its principles are the only guide to enduring peace. She stands to fight for equal relations between all countries and

rejects the unjust policy of dividing the world into "spheres of influence" by the big powers. For this reason she refuses to join any contending power blocks and condemns the Soviet-sponsored idea of "five-power peace pact" which is nothing but recognition of the big powers' right to dominate over the weak and under-developed countries.

In addition to the miserable conditions and backwardness that persisted through centuries, the effect of the war on Yugoslavia was thoroughly devastating. According to the statistics of the Paris Reparation Conference, Yugoslavia had 1,706,000 casualties in the war, or about one-third of the total losses of the 18 major allied countries and the damages amount to 9.1 milliard dollars, or 17 per cent of the total damages suffered by those countries. In fact, every ninth person was killed and every three of the rest were physically invalidated and about 3.5 millions rendered homeless. Moreover, 24 per cent of orchards, 38 per cent of vineyards, 67 per cent of horses, 35 per cent of cattle, 63 per cent of sheep, 58 per cent of hogs, 50 per cent of railway trackage, 289,000 farms and most of the mines, factories and electric plants were damaged.

But parallel with the progress of the liberation struggle, the Liberation Army, with the Peoples' Committees, by the close of 1941, began to rebuild the areas freed from occupation. Since the close of 1944, full attention was directed towards reconstruction. Peasants got lands and powers through their committees and worked with the fullest enthusiasm, while the workers vigorously devoted themselves to production and various economic rehabilitations of the country. Due to their untiring efforts and sacrifice production soon attained the pre-war level, alleviating the effects of the havoc wrought by the invaders. The Constitution provides for national ownership, or control whenever necessary, of industry, banking, communications, foreign trade, etc.

In 1947, the first Five-Year Plan sets, *inter alia*, the following main tasks: The national income was to be raised from 132 milliards in 1939 to 235 milliards in 1951, *viz.*, an increase of 93 per cent and the value of industrial production was to be raised from 203 milliards in 1939 to 336 milliards in 1951, *viz.*, an increase of 180 per cent.

Trade Unions and Workers' Councils played a very significant part in executing the Plan. Want of workers, technicians, engineers, etc., was not insurmountable to the determination of the people. New hands were trained and efficiency developed. Results were remarkable. Here are some instances in the main branches of industry:

	1939	1947	1949	1950
	Index	Per cent	of production	
Coal	100	157	342	265
Lead and Zinc	100	181	330	479
Iron and Steel	100	167	260	290
l.o.l.	100	...	6260	...

In other industries of Electric powers, Chemicals, Building materials, Timber, Paper, Textiles, Leather and Foot-wear, Rubber, Food, Tobacco, Film, etc., production increased on an average from 23.6 in 1946 to 46.1, 70.8 and 82.6 in 1947, 1948 and 1949 respectively. Moreover, motors, tractors, electrical machineries, generators, etc., are also being manufactured. Various important items that were never produced in Yugoslavia before war emerged from her new factories. In the spheres of Railways and trackage, Roads, Communication, Transport, etc., progress has been equally rapid. Side by side, new buildings and cities are being constructed.

In the sector of public welfare, provisions have been made for social insurance, pensions and medical aids including medicines and sanitariums, protection to mothers and children, conquering diseases and illiteracy, etc., which is, in reality, being enjoyed by the nation as a whole. The Constitution makes the State responsible for the protection and nurture of children and provides for free and compulsory elementary education for seven years. About 80 per cent of the students in higher education receive monetary aids from the Government. The expectant mothers receive increased facilities in every respect before and after child-birth. She also receives extra money from the Government when the baby is born.

Unemployment has been eliminated. In fact, Yugoslavia's problem is shortage of workers and not want of work or unemployment.

In respect of agriculture, arrangements have been made for training the peasants and guiding them through the State farms elaborately. Co-operative farming is encouraged. It is voluntary and co-operators remain owners of their lands. The co-operative movement in Yugoslavia was started in 1945 with only 31 societies; by April 1950, the number had grown to about 7,000, involving over 350,000 families and covering, together with the State farms, about 26 per cent of the country's arable lands. Arrangements have been made to manufacture agricultural machineries for which factories are working. Construction of dams for hydro-electric power and irrigation have been taken up.

In short, Yugoslavia's progress, within only seven years, is all-round and unparalleled in history.

On the contrary, in the case of the U.S.S.R., the entire first post-revolution decade was a decade of failure and intense suffering, famine, starvation and deaths for the people. Production in industry declined, while in agriculture, it came down to 50 million tons in 1920 as compared to pre-war years when the average harvest was of 80 million tons. As measures against such all-round deterioration and discontent, USSR had to fall back and take up "New Economic Policy," encouraging private enterprise. Foreign helps were accepted including American help and the foreign policy was so formulated as to encourage

foreign helps. On the other hand, machineries of repression and suppression were let loose; terror, mass-scale murder and concentration in slave labour camps in the name of "socialism" and "revolution" became the order of the day.

But still the brave leaders of Yugoslavia are condemned by the Soviet Bloc as "traitors to the people," as "agents of Anglo-America." Like "Trotskyism," "Titoism" has become a word for abuse in the Soviet vocabulary.

In June, 1948, the Cominform expelled the Yugoslav Communist Party which was its member since its inception. The Cominform called upon the Communist Parties all over the world and the Communists of Yugoslavia in particular to unite and overthrow the Tito Government.

In essence, the whole issue boiled down to a Soviet attempt to stop the industrialisation of Yugoslavia, in particular the Five-Year Plan, which began to gather momentum. Moscow had planned for agrarian satellites whose varied and extensive resources would make cheap sources of raw materials for Soviet factories.

Because of the importance of trade to the success of the Plan, the Cominform instituted its *economic blockade*, which was the Soviet answer to Yugoslavia's determination to maintain her independence and develop her economy on her own way. Prior to that 60 per cent of Yugoslavia's trade was carried on with the Cominform countries.

But the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and her government refused to be intimidated, as she refused during the war. In spite of continued political pressure, diplomatic incidents, border provocations, unceasing propaganda and economic blockade, the people of Yugoslavia have remained unshaken and stepped up the tempo.

Recently very bold steps have been taken towards further democratisation and decentralisation of power, both political and economic. From base to the national level the formation of councils of workers has been provided in the country's constitution. Only the workers directly engaged in the process of production are entitled to be elected in these councils. In the levels of legislation they constitute the third House of Representatives and no budget can be effective unless it is passed by this House. And in the production level at the base the entire authority of the management of the factories—authority of employment and dismissal and drawing up of plans and budgets, etc.—has been transferred to the respec-

tive councils. Thus the authority of disbursement of surplus values, the only measure-stick of Socialism, is now in the hands of the actual workers. Whereas, in the Soviet Union and countries within its grip, it is entirely in the hands of the all-powerful Soviet Government of the Communist Party, membership of which is strictly restricted and scrutinised by the ruling group.

As regards the party structure in the popular level, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is no longer a political party; it has now been transformed into a cultural organisation so to say. It will not run any candidate in the country's elections. It will only preach the basic principle of Socialism. A broad-based Socialist platform has been created to facilitate proper and open discussions on political and various other national issues to determine the course of action. The people of Yugoslavia, having faith in the independence and sovereignty of their motherland and Socialism, irrespective of their various shades of opinion, may unite under this political organisation—the 'Yugoslav Socialist League.' Members are free to differ and discuss openly to build up public opinion. Undoubtedly, it is a step forward towards the establishment of democratic rights of the people—steps new, bold and encouraging enough as against the systems prevailing in the rest of the world, including U.S.S.R., America, etc.

Evidently, therefore, new Yugoslavia is a source of newer inspiration for the suppressed nations in their struggle for emancipation, while for the newly independent under-developed countries she indicates a definite line of action for progress, prosperity and strength.

But it should not be forgotten after all that alike in Soviet Russia, there is no right of association in Yugoslavia. Excepting under the Socialist League of Yugoslavia, the Constitution of the country provides no right for the people to organise, or to be organised under, any political party. It is one of the few fundamental questions relating to the basic rights of man. On it depends the ultimate security of the individual and of the nation as well, nay, of the whole human society. At present, of course, there are great differences with Russia in the nature of Yugoslavia's working out her plans, which helps the people, as reported, to develop initiative and free judgment. Let us hope that Yugoslavia will ultimately be able to lead the suppressed people of the world in their fight for collective well-being and individual freedom as well.



SAGA OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

By PROF. DIP CHAND VERMA, M.A.

I

THE career of Napoleon Bonaparte has been a fascinating subject for biographers. Historians have dealt with it from diverse angles. But even today the name of Napoleon not only arouses interest but grips the imagination. Goethe typically summed up the reactions on the minds of most readers when he said:

"The story of Napoleon produces on me an impression like that produced by the Revelation of Saint John the Divine. We all feel there must be something more in it, but we do not know what."

It is likely that for all time to come the genius of Napoleon will remain controversial, hard to define, provoking but delusive, beyond real grasp. Napoleon was not only the representative man of his age—his life was a running commentary on the great revolutionary period of which he was the product—but succeeding generations have been left bewildered at his truly amazing career. The dilemma however remains unresolved, the dilemma of his miraculous success and no less disastrous failure. Both in the magnitude of his success and the tragedy of his fall, Napoleon remains to date an enigmatic figure, defying the meticulous labours of historians and research scholars to solve the riddle.

II

The broad facts of Napoleon's life are easily told. He was born as second son to Charles Bonaparte in the town of Ajaccio in the small island of Corsica, on the 15th August, 1769. His father at one time adjutant to the Corsican hero Paoli, though of a noble descent, was of a flippant disposition. Napoleon seems to have inherited all his 'great qualities' from his mother who was a very remarkable woman. Madame Letizia gave birth to eight children, five sons and three daughters. They are known to history by the simple incidence of their being related as brothers and sisters to the colossus that in his day shook the world. More through accident than design Napoleon got admitted at the military school at Brienne and after a year's training at the Paris Cadets School, he became a lieutenant at 16. His first attempts were to capture power in his own homeland Corsica, alternatively by joining hands with Paoli against the French and later by siding with the French Government against Paoli. Both attempts were unsuccessful and nearly ruined the Bonaparte family. Napoleon's own position was rendered most precarious and he was driven to such straits as pawning his watch and at one time actually thought of suicide.

He got associated with the Jacobins which was the rising faction but the death through guillotine of the elder Robespierre sent the young Napoleon also to jail for a short period but was saved as the charges were not substantiated.

Napoleon steps into history by his part in the siege of Toulon. This is Napoleon's first victory although he is not the official commander. The real opportunity comes when he is offered the command of the army of Italy which puts him on the world-stage as it were to play the great part. For a score of years from this day onward, he rises higher and higher reaching a pinnacle with few historical precedents, suggesting comparisons to celebrated names like Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, almost within reach of world-power and then suddenly the meteoric career is snapped. Napoleon is devoured by the forces he himself produced. He awakened to the danger when it was too late.

What are the landmarks in his great career? He engaged during his short and busy life in nearly sixty pitched engagements. Some of his battles mark him out as the greatest strategist and captain of all time. His military genius remains to date unrivalled and unsurpassed. Napoleon not only conquered nearly the whole of Europe and ruled a larger part of it for a dozen years but was actually on way to world conquest and just missed it.

Marengo, Lodi, Arcola, Austerlitz, Wagram, Jena and a dozen other places scattered over Europe and Asia reaching the far-flung steppes of Russia and the far-off deserts of Egypt—these are a testimony if a testimony is needed to the military genius of Napoleon.

Original and in a way incomparable as Napoleon appears as commander, his real greatness consists in the imagination with which he remoulded the age, rightly called the 'Napoleonic Era.' As consul and Emperor, administrator, diplomat, reformer and law-giver, Napoleon looms large in world-history. Code-Napoleon continues not only to be the basis of the judicial system and social institutions of France but has influenced the growth of law and government in all lands that came directly or indirectly under his rule.

Napoleon's career was possible mainly because of the age in which he lived. He was the son of the Revolution. He created order out of the chaos in which France was thrown by the revolution of 1789.

As first Consul his record is not only unblemished but admirable. He brings about important changes in the internal administration of France, modernizes her agricultural and industrial systems, directs the revolution to constructive channels and above all makes repeated attempts to give peace to Europe. Napoleon is so far fighting defensive wars. The revolutionary ideas which the First Consul symbolises in his person are a standing dread to the world of Legitimacy and the European rulers spurn all his approaches. Partly to stabilize his own position and partly to appease and disarm the hereditary kings of Europe, Napoleon himself dons the crown and becomes Emperor. No body is deceived. He is still regarded symbolizing the dreaded revolution. He attempts to dominate Europe by raising his own brothers, relatives and marshals to thrones carved out of conquered territories. His first thoughts had been to follow in the footsteps of Alexander the Great and establish an Empire in the East, in India and had conquered Egypt as a half-way house. This was frustrated by the destruction of the fleet at Aboukir-bay. His next thought was to restore the Western Empire with himself as the chief potentate. He succeeded to a great extent but the destruction of the grand army in the Russian campaign gave the first mortal blow from which Napoleon never recovered. The campaigns of 1813 and 1814 were again fought in the old style and there were several opportunities for honourable compromise but till the last Napoleon thought that he could undo the reverse and regain the lost position. After the Dresden defeat, he could have retained France for himself with 1793 frontiers but he thought it more honourable to step down from the Imperial throne rather than give up his conquests. After a brief stay at Elba to which place he was confined by the allies Napoleon returned to France once again to rule for another 100 days. This return from Elba is a most astounding performance even for Napoleon whose whole career runs like a ballad. So great is the awe inspired by his very name that the Bourbons who had come in the baggage of the foreign rulers, escape once again across the channel and the romantic hero occupies Paris amidst the ovations of the people to play the final part in the great saga. Immediately on assumption of the Imperial office once again he liberalized the constitution giving it a democratic and parliamentary form and issued appeals to his enemies to leave him in peace so that he might complete his life-work interrupted by his defeat in 1814. So great is the distrust and fear amongst the allies that almost in a panic they outlaw him and prepare for his final overthrow. His own father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria and his wife Marie Louise—who had already sullied herself by her scandalous conduct—are a party to his outlawry. Napoleon wants to repeat his performances of twenty years ago when he took the world by storm by his brilliant campaigns in Italy

and once again plans in his masterly style to defeat each enemy separately before they have time to prepare. His first strokes are successful. He defeats and annihilates Blucher but is overcome and finally crushed at Waterloo because he is not able to attack Wellington in time, his orders are not given in his usual crystal-clear style, leaving so much to his subordinates in which they bungle and finally he calls the National Guard too late, when his main army has already been routed. Discouraged but not wholly disheartened he rushes back to Paris and appeals to the French people whom he has loved so much to rally to him once again and help in driving away the enemy. His brothers and some of his devoted friends rally round him but the enemies he had left behind in Foch and Talleyrand, his erstwhile employees, have already undermined his position and they subtly work for his downfall. He is still popular with the masses; the soldiers are as devoted to him at this hour of defeat as they were at moments of his most glorious victories but his generals and marshals on whom he showered so many favours are unwilling to risk their positions and some of them actually betray him. Marmont, one of his earliest comrades, who rose with the Emperor, proves to be the greatest traitor and is responsible for the final rejection by the allies of Napoleon or his successors to the French throne. His cause ruined beyond redemption, Napoleon attempts to escape to America. Having wasted too much time he is surrounded by the British navy to which he voluntarily surrenders making an eloquent appeal to Prince Regent for a treatment and asylum worthy of a great and generous foe. While his fate is being decided his ship is anchored in the Plymouth harbour, a great surge of people crowd the coast and when Napoleon appears on the deck spontaneously all heads are uncovered as a mark of reverence. The crowd offer flowers to the defeated hero. This was the great tribute of the British Nation, the general masses, the ordinary people who knew no politics but were instinctively drawn by the true greatness which Napoleon represented. The allies decided on the cruel and hard punishment of exile to the rocky island of St. Helena. Napoleon protested strongly for he was not a prisoner of war and had surrendered voluntarily. For the remaining 6 years of his life which he spent as a prisoner on this forsaken unhealthy place Napoleon busied himself in preparing a record of his great career as he had promised the National Guard while taking leave of them at the time of departure for Elba. The accounts left by the companions who had followed the exiled emperor have helped greatly in reconstructing the great events of his age. Within a few years of the Eagle's death the whole Europe was talking of him and so strong was the revival of the Napoleonic cult in France that the July Monarchy was forced by public opinion to bring back the remains of the Emperor from St. Helena

and over them a grateful people have constructed a noble mausoleum, becoming the hero.

III

What sort of man was Napoleon? What was it that brought him to supreme power? Having achieved this power how did he use it? What was it that he really achieved and left for posterity? Why did his supremacy last for so brief a period? Finally why did he fall? What is the great lesson of his miraculous career?

To these questions we must now turn to size up the man and his work. Physically he was short-statured, with a prominent forehead, bright blue eyes whose glare few could stand and in whose great depths one could have a glimpse of his whole life, a breast soft and padded almost like a woman, thin fine handsome hands impeccably neat, somewhat short legs, and during later years, a tendency towards obesity so that he appeared somewhat fattish. Inside this human dynamo was a will that no human power could bend, a determination that could overcome any obstacles, a mind that worked mathematically like a clock but could soar to great heights; he was a poet and mathematician, a realist and idealist, a man of figures and one whose imagination could penetrate to greatest depths and survey the highest altitudes. Skilled administrator, subtle diplomat, clever negotiator, he was equally at home both on the battlefield and his study. His mind is original and sharp like the edge of the sword, so comprehensive and quick that in a trite he can grasp a situation in its entirety and take final sweeping decisions, essentially constructive and productive. Rightly remarks Goethe:

"So divine an illumination is always linked with youth and productivity, and in very truth, Napoleon was one of the most productive men that ever lived."

His chief traits were imagination, self-confidence and energy, this last almost inexhaustible and super-human. This combination explains his success first in the battlefield and later in politics and diplomacy. He was remarkably modern, rational, just and fair-minded but also had belief amounting to superstition in his own lucky star, his fate and destiny. About Sydney Smith who checked him during the Turkish campaign, he said, "That man made me miss my destiny." At the fall of Moreau, his one time rival and later banished by him to America, who returned to take part in the campaigns of 1813, when Napoleon is meeting with reverses, he exclaimed, "My Star." About his own end, he said, "St. Helena was written in the book of destiny." He confessed that it was luck that brought him to supreme power. His self-confidence helps him to face enemies outnumbering him by 2 to 3 and yet by impromptu combinations he can beat them. When during the Russian disaster he

was asked, who in spite of all would defend him in France, he replied: "My name."

Napoleon's achievements were unique, unparalleled before or since. Just within twenty years, rising from obscure origins under most trying and difficult circumstances, he rose to supreme power in France, conquered nearly the whole of Europe or effectively controlled it, engaged in 60 pitched battles most of which he won against great odds by sheer supremacy of tactics, reformed France out of recognition and left abiding influence over the whole of Europe. In point of military genius the only comparable names are those of Alexander the Great, Hannibal and Julius Cæsar but Napoleon's place is his own, without rivals. He was the greatest man of action ever born. Even in the matter of thought his grasp was amazing. While voyaging enroute to Egypt he was carrying with him the most noted scholars and scientists, a sort of travelling University with him. He held regular debates and meetings and the savants are astounded, for the commander-in-chief interrogates them minutely about their own subjects and seems to know everything. While on board on the "Bellerophon" in custody of the British after defeat the ship captain is greatly surprised by the technical knowledge shown by Bonaparte on naval affairs.

Napoleon was fond of power but not grossly ambitious. He was ambitious because he wanted to do great things and achieve results on a grand scale. "My age has produced nothing great. Let me set an example," he at one time exclaimed. His first aim, after he was set on the path of military glory, was to found an Empire in the East, in India, on the model of Alexander the Great. This was foiled by defeat on the sea but he never completely gave up the idea; till his final break with Alexander, Tsar of Russia, he continued hobnobbing with the plan for the conquest of the East. While invading Russia he was thinking of establishing a common system of Government and institutions thus forestalling all later ideas about the United States of Europe. He was in fact, the forerunner of President Wilson of America as he actually thought of founding the League of Nations. His ideals were good but he attempted to realize them through gross means. He himself admitted the supremacy of these spiritual powers over the physical forces but it was too late to reverse the course of history. Napoleon once said that he would live to be ninety for his work could not be completed in lesser time. But he failed to curb his impatience and craze for speed and ended his active life when he was hardly 45. Napoleon's age lasted very short, but in that brief period he has left behind a blaze of glory and immortality that will last till humanity. Untold generations will read the story of his great deeds and marvel how all that could be achieved by one man single-handed. He was so much ahead of his age and his ideas were so

original and inspired that a careful study of his career will help in tackling the problems presented by the 20th century. Napoleon belongs to the 19th century the main events of which he could foresee but he was so modern that he seems to belong to us, to this age. William M. Sloane, an American historian, remarks in his *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, Vol. II:

"The creative ideas of the revolutionary era with which Napoleon's name is so closely connected are no longer called in question; his own career was now verging to its decline but in his fall the fundamental conceptions of the epoch were firmly established."

Napoleon fought against the system of Legitimacy and his greatest mistake seems to be, to have attempted to appease it or compromise with it. The establishment of the hereditary empire was also a mistake for by these attempts he moved away from the principles of the Revolution of 1789 which made his very career possible. He was careful throughout his life to promote his soldiers and marshals on merit and merit alone but he made exception in the case of his brothers and sisters whom he raised to thrones, which they never deserved. He admitted that this was a mistake and contributed to his downfall. The treaty of Vienna which had imprisoned the son of the Revolution and restored the world of Legitimacy which Bonaparte had torn to shreds, was repudiated by the major developments of the 19th century. Nationalism and Democracy were the dominating forces of the 19th century, and strangely speaking they fed on inspiration received from the Napoleonic era.

IV

"To every man, be he whom ne may

There comes a last happiness and a last day."

So wrote Goethe on Napoleon's fall, whom he had shortly before declared invincible. Nothing lasts for ever in this transient world and at last even a Napoleon is defeated. He could have easily saved the throne for himself by accommodating with the allies in time, he could possibly have saved the Empire itself if he had followed Carnot's advice and declared himself dictator for the emergency and disbanded the legislative bodies which he himself had founded and entrusted with constitutional powers. He refused to do either because the first compromised his honour and the second would have given him a bad name in history. So punctilious was Napoleon about his sense of honour and so sensitive was he about his position in the eyes of posterity that he decided to end his career rather than besmear his name.

Napoleon's end was tragic and the fact that such greatness should have perished under such dismal and

pathetic circumstances is a sad reminder of the vicissitudes of life. Talking to Las Cases, one of his companions at St. Helena, the Emperor reflected:

"Adversity, too, has its heroism and its fame. Had I died on the throne, surrounded by all the emblems of power, I should have remained a riddle to many. Today the wrappings have been stripped from me; thanks to my misfortunes, every one can judge me in my nakedness."

When he hears of plans of his return to France he coldly analyses the situation and comments:

"But what can they hope from my return? That I should again conduct wars? I am too old. That I should seek for fresh glories? I am sated with them . . . It will be much better for my son that I should stay here. If Christ had not died upon the cross, he would not have become the Son of God. My martyrdom will give the crown to my son, if he lives."

Subsequently he says:

"Misfortune has its good side: it teaches us truths . . . For the first time, I am able to contemplate history as a philosopher."

Finally he confesses:

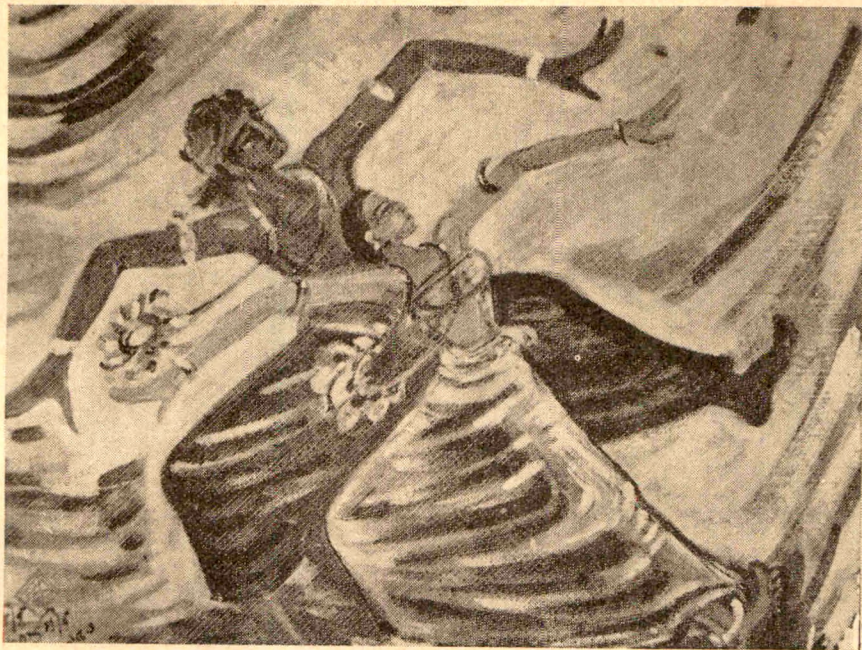
"No one but myself can be blamed for my fall. I have been my own greatest enemy, the cause of my own disastrous fate."

And, "I wanted too much . . . I strung the bow too tightly, and trusted too much in my good fortune."

Reviewing his whole career in a flash as it were he explained to Las Cases:

"Every future historian will have to allow me my share . . . Facts speak for themselves. I closed up the chasm of anarchy, and put an end to chaos. I cleansed the revolution from the filth it had accumulated, I ennobled the peoples, I stabilised the thrones. I encouraged all those who had talents, rewarded every merit, and widened the boundaries of fame and glory . . . Could not historians protect me against many grave charges? If I am accused of despotism, they can claim that dictatorship was necessary in the circumstances. Is it freedom I attacked? They can answer that anarchy was still threatening on our very threshold. Love of War? I was never the aggressor. Striving for world domination? This arose accidentally, because of the conditions of the time. Too ambitious? Yes, true indeed. But my ambition was of the sublimest: to found the kingdom of reason, with full development and unrestricted enjoyment of all the human faculties. The historian may deplore that such ambition could not wholly attain its goal." "There, my dear fellow," he concludes, "in a few words, you have my entire story."

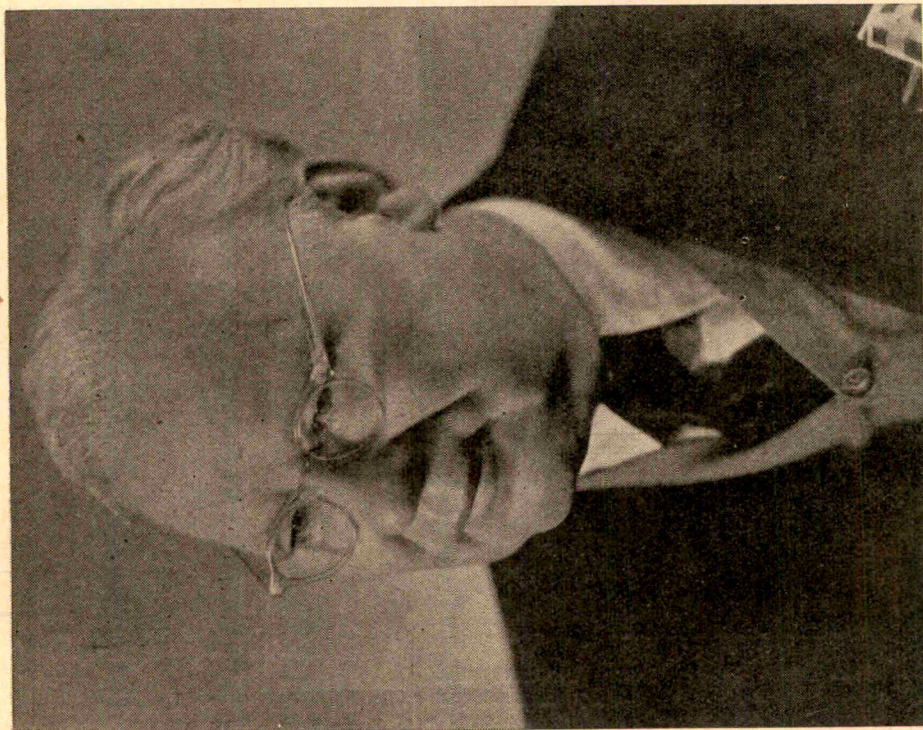
So the mighty Napoleon passes into legend and the saga of his great deeds would continue to be narrated in countless ways to the ends of the world and when credits and debits have been balanced on the immortal ledger of history, all would marvel that such a one as this ever existed.



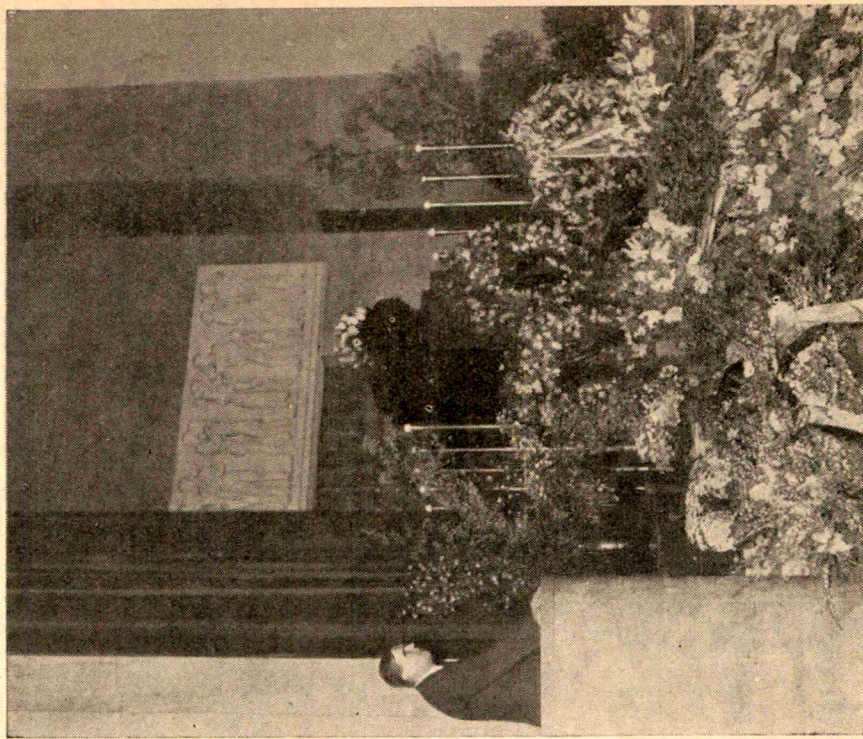
Dancers
By S. Khastgir



Old refugee
By S. Khastgir



Prof. Vincenc Lesny



Prof. Lesny's last journey. Dr. Prusek, present director of the Oriental Institute in Prague, delivering a speech

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Two

CHANGING THE VEHICLE OF PATRIOTIC SERVICE

[Specially written for *The Modern Review*]

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

IV*

THE staircase seemed to be moving. The whole of it. How? By some invisible mechanism. All one had to do was to plant the feet on the nearest step, stay there till the landing above was reached and then get off. There was no climbing, step by step. No effort was involved.

Way back in the early years of this century, when my eyes first lighted upon this contrivance on the Pacific coast of the United States of America, it impressed me as being a marvel of applied science. A little later, when moving staircases were installed in some of the Underground Railway ("Tube") stations in London, I noticed that boys and men—and a few women—were not content with being carried up without physical effort on their part, but that, to save time, or to use up a little of the abounding energy within them, or perhaps unable to resist the temptation to show off, they jumped from step to step and arrived at the top earlier than diffident slow-coaches like myself.

To Syama Prasad Mookerjee came, almost as an item of his inheritance, the moving staircase of educational administration. Hardly had he passed out of the University portals when he, without ado, planted his feet on the step that came near him without any exertion upon his part. This, as stated in the preceding article, was his election in May, 1924, to the Syndicate.

Had he been of a phlegmatic temperament he would have stood quietly upon it, sure in the knowledge that he would be carried right up to the top. Being dynamic—I use the word designedly and in preference to "ambitious"—he would not let the mechanism that he was confident, worked noiselessly, faultlessly, carry him, in its own time, to be the Vice-Chancellor. By dint of his own motive-power he jumped up and up and, in 1934, to the surprise of those

who had not rightly assessed his character and capacity, he, at 33, was installed as the chief administrator of his Alma Mater.

But—and that but is important—this was not the only hoist that he fancied or that to him was accessible—easily accessible. There was a lift (or elevator, in American phraseology) in addition to the educational moving staircase. It led into the legislature.

Some urge, some impulse within him, made him enter this lift in 1929, while he was only a syndic of the University. By a trick of Fate (shall I say?) it carried him into the "upper house," while the "lower house" more or less monopolised such power as Britons, noted for their possessive propensities, passed on to it. In the circumstance of the day the Council, as it was designated, was not a very important or influential organ. It nevertheless provided opportunities—opportunities for self-expression and possibly for patriotic service.

The Congress, in behalf of which he had stood and had been elected by the University, decided, the very next year, to non-co-operate with the "Satanic Government." It called out the legislators. Syama had his doubts about the move: but he, without question or delay, resigned. Having satisfied his sense of honour, he stood as an independent and was re-elected to the Council.

In 1937, while well into his second term of office as Vice-Chancellor, a new chapter opened in his life. Elections were held under the Government of India Act of 1935. He stood from the University constituency for the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Even in the spring of that year, when he began throwing tendrils round my heart, he was using this legislative lift without giving up the moving staircase of educational administration. As I indicated in the preceding article, a tumult seemed to me, however, to be raging in his breast. With this I purpose to deal now in some detail.

It was caused by the mental conflict over

* The section numbers run on with those in Article One, printed in the September, 1953 number of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

the mode and means of his service to the country. Was he to continue to devote himself more or less exclusively to managing the affairs of the University, or was he largely to concentrate his attention upon the political sphere? Or was he, in the figure I used in the beginning of this article, to have one foot on the moving staircase and the other in the lift?

What would be best for the people? That was the question he seemed to be pondering at the moment.

As I discerned from the outset, his thoughts were not at all for himself—but all for them. How could he conserve freedom in jeopardy—how could he make his maximum contribution to the country's welfare? By going on much as he had been going, or . . . ?

It was evident that he could not occupy the Vice-Chancellor's chair for ever and a day. At the moment of which I am writing he was coming towards the end of his second term of office. When he vacated it he would no doubt continue to supervise and to develop the Post-Graduate studies. That was the lever of the greatest potency. So long as he could operate it he could render invaluable service to the University and through it to the people of Bengal.

But he was greatly dissatisfied with the way things were going in the country. Only recently a new craftsman had voyaged to India and had taken his place at the imperialist loom in Delhi. The Marquis of Linlithgow had come to it with a pattern in his hand. That pattern was largely of his own design. It had taken shape when he was the Chairman of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 1935.

One portion of the federal structure had come into being. Under it Syama had been elected to (what may, in the circumstance of that day, be termed) the people's house. The other had, however, been marred by the Earl Willingdon, who, not long before, had quit functioning at that loom of destiny. So at least his successor must have thought.

The Rajas were supposed to have accepted Federation. There were murmurs—rumours. Nobody in his senses expected, however, that when the hour struck any member of that exalted order would have the temerity to shun the parliamentary parlour specially provided for them.

Much to everybody's surprise the Jam Sahab of Jamnagar—the famous cricketer "Ranji"—had openly refused to knuckle under.

The revolt had taken place at an open session of the Prince's Chamber—the "Narendra Mandal," in the phrase of that Maharaja of Alwar who had been broken by that very noble Lord.

As a consequence, the accession of the "Princes of India" to the Union as settled by the Linlithgow Fourteen, could not be quietly secured through the vote of the Chamber. The new Viceroy hoped that, despite his immediate predecessor's bungling, he may be able to persuade the Rajas to change their minds. "Ranji" had died within a few days of the tussle in that Chamber and, as everyone thought then, as a direct consequence of the insult his proud spirit could not bear. That was true enough. The revolt had not seemingly died with him.

Linlithgow had, however, the supremest faith in his skill as a political angler, particularly because he had it in his power to manufacture bait that, in his view, none of their Highnesses would be able to resist. Disillusionment lurked round the corner.

According to the imperialists' calculations, the coming of the Rajas into the Federation was the surest way by which the British could avowedly give away power and yet, in reality, retain it. Weightage had been claimed by the representatives of the Princely Order as their price for entering the proposed union. It had been conceded to them by the spokesman for what then was called British India in contradistinction to Indian India or India of the Rajas.* This weightage, coupled with the mutable legislators that are to be found in any assembly in the world, would enable the Britons who pulled the strings, to defeat any move that they may deem dangerous to their monopoly. It is contended on authority that seems to be indisputable that "Ranji" defied Willingdon because he would be no party to the eternal enslaving, through this device, of his brethren of British India.

Important as the gilt strand was for the completion of the pattern Lord Linlithgow was weaving at the imperial loom set up in the Viceroy's House (as the magnificent pile was then, with British modesty, called) at New Delhi, there were other threads that would serve his purpose equally or nearly as well. There was, for instance, Mohamed Ali Jinnah's Muslim League, with its ramifications all over India.

* See my book *The King's Indian Allies: The Rajas and Their India*, (Sampson Low, London, 1915).

Bengal that then absorbed Syama Prasad Mookerjee's energies, though, in his thoughts, there was plenty of room for the broader issues affecting the Motherland, had become the hotbed of separatist activities. These had been whipped up, sometimes with scandalous flagrance but generally under the rose, by Britons placed astride the Province and their bureaucrats.

This had been going on for decades. Sorely tried by the Bengalis, the Earl (later the Marquis) Curzon had hacked it into two in 1905. Rallied for his bias against the Hindus, Bamfylde Fuller, while ruling the newly constituted East Bengal with the Muslims predominant in its population, likened himself to a man with two wives, who favoured now one, now the other. To still agitation the two Bengals were reunited in 1911, but India's capital was removed from Calcutta to Delhi and the western districts, rich in coal, iron, manganese and other minerals, were lopped off.

Disparate increase in the population had, in time, placed the Muslims in a small numerical majority even in united Bengal. Though inferior in education and wealth, this majority, petted by officials and secretly working in concert with them and unashamedly backed up by the vested British interests, acquired dominance. To any one who had the eyes to see, this combination of alien imperialists and Indian separatists constituted a terrible menace to Indian nationalism and even honest, decent administration. Such was the case in the 'thirties when I returned to the Motherland from my protracted world wanderings and soon after Syama Prasad Mookerjee formed a deep attachment for me.

As he surveyed Bengal, in which, save for 20 months or so, he had lived since birth, he was sick at heart. His eye lighted on none who had the character, courage and wit effectively to counter these anti-national tendencies. In this event, he felt that it would be wrong for him to go on hugging the life that had given him, in his early manhood, position, power and no small opportunity to hasten the pace of progress, and to refrain from doing what lay in him to fight down these evils.

It would be wrong to say that he was sucked into politics. No. His choice was deliberate. It was made with much searching of heart. This not because he would have to give up something certain for something uncertain. He did not have any doubt that he would succeed in the political sphere as he had done

in the educational one. Success or failure, in fact, did not matter to him. Not personally. His concern was only that he must not hang back when the call of duty rang in his ears—call from the mother in anguish at the misdeeds plotted and perpetrated by an unholy alliance of indigenous and alien forces. And he did not.

V

During the brief few years when the educational administrator was turning into the political crusader, I saw or heard from him at fairly frequent intervals. Three things about him impressed me most during this period, his

- (1) love of the University and concern for its steady, accelerated advancement;
- (2) anxiety about our civil liberties and determination that he should leave nothing undone to defeat the destroyers of freedom; and
- (3) longing for keeping green his father's memory, particularly through an imaginatively written memoir of that illustrious parent.

In a letter that he indited in his bold, legible writing from the Senate House, Calcutta, on March 18, 1937, he had this to say about "our students":

"We shall be delighted to welcome you here during your visit to Calcutta. We are however closing for Easter holidays and it would be convenient if you came here early in April . . .

"You must keep one afternoon free for us. I would like you to give a short address to our students. I would also like you to go round the different University buildings, which we may do one morning."

How clean-cut were his ideas and how openly, tersely he expressed his wishes! As I drew these conclusions my glance fell upon the seal in the left-hand, top corner of the stiffish sheet upon which he had written. Between the words "Calcutta University" and "Advancement of Learning" there was the "*Dieu Et Mon Droit*" device with its ever so familiar British Crown interposed between a rearing lion and a steed—ever so familiar and yet ever reminiscent of our psychological as well as our political subordination. At sight of it trooped into my mind episodes connected with our long-drawn-out struggle to shake off the shackles put upon our intellect, just about a century earlier, by Macaulayan casuistry spun to serve the slaving intent of an imperialising Governor-General—the Lord William Bentinck. A shadow was cast athwart these recollections of the expunging, at the behest of petty-minded separatists, of certain emblems and words from the University seal, though they had come out of the crucible of our culture, old—old, yet ever new. I could

visualise the difficulties bred by prejudice masquerading as religion that Syama, in administering the University, must have been encountering.

What joy would it be for me to be taken round the various faculties by a man who was almost born in the University and who, in addition to being its Vice-Chancellor, was President of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Sciences! I could not help feeling, too, that, to borrow the phrase from the railway-man's cant, the point had been set that would take Syama's coach from the educational to the political track. Of this I wished to learn from his own lips.

While Syama was taking me round the University I casually mentioned to him the desire to revisit Chandernagore. Since I had been taken there previously, during one of my 1921-23 visits to Calcutta, by a young Chandernagorean who was an artist to his finger-tips, I had spent a whole year on the Continent, mostly among French-speaking peoples. This had made me all the keener to peer, if possible, into the minds of our countrymen in French tutelage.

I had barely gone back to my "palace on wheels" at Howrah Station when the Professor who taught French at the University called and handed me this missive from Syama, again in his own hand:

"This letter will be taken to you by Mr. Chandra who has very kindly arranged for your visit to Chandernagore. I hope you will enjoy your trip."†

I never have had, anywhere in the world, half so capable and considerate a guide as Mr. Chandra proved to be. He took me home after a long interview with the Administrator and showing me the sights and there his kindly wife, who had come from Calcutta specially for the purpose, had spread a luncheon fit for a king.

Syama fell seriously ill soon after my pilgrimage to the University. I use the word "pilgrimage" advisedly: for most of the men who helped me to mould my mind way back in the concluding quarter of the XIX century

came out of that temple of learning. Northern and North-western India owes to it an irredeemable and ineffaceable intellectual debt.

When Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I returned to our "Suryasthanam" in Dehra Dun after our next visit to Calcutta, I wrote to Syama:

"It was a great disappointment to Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me that we could not see you during our last visit to Calcutta. Brief as it was, I enquired over the telephone more than once about your health and was told that no visitors were permitted. Gurusadai Dutt,* who called on me and with whom we subsequently dined, told me that he, too, had not been permitted to enter your room.

"Pray relieve our anxiety by letting us have a line to assure us that you have been restored to normalcy. We are very fond of you, not only because you are your father's son and he was very good to us, but also because you are you—because of your affectionate nature and your intencness upon forwarding Bengal's—and India's—cause. We expect great things from you, educationally and politically, and we hope that you will not be prodigal with your physical vitality, as, I am afraid, you are inclined to be . . ."

By return of post came his reply:

"Thanks very much for your kind letter. I am much better now. I am sorry to have missed you when you were in Calcutta last time. With best wishes to you, both. . ."

This assurance was reinforced by his hand-writing, as firm and clear as ever. Though he gave no indication in this letter, he must have noticed that in my view he had entered the political field—for good. At that time I hoped that he would be able also to go on with his educational work; but as we shall see, politics proved to be a jealous mistress, admitting no rival.

[Article Three will appear in the November issue of *The Modern Review*].

* At that time the most senior Indian Civilian in the Presidency, holding one of the highest appointments in the Bengal Administration. I knew him from his early manhood. Born in an humble home, he, mainly through his exertions and through the loving, efficient co-operation of his highly educated wife, Srimati Saroj Nalini Dutt, herself the daughter of a pioneer Indian Civilian, had made his way in the world. Yet he never forget the woes and welfare of the lowly. He helped his wife to build up a magnificent institution for serving women and children and himself tried to regenerate the youth of India through his Brattachari drills and camps. Possessing a keen sense of artistic perception, he further sought to revive folk-songs, folk-dances and the crafts and arts of rural Bengal.

† Letter dated Dehra Dun. U.P., September 26, 1937.

§ Letter is dated 28.9.37, but bears no address—no doubt 77 Asutosh Mookerjee Road.

† This letter was dated 23.4.37 and bore the address, 77, Asutosh Mookerjee Road, Calcutta.



TAXATION STRUCTURE OF INDIA

Problems Before the Taxation Enquiry Commission

By SURESH PRASAD NIYOGI, F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

In the economy of every modern capitalist country taxes play a very important role. In fact, taxation structure is the corner-stone upon which the fiscal edifice stands. This is because every modern State has to undertake welfare activities which require adequate finance. Moreover, in modern times taxes play a very important role in eliminating disparities in the distribution of wealth. Even in the economy of Socialist Russia, which is based on the principle of equitable distribution of wealth the importance of taxes could not be washed out altogether. The problem also assumes special importance in our country particularly at this dawn of planning era. For, finance, the ever-dreaded nightmare to all developmental activities in any under-developed country, is now a puzzling problem before us. On the satisfactory solution of this financial handicap depends much of the success to be achieved in treading the unfamiliar path of the mixed economy.

When to meet the increased war expenditure and other expenditures of immediate nature due to the partition of the country, the Government was introducing new taxation measures, the need for appointing a Taxation Enquiry Committee was felt. It may be pointed out that in 1924 a Taxation Enquiry Committee was appointed in this country for the first time. After that in 1935 an Income-tax Enquiry Committee was appointed. Due to the excessive profits made during the war when tax-evasions were on the increase, an Income Tax evasion committee was appointed. Dr. John Mathai as Finance Minister first spoke of appointing a new taxation enquiry committee. His proposal had the enthusiastic support of informed opinion throughout the country. Our present Finance Minister in his last budget speech announced the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Commission with Dr. John Mathai as chairman. The present Commission have to make recommendations with regard to the modifications required in the system. In particular, the Commission have to examine the incidence of taxation on different classes of people and in different states and to consider the tax system in relation to the objective of reducing economic inequalities. They have also to consider the bearing of the structure and level of income taxation on capital formation in dealing with inflationary and deflationary situations. Finally, the Commission have to examine the suitability of the tax system as a whole with reference to the resources required for the country's development programme and to suggest, if necessary, fresh avenues of taxation.

In analysing the taxation structure of a country we should know first of all: (i) How far the taxation

structure is effective, (ii) How far it can effect production and enterprise, and (iii) How far it is effective in redistributing wealth in the country. It appears from an examination of all these criteria that unlike the tax system of some other countries the only object of the Indian tax system is the production of revenue. No attempt is made here to remove or modify, through its system of public finance, the inequalities that exist in the distribution of wealth among the different classes of society.

Our Central and State Governments in framing their budgets do not professedly adhere to any of the current theories of the apportionment of taxation. As a matter of fact, however, so far as the income-tax is concerned, they have definitely accepted the principle of progressive taxation.

It can categorically be asserted that the Indian tax system is not unitary, i.e., it does not make any reliance on single tax. It rather inclines to the opposite extreme, viz., the multiple tax system. For, the taxes are collected from a fairly large variety of sources.

Just like all other modern countries India also has a mixed tax structure composed of both direct and indirect taxes. The land revenue and the assessed taxes are direct whereas the customs and excise duties are indirect. Opium revenue partakes more of the character of profit from commercial transactions than of a tax. It must be remembered in this connection that it is hardly possible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between direct and indirect taxes.

Empirically it has been found that the tax structure of a country is more or less fixed. Mrs. Hicks opines that except in the wake of a revolution it takes years to switch over from a commodity tax structure to an income-tax economy. A study of the history of taxation in capitalist countries shows three distinct trends: first, swing-away from indirect taxes to direct taxes, secondly, return from direct taxes to indirect taxes and finally, swing-away towards direct and indirect taxes. A careful examination, however, reveals that the Indian tax structure has a strong bias for commodity taxes. Recent history of the Indian tax structure is marked by two broad movements—the one is a swing-away from the commodity taxes and the other a return to the commodity taxes.

During World War I, direct taxes amounted for a very small proportion of the total tax revenue. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924 came to the conclusion that the total burden of taxation was not oppressive on any particular class but its distribution was unequal. So it affected the poorer section of the

people proportionately more than the richer classes. This will be evident from the table given below:

<i>Heads of revenue</i>	Burden on the rich	Burden on the poor
Customs	20	21
Land Revenue	20½	21½
Railways	33	60
Municipal	3	10
District Board	—	10
Income-tax	20	Nil

(K. T. Shah's figures)

The actual incidence was Rs. 6-1-8 pies per head in 1922 according to the calculation of Sir Purusottamdas Thakurdas and it came down to Rs. 4-12-11 in 1937-38 according to the Government of India.

But since World War II, drastic changes have taken place in our tax structure and direct taxes have become an important item in it. The following table gives the position:

	In crores					
	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1946-47
Total direct taxes	44.48	86.32	129.91	192.21	180.25	162.06
Indirect taxes	122.52	118.28	150.91	204.83	260.72	278.06
Total revenue	167.00	204.63	280.80	397.05	440.98	431.66
Per cent of direct tax to total tax	26.3%	42%	46.3%	48.3%	40.8%	37.5%

From the figures given above it appears that in 1938-39 the contribution made by direct taxes constituted nearly 22.6 per cent of the revenue of the Government of India. Due to the exigencies of war the increasing need for tax revenue led to a rise in the rates of direct taxes that accounted for a considerably large proportion of the total revenue in 1944-45 (i.e., 68-per cent). It was about 48 per cent of the total tax revenue. This increasing importance of direct taxes may be ascribed to political reasons as well as economic reasons such as the difficulty of balancing the budget. During the War years the balance decidedly tilted in favour of direct taxes and this led to some economists' approbation. Some were of opinion that the importance of income-tax was commendable on the ground of distribution and maximisation of welfare as well as from the standpoint of productivity. The late Mr. N. R. Sarkar in presenting the West Bengal Budget for 1950 made a plea for moving the income-tax much higher. The combined effective rate of income tax and super-tax on incomes over Rs. 30 lakhs was nearly 85.7 per cent while in the U.S.A. the maximum combined rate was 77 per cent. In India, a man with an income of Rs. 1 lakh had to pay 48.2 per cent in tax, whereas in the U.S.A. a man with an income of \$1 lakh had to pay 45.64, provided the assessee was married and had only 2 children. Mr. Sarkar made a plea for the reduction of income tax rates mainly with an eye to stimulating investment and attracting foreign capital. As a matter

of fact, countries with economies comparable to ours (Canada, Australia, etc.) have reduced their rates of income tax in the post-war period. In Australia there has been a 23 per cent reduction in this respect with 67 per cent tax on the highest slab of income. Canada has also reduced her income tax rates by 16 per cent in 1945.

A comparative statement of revenues of some countries in the world during the post-war period is given below:

	1938-39=100			
	Per cent of			
Country	Growth of Revenue	Income-tax Revenue in 1938-39	In 1948-49	Highest per cent reached in 10 years
U. S. A.	851	43	76	79 (in 1944-45)
Canada	530	28	49	57 (in 1944-45)
South Africa	468	36	42	52
U. K.	405	45	46	59
Australia	373	13	44	54
India	393	22.6	49.7	60.9
New Zealand	...	..	24	48 (44.45)
Ceylon	...	18	21	21

Furthermore, Mr. Sarkar emphasised the need of relating the fiscal policy to the existing state of affairs.

It has been argued by some that a high rate of income tax reduces saving and capital formation and produces a very unfavourable effect on the incentive to invest. The *Eastern Economist* have even argued that a high rate of income tax has actually led to dissaving in India. But on theoretic grounds it may be contended that dissaving should be accompanied by concomitant disinvestment. Mr. Ranganekar has pointed out successfully that no disinvestment has occurred in India at the present time. Therefore, the dissaving thesis so ingeniously brought forward by the *Eastern Economist* cannot but fall to the ground.

That high income tax kills the incentive to invest and leads to dissaving is but one side of the picture. On the other side, however, there are serious considerations which should not be ignored at any rate. A steep graduation of income tax leads to a shift of income from the saving class (high income brackets) to the spending class. Thus with a high propensity to consume nobody can expect that investment will be unfavourably affected. A policy of graduated income tax cum social expenditure will more decidedly give an impetus to the progress of investment.

Furthermore, under the existing situation of inflation one very significant question may be posed in this context: Does not inflation by itself distribute the income in favour of the rentier class? Most certainly it does. Hence, what the Government takes away in the shape of taxes from the high income brackets can be justified.

On the other hand, the slackening of investment in India at present might be ascribed to other reasons as follows:

(1) Investors in post-war years nourish an expectation of profit which stands at unduly high pitch. The earning of war profits has made them too greedy to readily accept the peace-time economic conditions.

(2) In view of the inflationary situation there has been a psychological tendency on the part of the investors to expect future rise of prices. Hence, there has been a tendency towards long-term investments.

(3) The lack of any incentive to invest may also be ascribed to the tug-of-war between the investors and the Government.

(4) The lack of saving may also be due to the prevalence of high prices. Rise of prices increases the propensity to consume with an increasing flight of money towards goods because of the progressive decline in the value of money.

Of course, it cannot be denied that the real burden of income tax in India is much higher due to the presence of widespread evasion. Large-scale evasion is a pointer that tax rates are too high.

Now let us turn to the detailed analysis of the budgets. In the beginning of the post-war age we find the priority of indirect taxes. In the Rowland Budget of 1945-46, the rates of direct taxes were reduced. After that Janab Liaquat Ali Khan introduced some new direct taxes and of these the capital gains tax may be mentioned. But in later years Mr. Chetty and Mr. Deshmukh, in order to give an incentive to savings and capital formation reduced the rates of direct taxes. The abolition of capital gains tax and business profits tax in the budget of 1949 and 1950 are remarkable facts. The imposition of duty on cotton by Dr. Mathai in 1950 clearly indicated that the trends were towards indirect taxes. Mrs. Hicks opined that in the post-war years, the burden of direct taxes has been considerably reduced as compared to indirect taxes and the high income groups receive much relief. But in the budget of 1951-52, the Finance Minister introduced both direct and indirect taxes. In the colourless budget of 1952-53 we find the shadows of the past budgets. In the budget of 1953-54, income taxes have been reduced but postal rates have been increased. So from these budgets it clearly appears that in the Indian tax structure the importance of both direct and indirect taxes and the scope for new taxes are on the increase.

In the Five-Year Plan we find that out of the total planned investment of Rs. 2,069 crores in the public sector Rs. 738 crores are expected to be available from revenue surplus of the Central and State Governments. The revenue surplus is to be secured by additional taxation and the sources to be tapped for the purpose are higher incomes from land, estate duty, wider coverage and better administration of Sales tax, Betterment tax, Motor Vehicles tax, etc. The financial position of the Central Government is becoming worse day by day. A review of the Central Budget will show that the Centre has been producing deficit budgets for

the last 16-years or so. One way of achieving surplus is to reduce expenditure on civil administration but experience shows that expenditure on this account has been mounting higher and higher since independence. In 1951-52, there was a revenue surplus of 93 crores. In 1953-54, it is a deficit of 140 crores.

But the chronic budget deficit during the last few years, especially in the Budgets of West Bengal and Bihar, have led the authorities to increase taxes; and the taxing capacity has reached the maximum in most of the States leaving no room for new or higher taxation. Now let us take the case of taxes proposed by the Commission. Sales tax in Part A and B States taken together contributed about 14.6 per cent of the total revenue of the States. The yield from this source in course of a few years has increased to about 60 crores which was about 17.24 crores in 1947-48. This is due to the fact that the schedules of exemptions to sales tax have been curtailed and a few more additions have been made in the schedule of taxable items in most of the States, particularly, Bombay, Bihar, West Bengal and Madras. Other taxes contributing to the revenue of the States are, Excise 11.4, Stamp 5.5 and Land Revenue 14.6. The yield from entertainment tax has also increased due to the increase in the rates of the tax in most of the States. The yield from the betting tax has increased in West Bengal and Bombay but declined in U.P. and Madras due to the policy of the Government to discourage betting and gambling. How can this tax be increased?

The average taxation per head in India is very low. By comparing these figures with the relevant figures of countries like Australia, Canada, etc., it is sometimes sought to prove that the burden of taxation is not heavy as is sometimes imagined, that is, there is scope for increasing the taxation on consumption. While it may be accepted that there is some scope for minor readjustments as a whole it may be said to have reached its fullest limit under the existing state of our economy. Comparison between India and other advanced countries is rather misleading, for the general standard of living in these countries is higher and hence the lower income groups in these countries are in a better position to bear higher taxes on consumption.

Again some say that as the proportion of tax revenue to national income tax here is lowest in the world there is ample scope for further taxation. As for example, the Planning Commission has pointed out that in India it is only 7 per cent. The proportion of tax revenue to national income is as high as 35 per cent in U.K., 22 per cent in Australia, 23 per cent in U.S.A. and Japan, 27 per cent in New Zealand, 19 per cent in Canada, 20 per cent in Ceylon, 16 per cent in Egypt, 15.5 per cent in Cuba, 14.4 in Chile, etc., and 14.4 in

Brazil. But in a backward country like India, where a vast majority of people do not have enough money even to get two meals a day, where only less than 8 lakh persons out of a population of 38 crores pay the income tax and where national savings are not more than 5 per cent of the national income, the taxable capacity is much lower. If we take the percentage of taxation to national savings we find that the taxable capacity of the people has almost reached the maximum, that there is no scope for further taxation.

The people are already paying more direct (28 per cent) and indirect taxes than they can possibly afford. If direct taxation is increased and the prices of goods rise the already harassed consumer, who has suffered all the consequences of super-inflation, would not be able to stand the strain. If direct taxation is increased people who pay the income tax would be forced to reduce their savings still further and to contract the output and their effort in industry.

SUGGESTIONS

(1) Since the whole process of direct taxation is unscientific and also gives rise to some anomalies and gaps, the reform of direct taxation is long overdue. Within the same scale the principle of ability to pay is not fully taken account of. Therefore, some sort of allowance on the British model should be provided (e.g., allowance for children, etc.).

(2) Again, the method of income taxation should be extended more and more to the agricultural sector. In fact, agriculture contributes 54 per cent of the national income, but pays only 12 per cent to the Government revenue. If the burden of taxation is properly distributed and if more revenue is derived from agricultural income tax then the burden will not fall so heavily on wage-earners.

(3) The desirability of reimposition of the salt tax may be considered. As it is an old tax the effect of the tax on the payee is not likely to be very much.

(4) Land revenue at present contributes only 8 per cent of the total tax revenue as compared with about 25 per cent in 1939. There is scope for further upward revision of land revenue.

This revision, it is hoped, will yield more revenue to the Government but the reorganisation of the tax system may mean some loss. To quote Prof. P. C. Jain:

"These sources would yield some additional revenue but the much needed rationalisation of the tax structure as between different classes of people and a proper balancing of the direct and indirect taxation would mean some loss of revenue to the Government. It may be possible that if all these changes are made the Government's revenue surplus may increase by a small amount but it can not possibly be expected to fill a substantial portion of the gap."

II

QUESTION OF REDUCING ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

The most important point in regard to the terms of reference to the Commission is to consider the tax system in relation to the objective of reducing economic inequalities. It is well-known that the Indian income structure is today far from satisfactory. It is now generally agreed that a more equal sharing of the national product by the different income brackets are necessary not only from the point of view of social justice, but even for full mobilisation of the productive resources of the community. It is, therefore, essential that this inequality of income should be removed in any planning.

There are three basic causes of unequal income distribution. These are: (1) Unequal distribution of capital ownership, (2) Too large portion of national income paid to capital owners, and (3) Unequal opportunity for acquiring skill and getting adequate nutrition and medical care.

One way of changing the distribution of income within a capitalist society is to redistribute incomes through taxation. The percentage of income available to the low income brackets can be increased by decreasing the taxes. Also the relative income of those in the high income brackets can be increased by decreasing their taxes.

There are various methods of redistribution of income but we are specially interested in the redistribution of incomes between groups of families. The grouping of families can be effected according to a number of criteria such as types of income, industry, occupation, size, etc., but since the mobility between industries, occupations, districts and regions are comparatively free we are more interested in redistribution of incomes between groups classified according to the standard of living. The latter type of redistribution is called vertical.

Now-a-days in England a very significant part is played by horizontal redistribution, i.e., redistribution from families with smaller number of dependants to those with greater number of dependants. Under Britain's system of food subsidies, families with a large number of dependants reap the greatest benefits.

A close scrutiny of the British and American taxation reveals that the percentage of income paid as taxes shows a steady increase from the lowest brackets to the highest in U.K., whereas in the American tax system the percentage of income paid as taxes is less for the middle and the lowest income brackets. The British tax system is progressive throughout all income brackets, whereas the U.S. tax system is regressive in the lowest income brackets, approximately proportional in the middle income brackets and progressive in the highest income brackets. However, the tax systems of both the coun-

tries decrease the portion of the total national income available to those in the high income brackets and increase the portion available to those in the low income brackets.

Now let us consider the economic consequences of redistribution of taxes. These are:

1. *Corporate Tax*: The corporate income tax is largely paid by persons in the upper income brackets. It is a revenue measure well-suited to reducing the disparity in income distribution.

Recent study shows that corporate savings form an important portion of the total national savings in a community and that it plays a very important part in financing national development programmes in highly advanced countries like U.K., and U.S.A. This has also various advantages in financing economic development programmes over the other forms of domestic savings. Hence, in India, some have opposed the tax. But the needs of public exchequer at the present moment are paramount and it will, therefore, not be desirable to reduce the rates of this tax. It is, therefore, suggested that corporations who will use the undistributed profits for the purpose of the Plan should be exempted up to a certain percentage from taxation.

2. *Sales Tax* collects a larger portion of the income of the lower income groups than it does of the upper income groups. This can be made progressive by laying the tax only upon certain articles consumed to a great extent by those receiving the larger incomes, e.g., expensive liquor, cigar, cigarettes, etc. Savings of upper income brackets should be taxed. This is particularly necessary to reduce the gulf between the poor and the rich. We should also see that savings are not taxed twice—once at the source and again when savings yield income. Four remedies have been suggested to remove the difficulty. We shall consider only the last one, i.e., the exemption of future investment income from taxation. This seems to me the best remedy in this country. But there is one administrative difficulty inasmuch as Parliament can bind its successors. If a definite period is specified after which future investment income would be taxed, then this method will avoid any undesirable repercussions.

3. *Property Tax* can reduce the wealth of individuals obtaining larger incomes. But the tax will not have so great an income-equalising effect as the individual income tax because it is not levied at progressive rates. However, its effects even with proportional rates would be similar because of the concentration of property ownership in the upper income brackets.

In our country property tax should also be introduced. But there is some inherent weakness in the tax as regards assessment, collection, etc. The Commission should give their careful consideration to the

problems. The Commission should also examine the desirability of exempting (1) Government-owned property, (2) Property owned by religious, educational and charitable organisations, (3) Homestead up to a certain limit should be exempted from the tax. In this connection the imposition of tax on bricks by certain local authorities may also be examined.

4. *Social Security Taxes*: It is assumed that the contributions made by employers are passed on in higher prices, as they are during a period of a prevailing sellers' market; these contributions are paid largely by the workers in the middle and upper income groups whose share in the nation's total consumption is the highest. Also it is likely that social insurance tax payments made by employers for upper income wage-earners are most readily shifted backward in lower wages. For, the wages received by those workers include a surplus above the requirements of subsistence which can be reduced more easily than money income required for subsistence.

5. The collection of *Death Taxes* reduces the wealth and income of the beneficiary and not of the descendant. Death taxes reduce the concentration of wealth in the future, but they do not affect the current distribution of wealth and income. These taxes are particularly desirable because they do not cause the reduction of total satisfactions and individual initiative through a reduction of income earned. This makes these taxes particularly desirable in maximising satisfactions and reducing the concentration of wealth and income. The Government of India have already introduced the Estate Duty Bill. Those who oppose the bill say that the enactment of the bill will reduce capital and savings in the country. But it may be pointed out that death duties are seldom paid out of capital. Taxes as a rule, even though based upon the capital value, are met out of current income or at least income not yet converted into capital plant. In any case, in this effect it is comparable to high and progressive income tax. While it undoubtedly reduces large estates, it does not mean any destruction of the existing capital as such. The remarks of the Colwin Committee are very relevant in this connection:

"Though death duties are assessed on capital, they destroy no existing capital, at most they absorb potential capital by diverting to the payment of the duties, income which would otherwise have gone into new savings. In this they do not differ from income tax or any other tax of comparable magnitude. The property sold must eventually be bought by someone who has free income seeking an investment and the only effect is to divert this income from the creation of a new to the purchase of an existing investment. There is no reduction of actual capital."

As regards the effects of death duties on savings, there are divergent views. It is held that it reduces the incentive to save, in a very deterrent manner.

Here again, there is comparison between income tax and death duties. Highly steep income tax reduces the incentive to savings to a certain extent. The same is true in regard to death duty. The Colwin Committee, however, considered that Taking physical and psychological effects together, we think that the estate duty is distinctly more damaging to saving than the income tax (although we do not suggest that the difference is great)." This result is due in part to the fact that under the existing scale the bulk of the duty is drawn from the largest estates. We doubt whether the estate duty is more damaging than income tax to enterprise. On the whole, we are inclined to think it is less so. Prof. Pigou, however, holds the contrary view. He is of opinion that

"Death duties have no deterrent effect and are rather a good form of taxation in that people are probably not discouraged from saving by thinking of the death duties as they are by thinking of an income tax on unearned incomes."

In his evidence Dr. Dalton was also of opinion that

"The prospect of heavy death duties will stimulate those who are waiting for a windfall of inherited wealth to work harder and to save more than they would do otherwise."

6. The individual income tax with progressive rates has a levelling effect on the distribution of

incomes of a nation. The incomes of the high income receivers are reduced by a greater amount than the incomes of the middle and low income receivers. This effect is desirable in a democracy, for political equality is much more difficult to maintain under conditions of neat economic inequality. Also a tax resting with greater weight on an individual obtaining a large income enables the Government to obtain required revenues without pressing on the necessities required for a healthy and efficient population.

A very important point in the redistribution of wealth which deserves special attention of the Commission is the too much concentration of economic power in Banking and Insurance companies. In India, now-a-days the entire economy is controlled by a few families. This is against the social ideal envisaged in the Constitution which wants to establish a social democracy for India. The Constitution also disfavours concentration of wealth in a few hands. The only effective remedy of eliminating this concentration of economic power is to nationalise these concerns. But, as nationalisation will face some difficulties at the present moment, my suggestion is to impose a high rate of taxation on the incomes of these monopolistic anti-social business concerns.

It is hoped that the Commission will give their careful consideration to the problems raised above and suggestions made.

—:O:—

THE ART OF SUDHIR KHASTGIR

By SUMANTRA SEN GUPTA

AN exhibition of paintings and drawings by the eminent artist S. J. Sudhir Khastgir was recently held in the Salon of the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta.

Opening the Exhibition on the 1st of August, 1953, His Excellency Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, paid handsome tributes to the artist. Although Dr.

Mookerjee, in the outset, remarked that he was not one of those who had any claims to criticising art, his speech, when completed, proved that he was a real connoisseur of art. Dr. Mookerjee's assessment of the works of S. J. Khastgir revealed his close intimacy with the artist's works.

Dr. Mookerjee was much impressed by the realistic subjects chosen by the artist for his compositions. S. J. Khastgir was essentially an artist of the people—the ordinary people. The artist derived inspiration from such simple sources as the life of the country-folk. Rather than neglect these people near the earth he keenly observed them and created his work around them. Indeed they were his own people. It would, therefore, not be wrong to say that there was no place in his art for sophistication. The pompous, the fashionable, the ostentatious, held no inducement for him. His work reflected warm humanity as the story he had to tell was



Spring-dance
By S. J. Khastgir

that of life in its simplest and most genuine form. Khastgir was not only a great painter but a great Continuing, Dr. Mookerjee further said that the artist's sculptor as well. One of his masterpieces was *Winter*,



To the field
By S. Khastgir

work was varied and refreshing as he had attained a great freedom of expression, never being bound to one particular mood or subject at a time. The artist possessed compositional adroitness, psychological insight and discreet symmetry. His general treatment was charmingly bold and vigorous. His work was infused with freshness and vitality.

However, in the opinion of Dr. Mookerjee the most outstanding feature of the artist's work was the versatility of his genius. S. Khastgir's efforts ranged from drawing with pencil, ink, charcoal to oils and water-colour. He worked with equal facility through all these mediums; this was indeed, the true expression of the artist's greatness. He was not bound to one style or one medium of manifestation, but there was constant variation. The colours used in his paintings and drawings were in keeping with his vigorous treatment. These colours were often bold, yet these radiated a feeling of softness. But the artist triumphed in the beauty of his lines whether he worked in colour or in monochrome. These "pure" lines lifted his pictures to a state of absoluteness.

Dr. Mookerjee noted with pleasure the fact that S.



A sketch in crayon
By S. Khastgir



Gossip
By S. Khastgir

depicting an old woman sitting in front of a fire, warming her hands. The expression on the old woman's face conveyed a sense of helplessness; old age was captured so very vividly that it made the model almost living. Concluding, Dr. Mookerjee said that it was the joy of creation and nothing else that supplied the motif of all the artist's work. His creations were not something deliberate—but spontaneous—coming out, as it were, from a great urge of the inner self. The artist had chosen this line, which was not very remunerative, because of the great pleasure and joy that he derived from it.

entirely new form of sculpture at Santiniketan. From the very beginning S. J. Khastgir surprised everyone by producing some masterpieces. *Daughters of the Soil*, produced in the same year, was an example of the greatness of the artist's creation even in the initial period of experiment. Dr. Chatterjee considered S. J. Khastgir as one of the greatest artists of our times. Dr. Chatterjee was, however, of the opinion that his sculptures rose above his paintings and drawings. It was Khastgir the Sculptor that he admired more than Khastgir the Painter.

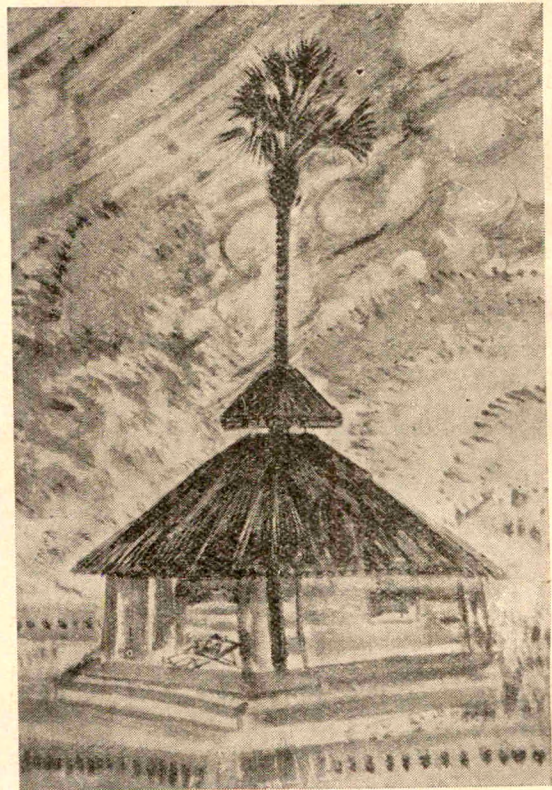
I have been fortunate enough in knowing S. J. Khastgir



Baul
By S. Khastgir

Dr. Suniti Chatterjee also spoke a few words in appreciation of the artist, whom he knew for a long time. Speaking of him, Dr. Chatterjee gave the details of the artist's life. S. J. Sudhir Ranjan Khastgir was born on 24th September, 1907. He was a disciple of S. J. Nandalal Bose of Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan. He toured extensively over India and Ceylon to study ancient Indian art and architecture. His works were exhibited in the big cities of India, mostly in one-man shows. In 1937, an exhibition of his paintings was held in London. He toured over England and the continental countries, visiting their art-centres.

Dr. Chatterjee remarked that in 1927, S. J. Khastgir along with Sri Ram Kinkar Baij, started working on an



Tejesda's hut
By S. Khastgir

intimately. It was my pleasure to accompany him to no less a place than the famous Sun Temple at Konarak in Orissa. During the trip, I discovered to my joy that he had a very affectionate disposition, always ready to share one's thoughts with a charming smile. In the ruins of the Sun Temple the artist's face was transformed into a mirror of agony; he suffered within himself for the decay that was creeping into the temple. His extremely sensitive mind seemed to rebuke Nature for the grave injustice she was doing to the exquisite man-made Temple.

I have been acquainted with the artist's works for quite some time. The portrayal of ecstatic figures—specially of dancers—is one of the artist's favourite

subjects. This has resulted in some of his finest compositions. The ecstatic figures, in many of his paintings, attain a height which makes one feel that these figures are, in a way, in tune with the infinite. The restless self in the artist finds true expression through these figures—bold and vigorous, yet so sublime and absolute. Real beauty has been captured by the artist in the human form in movement—beauty that is fascinating.

Coming to his sculptures, I would venture to add that his work with the chisel is as great as his work with the brush. Both bear the hallmark of his unmistakable power. To choose between two really great things is a very difficult proposition. The versatility of the artist

has made his position unique in the field of Indian art. Such a prodigious worker both with the brush and the chisel is rarely to be found.

Ever experimenting with new styles and expressions, S. J. Khastgir has made his work very dynamic. Of late, there has been a marked tendency on his part to attempt "abstract" pictures. This is a bold and laudable attempt and may well be the evolution of a new style. Even in his new efforts the artist is completely at ease. The gradual inclusion of the abstract motif in his paintings is probably a pointer that the artist has at last found his goal—the culmination of his true genius. All we can do is to wait and see.

—:O:—

PROF. V. LESNY AND INDIA

By MILADA GANGULI

WHEN I, during my first visit to Santiniketan, was introduced to Gurudeva and he had learned that my home was Czechoslovakia, he said: "Oh, we have a good friend there, Prof. Vincenc Lesny. He spent several months with us here and we were very fond of him. He knows Bengali quite well."

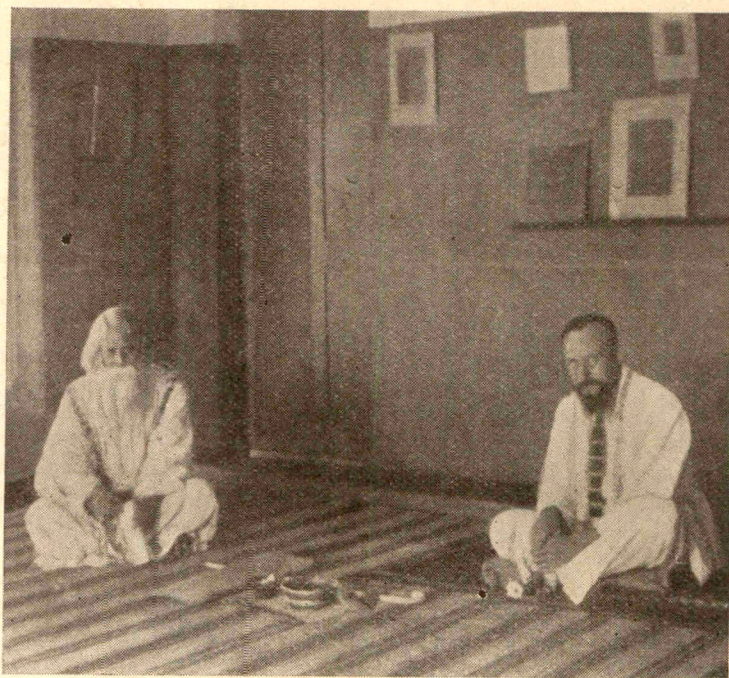
And, indeed, India had a good friend in Prof. Lesny,* perhaps one of her greatest, most devoted friends. Those who knew Prof. Lesny could feel it from his attitude, from his enthusiastic talks, others from the many books on India he had written and from his innumerable translations and contributions to both learned and popular journals at home as well as abroad.

Prof. Lesny became interested in Indian philosophy, religions and Indian languages already as a student. As early as 1917 he published his first scientific treatise, *The Developmental Degree of Prakrit Dialects in Bhasa's Dramas*.

Perhaps the most comprehensive work is his *Spirit of India*, published in 1927 and its enlarged edition *India and the Indians—A Pilgrimage through the Centuries*,

published in 1931. The first page of the book bears a picture of Gurudeva with Prof. Lesny and the second page a translation of a poem by Gurudeva:

"Oh, India, my dear Motherland."



Prof. V. Lesny with Gurudeva in Santiniketan

In this work the author takes us through the ages from the oldest Harappa culture to the fight for national freedom, and makes us acquainted with the main currents of Indian thoughts, religions and literary achievements.

* Prof. Dr. Vincenc Lesny, (born April, 1882, died April, 1953) was Professor of Indology at the University of Prague. Through his scientific work he belongs to the most outstanding orientologists of the world.

he organised lectures, exhibitions and conferences of Oriental scholars. He founded the cultural magazine *Novy Orient*.

To promote friendly relationships between India and Czechoslovakia he founded, after the last war, the

Indian Section of the Oriental Institute.

In these few lines I could only briefly touch upon Prof. Lesny's whole-life's efforts to create a deeper understanding of India and happy relationship between India and his own country.

—:O:—

MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Patriotic Movements and Associations of Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

II

THE PRESS AND THE PLATFORM

WITHDRAWAL of the Press Regulation in 1835 by Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe not only paved the way for free discussion of public questions, but gave fillip to the Press industry also. Some newspapers were newly started, some were revived and those in a moribund state amalgamated with others. *The Hindu Pioneer* appeared as a fortnightly on 27th August, 1835, the editor being Kailas Chandra Dutt, an ex-alumnus of the Hindu College and second son of Rasamay Dutt. *The Reformer* of Prasanna Kumar Tagore and *The Calcutta Literary Gazette* of Captain David Lester Richardson came under the management of the proprietors of *The Bengal Herald*. Dwarkanath Tagore, the philanthropist business-magnate, purchased the proprietary rights of *The Englishman*. A considerable share of *The Bengal Hurkaru* also devolved on Dwarkanath, as *The India Gazette* of his was amalgamated with the former.

The Vernacular Press received no less an impetus. *Samachar Darpan* of the Serampore Mission and *Gnananweshun* of Rasik Krishna Mallik of 'Young Bengal,' both bi-lingual weeklies, continued as before. *Sambad Prabhakar*, the famous Bengali journal, discontinued for a time, was revived by its editor, Poet Iswar Chandra Gupta, as a tri-weekly on 10th August, 1836. It turned into the first Bengali daily on 14th June, 1839. In March of this year another Bengali weekly, *Sāmbad Bhaskar*, appeared under the editorship of Pandit Gaurisankar Tarkabagish, who had already gained eminence as a journalist. *Sambad Purnachandrodaya*, another Bengali newspaper of considerable repute and of long standing, was started even before the withdrawal of the Press Regulation, on 10th June, 1835. These journals continued, unhampered, the discussion and criticism of the various measures of the Government and lent unstinted support to the patriotic movements and associations of the time.

The societies of the earlier 'thirties gave place to others of more particular and pointed views. The Academic Association continued but short of its former vigour. The prominent members of this Association participated more and more in the discussion of political and social questions. The Charter Act Meeting of 1835

had a great spokesman in Rasik Krishna Mallik. The Calcutta Public Library, the only meeting-place of the intellectuals, both European and Indian, owed its inception no less to the initiative and resources of the Indian leaders. Ramgopal Ghose, a stalwart of 'Young Bengal,' started the Epistolary Association with his friends, with a view to discuss public questions in



Radhakanta Deb

form of epistles. In the late 'thirties, the Indian labour was much in demand by the Britishers for exploitation in Mauritius, Bourbon and other British territories overseas. The poor labourers, contemptuously called *coolies*, were amassed in the most unhealthy parts of Calcutta and left to suffer and even to die. David Hare took up the matter in hand and with the help of his Indian friends organised a public meeting on 12th March, 1838, to ventilate the grievances of the labourers. As a result

of these efforts the Government concerned modified the rules of emigration for the mitigation of their miseries.

But an association of the mid-thirties deserves special mention. Bangabhasaprakasika Sabha was originally a cultural body, and its deliberations were conducted in Bengali under the presidentship of Pandit Gaurisankar Tarkabagish. At one such meeting held on 8th December, 1836, the scope of its discussion was extended by a resolution moved by Kalinath Roy Chaudhury of Taki to matters political. The actual resolution was to the effect that "the Society should petition Government or take other matters with a view to prevent a national grievance."¹ The Society included the gentry as well as the litterati.



Debendra Nath Tagore

At this time the question of the "Resumption of the Rent-free lands"² was uppermost in the minds of our leaders. The Society took up the matter in hand. It held some sittings in which its members took an active part and thrashed out the *pros and cons* of the governmental action. Ramlochan Ghose, an influential member of the Society (father of Monomohun and Lalmohun Ghose), supported the Government and placed cogent reasons in favour of his contention. But the majority of the Society, including the editors of *Sambad Prabhakar* and *Sambad Purnachandrodaya*, Kalinath Roy Chaudhury, Gaurisankar Tarkabagish

and Munshi Amir, protested vehemently against the measure. They also proposed to arrange a public meeting in protest and send a petition to the Government stating therein their views. But this proposal did not materialise. Because a more representative body was needed for concerted action.

THE LANDHOLDERS' SOCIETY

This need was supplied by the Landholders' Society, in which the leaders of both the progressive and the conservative section of the community joined. It was purely a political body. The leading landholders of Bengal met in a conference at the Hindu College Hall on 11th November, 1837. It was proposed here to form a society on the lines of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to discuss the governmental and other matters from a political view-point. The Society would also see that people's interests in land were particularly safeguarded. A provisional committee was formed with Radhakant Deb, Ramcomul Sen, Tarinicharan Mitter and Prasanna Kumar Tagore. According to *The Reformer*:

"The only instructions with which the members of this provisional committee were charged was, that in preparing the rules they should bear in mind that the association was intended to embrace people of all descriptions, without reference to caste, country, or complexion, and rejecting all exclusiveness, was to be based on the most universal and liberal principles: the only qualification necessary to become its members, being the possession of interest in the soil of the country."³

The provisional committee prepared rules for the proposed society. They must have taken the views of the European leaders beforehand. The latter also wanted to act jointly, because they had acquired considerable interests in the land since the Charter Act of 1833. So we find in the inaugural meeting of the Society on 19th March, 1838, leaders of the European community take prominent part in the discussion. Radhakant Deb presided over the meeting. In his address he laid bare the objects of the society in the following suitable words:

"... circumstances pointed out the expediency of forming a society the benefit of which would be felt not only in Calcutta but all over the country... Representations were always necessary to be made to government; in these proceedings if anyone adopted an erroneous course, the society afforded a ready means of correction, and through it grievances could be easily brought to the notice of the proper authorities. It was a common saying among the people that straw could be easily broken by the finger when in separate blades, but if several blades be united together and formed into a rope, it was capable of confining even a wild elephant and reducing it into subjection. Union among the people was therefore highly necessary, and the establishment of such a society was much called for in order to keep a

1. *Samachar Darpan*, 17th December, 1836.

2. By the Regulation II of 1819 as modified by the Regulation III of 1828 the Government started resumption of rent-free lands which were computed to be one-third of the total area of the Bengal Presidency.

3. Quoted in *Samachar Darpan*, 18th November, 1837.

watch over the measures of Government and its functionaries and for the purpose of making representations to it."⁴

Resolutions were passed, formally inaugurating the Landholders' Society and adopting the rules framed by the Provisional Committee. An influential executive committee was constituted with Raja Radhakant Deb as president, and Prasanna Kumar Tagore and John Cobb Hurry, Editor of *The Englishman*, as secretaries. The members of the committee included such notables as Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy Chaudhury of Taki, Raja Rajnarain Ray of Andul, Raja Kalikrishna, Asutosh Deb, Ramratna Ray of Narail, Ramcomul Sen, Satya Charan Ghosal of Bhukailash, Munshi Amir, a prominent Mahomedan of Calcutta, Theodore Dickens, Bar-at-Law and George Prinsep. David Hare took a lively interest in the formation of the Society. But the main impetus came from Dwarkanath Tagore. It was not a little due to him that the Europeans were induced to join the Society so actively.

The immediate object of the Society was to fight the 'Resumption' measure of the Government. But it was subsequently so broad-based as to include matters pertaining to the welfare of the country. The Society wanted improvement and reform in the civil administration. The Government could not but recognise the Landholders' Society as a representative body and treat it in the same way as they did the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, dominated by the Europeans. They used to send draft bills for opinion to the Society. The Society, in its turn, criticised them and often offered suggestions for their improvement.

In the annual report for 1838-39, the secretaries gave a brief account of the national activities of the Landholders' Society in the country. The committee of the Society submitted memorials and appeals to the Local and the Supreme Government. The memorial on the resumption of *Lakheraj* tenures did not elicit any favourable reply from either of them. They now proposed to appeal to the Government of England, the 'land of liberty, humanity and justice.' The committee expressed satisfaction at the extension of the vernacular language in the proceedings of the Courts of Justice since the beginning of 1839. They also considered some other matters, such as, revision of the Stamp Act, the comparatively high duty charged in England upon Indian and Canadian tobacco, etc. They suggested an equalization of the duty.

We have a full report of the second anniversary of the Landholders' Society which came off on 30th November, 1839. The Society had appointed an agent in England, named John Crawford. The annual report, above mentioned, referred to his zealous exertions. The committee kept up a regular correspondence with

him. Mr. Crawford, so says the report, was the "channel of communication between this Institution and the British India Association of England." This Association was newly started, and the committee of the Landholders' Society, says the report, "strongly recommend you to co-operate with the British India Association, the object of that Institution being so identical with that of your Society." At the end of the report, the secretaries, on behalf of the committee, called particular attention of the members "to the



George Thompson

nature of the institution (the Landholders' Society), to its national character, and the great objects of national improvement which form its basis, to the number of those who are likely to be benefited by it, and to the amount of the revenue they contribute in support of the Government of the country."⁵

Several resolutions were passed in the meeting. The main resolution was regarding the resumption of rent-free lands. In another resolution, the Society welcomed the formation of the British India Society of London and appointed a sub-committee to correspond with them. It was directed to correspond with the London Society, particularly, on the following subjects: (1) the prevention of the resumption of rent-free tenures, (2) extension of the permanent

4. *Samachar Darpan*, 24th March, 1838.

5. The full proceedings of the Second Anniversary of the Landholders' Society will be found in *The Bengal Hurkaru*, December 14 and 16.

settlement,⁶ (3) reform of the judicial, police and revenue systems, and (4) the granting of waste-lands to occupants on equitable terms, so as to encourage the application of capital to the soil of India.

The Landholders' Society continued its work vigorously for some time. It succeeded partially in the modification of the "Resumption" question. Up to ten bighas of land were allowed rent-free to an individual. The British India Society, of which I shall speak presently, took up its cause and worked for the good of India at the very seat of the British Government. The pioneer efforts of the Landholders' Society could never be over-estimated. Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra later referred to its achievements as follows:

"He looked upon it (the Landholders' Society) as the pioneer of freedom in this country. It gave to the people the first lesson in the art of fighting constitutionally for their rights, and taught them manfully to assert their claims and give expression to their opinion. Ostensibly, it advocated the rights of the Zemindars but as their rights are ultimately bound up with those of the ryots, the one cannot be separated from the other."⁷



Tarachand Chuckervetty

THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY, LONDON

The London Society of the above name played an important role in our nascent constitutional struggle, and deserves separate treatment. The Society was established in the middle of 1839. W. W. Adam, a friend and disciple of Raja Rammohun Roy and a close associate of Dwarkanath Tagore, took initiative in forming this Society. Previous to his departure for England, he had even consulted Ramgopal Ghose, one of the 'Young Bengal' and induced him to supply materials regularly regarding Indian affairs. Since its formation, the Society was largely assisted by the Landholders' Society of Calcutta.

6. This item formed the Omnibus Resolution of the Indian National Congress for a good many years.—J. C. B.

7. *Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra's Speeches* (S. K. Lahiri, 1892), p. 25.

Even during the first year of its existence, the London Society was able to enlist the active sympathy of such a humanitarian as George Thompson, the famous worker for the liberation of slaves. He was also a finished orator. Along with a few others Thompson toured important centres in England and delivered speeches on various Indian topics in especially organised meetings. The Society got them printed in book-form for distribution. Sir Charles Forbes, a true well-wisher of India, subscribed five hundred pounds to the Society.

In its first annual meeting (July 5, 1840) the Society passed several resolutions, drawing attention of the Government to the different aspects of the maladministration of India. The main resolution, which might be regarded as embodying the real object of the meeting, was comprehensive, and ran as follows:

"That this meeting is of opinion, that the oppressive and fluctuating amount of the land revenue, the general resumption by the Indian Government demand on lands hitherto held rent-free, the imperfection and corruption in the administration of police and justice, the maintenance of vexatious monopolies, are evils which ought to receive the immediate attention of the Government of this country, as tending to produce distrust and discontent among the native population, to unsettle the tenures of property, and endanger the public peace, to cramp the exertions of industry and the progress of improvement, to lessen the production of exportable commodities, and by necessary consequence, the capacity of extending commercial relations with Great Britain and other nations, and to diminish the force of the example which England has set by the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and thus perpetuate the existence of slavery in the other parts of the world."⁸

The Society published the *British Indian Advocate* from January, 1841. William Adam edited the journal:

"One of the ends contemplated is," wrote the Editor in its very first issue, "to make the journal a medium of communication between the people of England and the people of India, faithfully representing the sentiments of each to the other on all the great questions that affect their rights and interests."⁹

The relation between the Landholders' Society and the British India Society were all along cordial. And even when the former showed signs of languor, the other was active. In the meantime there had been some forces at work in Bengal itself which require a little elucidation.

TWO SOCIETIES OF THE YOUNGER SCHOOL

The Landholders' Society was, really speaking, a society of elders. The younger section, or the 'Young Bengal' as they were popularly known, did not join this Society either individually or *en masse*. The objects of the Landholders' Society were mainly political. But politics formed only a part of our

8. *The Friend of India*, 1st October, 1840.

9. Quoted in *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India*, etc., by Ram Gopal Sanyal, Vol. II, p. 25.

national life. Other aspects, especially the educational and cultural aspects, required to be properly attended to for strengthening the morale of the people. These, in other words, might be called the constructive aspects of our national activities. And the 'Young Bengal' began to attend to these aspects more zealously than before.

The Society for the Acquisition of General knowledge, rather a longish name, and the Tattwabodhini Sabha were almost contemporaneous of the Landholders' Society. The former was started even a few days earlier, on 12th March, 1838. The Tattwabodhini Sabha came into being on 6th October, 1839. Both of them were mainly cultural institutions, one having for its object the spread of higher knowledge and newer experience amongst the ex-students of the educational institutions and through them, to the generality of the people. The object of the Tattwabodhini Sabha was the cultural regeneration of the people on the lines of the Brahmo Samaj of Raja Rammohun Roy.

But both these institutions contributed largely to the growth of nationality, based on national culture. The Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, had, for its President, Tarachand Chuckerverty, considered at that time the foremost leader of the younger section. Ramtanu Lahiri and Peary Chand Mitra were its joint secretaries. Such eminent public men of later times as Ramgopal Ghose, Dukshinaranjan Mukherjee and the Rev. K. M. Banerjee sat on its committee. David Hare was unanimously elected 'Visitor' of the Society. Discussion ranged between history, literature and science and could be conducted both in English and Bengali. The newly educated had already spread throughout the Bengal districts and even beyond the Bengal Presidency. Some were posted as Deputy Collectors in those places. They read papers on the condition of the respective places, based on knowledge and experience. Local history, topography, social condition of the masses—everything came to be discussed and debated upon. Thus a bond of fellowship was growing between the classes and the masses, at least on the intellectual plane. Papers were read and addresses delivered both in English and Bengali, giving the mother-tongue the same status as English.

Debendra Nath Tagore (later, Maharshi), the eldest son of Dwarkanath Tagore, was the founder of the Tattwabodhini Sabha. The Sabha did not confine itself to discussion only. Just after its start, it took up the work of the proper dissemination of Indian culture through educational institutions, started on 'national' lines. The Sabha ran a Pathshala where instruction was given on useful subjects through the medium of Bengali. The study of Sanskrit was a special feature of the institution. To keep pace with the time, English was also later added to its curriculum.

The school was transferred to Bansberia early in 1843—a village in the Hooghly district. Schools were opened in the mofussil after the model of the Pathshala. People were imbued with nationalism through these 'national' schools even in those early days of transition.

Tattwabodhini Patrika, organ of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, started in August, 1843, became the forum of discussion on different aspects of our national life. Besides the religious subjects, those on literature, science, education, culture, health, economic condition of the people, intrusion of the Christian missionaries in our body-politic—all came to be discussed and thrashed out in different articles. Akshoy Kumar Dutt



Ramgopal Ghose

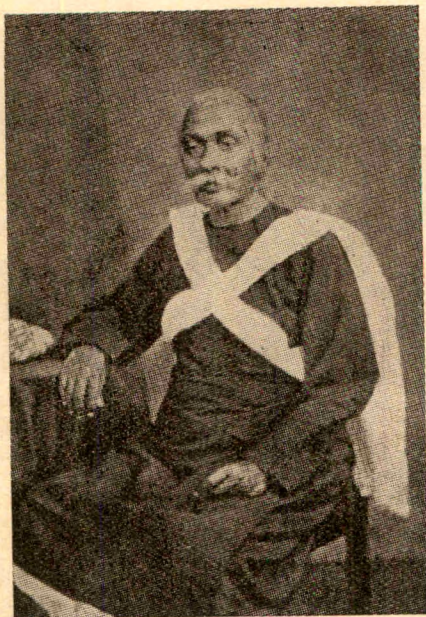
was its editor; and Debendra Nath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, Pandit Ananda Chandra Vedantabagis, were amongst the valued contributors of the *Patrika*. Nationalism was to be based on our national culture. This fact was brought home to the minds of the people in those days through the writings of this journal. The *Patrika* rendered immense service to the country in the 'forties in combating the anti-national activities of the Christian missionaries.¹⁰

THE BENGAL BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

In the early 'forties the Landholders' Society began to show signs of decay. Two reasons may be

10. Facts about the Tattwabodhini Sabha, etc., have been elaborately dealt with in my *Debendra Nath Tagore* (Sahitya-Sadhak Charitramala), pp. 19-40.

assigned to this. The Europeans gradually withdrew, because their interests came to clash with those of the Indians. The younger section also kept themselves aloof from this society. But Dwarkanath Tagore, the principal founder of the Landholders' Society, reposed enough confidence in the 'Young Bengal' and expected much from them. While returning home from England, late in 1842, Dwarkanath brought with him the famous philanthropist and friend of mankind, George Thompson, and introduced him to the leaders of the 'Young Bengal.' At a meeting of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, held on 11th January, 1843, the latter extended a cordial welcome



Pearychand Mitra

to George Thompson and requested him, while in their midst, to benefit them with his mature advice for the improvement of their motherland. Thompson's subsequent speeches inspired the young and old alike. The Landholders' Society grew active. They even appointed Thompson agent in England to speak and act on their behalf. But the most useful work during his sojourn here, was the foundation of the Bengal British India Society on the lines of the British India Society of London, by the leaders of the 'Young Bengal.'

The Bengal British India Society was formed at a meeting held in the Foudari Balakhana Hall,¹¹ Calcutta, on 20th April, 1843. George Thompson presided. The elite of the city attended the function. But most of the elders refrained from joining the

Society, perhaps for its more progressive character. George Thompson spoke very highly of the younger leaders, especially of Tarachand Chuckerverty. There were six resolutions in all, passed at the meeting. These related to the aims and objects of the Society, the programme of work it would follow as also the committee of management. The third resolution speaks of the aims and objects of the Society, and is given below:

"3. That a Society be now formed and denominated The Bengal British India Society; the object of which shall be the collection and dissemination of information, relating to the actual condition of the people of British India; and the Laws and Institutions, and Resources of the country; and to employ such other means of a peaceable and lawful character, as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellow subjects."¹²

A provisional committee was formed with Chandrasekhar Deb, Tarachand Chuckerverty, Ramgopal Ghose and Pearychand Mitra (Secretary) to frame rules of the Society and prepare an address to the public, based on the resolutions. A strong executive committee with these and other persons was constituted. There were only three Europeans on the committee. Like the Landholders' Society, this Society, too, was a political body. But it differed from the former on two principal points: (1) The new Society laid more emphasis on work in this country rather than in England and (2) this was mainly Indian in character. Besides political questions, the Society included matters, social, cultural and municipal in its programme of work. From this point of view, the Bengal British India Society may also be rightly called the first national political organisation of the country. In *The Bengal Spectator*, started during the previous year, the Society had its own organ. The paper was turned into a full-fledged weekly.

Even from its start the Society incurred odium of the European community for its unstinted efforts of a progressive type. Its conservative section did not at all like the speeches and movements of George Thompson which, they thought, were too radical and advanced for the country. They spouted venom over the proceedings of the 'Young Bengal.' They went so far as to nick-name the party as "Chuckervutty Faction," after the surname of their leader Tarachand. In spite of these hostilities from the European quarters, the Society was able to do considerable work according to programme during the first year of its existence. In his first annual report, Secretary Pearychand Mitra narrated the various activities of the Society. The Society gave opinions on several acts of the Government, sent memorials to the House of

11. A house on the junction of the Lower Chitpore Road and the Colootolah Street, no longer in existence.

12. "Bengal British India Society"—*The Bengal Hurkaru and the India Gazette*, 24th April, 1843.

Commons and Court of Directors, and petitioned the Government of India on the subject of proposed Small Causes Court in Calcutta. The Society attended to another important subject, namely, "Compilation and publication of evidences relative to the efficiency of Native Agency in the administration of the affairs of the country, with a prefatory notice of the offices held by the Hindoos during the Mahommedan administration and of those to which they are now eligible." The object of this compilation was to support the petition sent to England on behalf of the citizens of Calcutta 'praying for effect being given to 87 Clause of the last Charter Act.' The Committee also sent a questionnaire on the condition of the Ryots to the moffusil leaders.

The first anniversary of the Society was held at the Foudari Balakhana Hall on May 2, 1844, before which the above report was presented. The office-bearers for 1844-45 were elected as follows: W. Theobald, Vakil of the Supreme Court,—President; G. F. Remfrey and Harimohan Sen—Vice-Presidents; Pearychand Mitra—Secretary; Ramgopal Ghose—Treasurer; Brajanath Dhar, Gobinda Chandra Sen, Dukshinaranjan Mukherjee, Tarachand Chuckervertty, Chandrasekhar Dev, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, Shyama Charan Sen, Ramchandra Mitter, Satcouri Dutt, G. F. Speed, and E. Colebroke—Members.¹³

During the second year, the Society applied its attention to the municipal improvement of the Metropolis. It collected information respecting the rural population. The Society's attention was directed to social matters. According to the president, "Native polygamy was one of them . . . He valued much the expression on the part of Hindoo members, a strong disapprobation of the custom. . . . With equal propriety, the re-marriage of Hindoo widows had engaged the attention of the Society. . . . The Society had applied for the opinions of the highest Hindoo living authorities. . . . With still greater satisfaction he referred to what the Society had done on the subject of Hindoo female education."¹⁴

Since 1845, the Tattwabodhini Sabha took up the social matters in right earnest. The Bengal British India Society began to bestow more attention on things political, as it had done during the first year. Both these associations supplemented each other's work and became a force in the land. Ramgopal Ghose became the President of the Bengal British India Society in 1845-46 and continued in the post till the end of the decade. Meanwhile another movement started which induced various sections of the community to act unitedly.

THE ANTI-MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

The onslaught of the Christian Missionaries against the Hindu society and religion grew intense in the mid-forties under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff. Conversion was resorted to in the towns and the moffusil. The free schools of the missionaries turned into places of conversion. Leaders of the Hindu community headed by Debendra Nath Tagore could no longer tolerate this state of affairs. They wanted to start free schools for indigent Hindoo boys. With this object a huge public meeting was held on 25th March, 1845. The meeting resolved to establish a model free English school as the first practical step to counteract the missionary plan. A strong committee was formed with Raja Radhakant Deb as president, and Debendra Nath Tagore and Harimohan Sen, the eldest son of Ramcomul Sen, as secretaries. This was almost the first event when the elder and the younger section met for the first time for the realisation of a national purpose. As a result of these efforts the Hindu Charitable Institution was established on March 1, 1846. Motilal Seal, the Rothschild of Calcutta, had also started a free school of his own initiative in the meantime for the same purpose. The services of *Tattwabodhini Patrika* should be gratefully mentioned in this connection. The paper in its editorials unravelled the evil intentions and doings of the missionaries and their baneful effect upon our national life, education and culture.

The anti-missionary movement, sponsored by Debendra Nath Tagore under the auspices of the Tattwabodhini Sabha and carried on with unabated zeal up to the middle of the 'fifties, contributed largely to the growth of our national unity. It was considerably successful in stemming the tide of the proselytising activities of the Christian missions.

During the 'forties the Tattwabodhini Sabha and the Bengal British India Society rendered immense services to the community by their political and cultural endeavours. Bhudeb Mukherjee, the great thinker and litterateur, offered these felicitating remarks on their far-reaching effect:

"The Tattwabodhini Sabha determined the sort of religion the young educated should follow. The Bengal British India Society, under the chairmanship of a patriotic Bengali (Ramgopal Ghose) began to pay exclusive attention to its political work. It is usually said that the Bengalis cannot do anything of their own initiative, and what they do, is the copy of some other's work. But the Brahma Sabha (here, the Tattwabodhini Sabha) and the Bengal British India Society are not another's copy, nor have they received any foreign help. The seeds of future changes in the Hindu community were sown by these two societies."¹⁵

13. *The Friend of India*, May 9, 1844.

14. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1845.

15. Translated from *Banglar Itihas*, Part III, pp. 41-42.

A GLANCE INTO THE POSITION OF THE TEA INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By JYOTIRMOY ROY, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

TEA is no longer a luxury. Apart from being the source of bread for a good number of our brethren it also fetches substantial foreign exchanges to the country. Recently there has been a hue and cry that the tea industry is in peril and as such demands sympathetic attention from every quarter. This article is not concerned at all as to why the industry that earned a bumper profit during the war years is now in need of spoon-feeding. It aims at giving an overall picture of the tea industry in India with the help of readily available statistics.

The plantation of tea varies greatly in size from State to State. Before the partition, the total number of plantation was 6,551. In Assam, 1,128 plantations are reported to have had a total area of 440,278 acres which gives an average of 390 acres per plantation while in Bengal the average size of 413 plantations was 515 acres, in Travancore the average area of 220 plantations was 351 acres, and in Mysore the average area of 15 gardens was 297 acres. In Cochin, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madras the average was much smaller being about 186, 155, 134 and 37 acres respectively. In the Punjab, where the plantation of tea is carried on a small scale, the average area per plantation was only 4 acres in the pre-partition days. The above figures relate only to the tea-bearing areas and excludes the area not under tea though in occupation of the planters.

No statistics are available after the period 1949-50 which were published only by the latter part of 1952. The following table shows the production of tea in different States up to the year 1949:

TABLE I
(in 1000 lbs.)

States	1942	1948	1949
Assam	308,879*	311,089	314,357
West Bengal	152,999**	150,238	166,136
South India	95,153	107,406	95,616
North India	4,927	3,333	3,123
Bihar	2,101	1,989	2,123
Tripura	Not available	3,752	3,675

* Including Sylhet dist. ** Pre-partitioned Bengal.

The average production of tea per acre varies widely in different districts. In 1942, the highest being 960 lbs. in Jalpaiguri and 955 lbs. in Goalpara, while the lowest figures were 184 lbs. in Ranchi and 51 lbs. in Garhwal (U.P.). The average for the whole of India was 724 lbs. per acre.

Tea occupies a prominent place in our export trade and the United Kingdom is the best of the buyers. The table given below shows the distribution of our foreign trade in tea between the different countries:

TABLE II

(in per cent)

Countries	1942-43	1948-49	1949-50
United Kingdom	78.2	69.3	62.6
Rest of Europe	0.3	10.6	8.5
Asia	6.8	7.9	5.6
Africa	1.2	0.7	4.0
America	9.4	9.4	15.2
Australia	4.1	2.1	4.1

During 1949-50, 7,983,287 lbs. of waste tea alone was exported from India. Of the total quantity of Indian tea exported to the U.K. a considerable amount is normally re-exported to other foreign lands. A certain amount is also imported in India; and before the year 1942-43 Burma was the chief importing country; that position is now usurped by Ceylon.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the per capita consumption of tea in India because the figures quoted above are not quite accurate as they were supplied by the planters themselves voluntarily. Moreover, no accurate data of land frontier trade are available. So, in a very vague way, deducting the amount of export and the stock left at the end of the year, and summing up the previous year's stock and the current import, the following figures are obtained which give a rough indication as to the internal consumption of tea in India:

TABLE III

Years	Consumption in million lbs.
1936-37	81
1938-39	93
1941-42	112
1947-48	217
1948-49	159

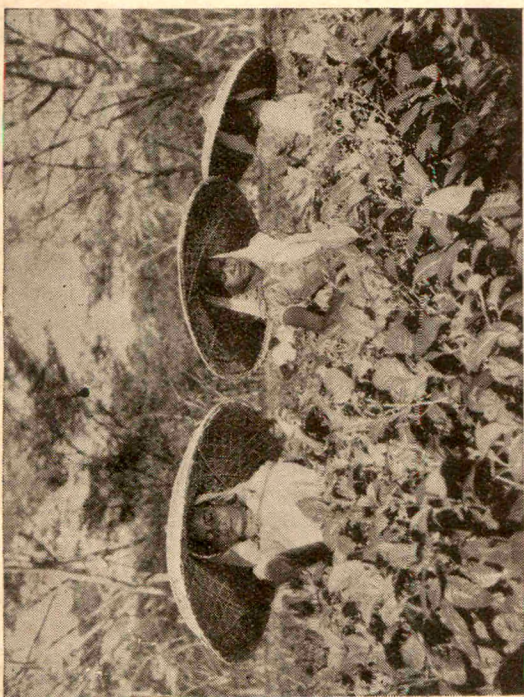
[Figures up to 1947-48 refer to undivided India]

For facilitating the export of tea, India imports a huge amount of tea chests and other accessories from foreign countries besides the purchase of machineries. Table No. IV records the distribution of the above amongst the three important exporting countries:

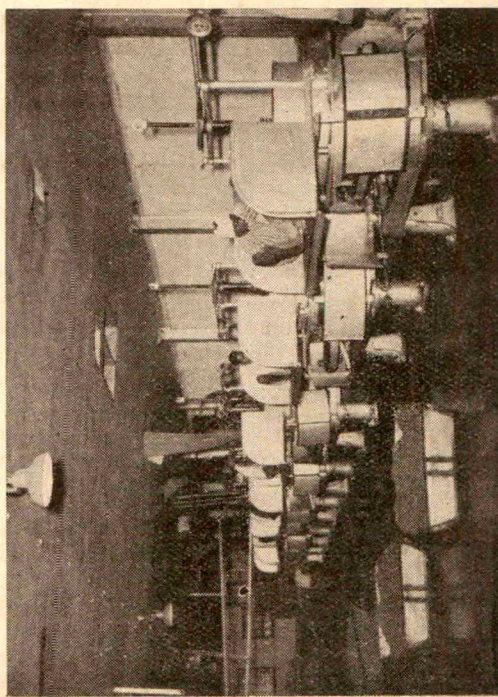
TABLE IV

(in lakhs of rupees)

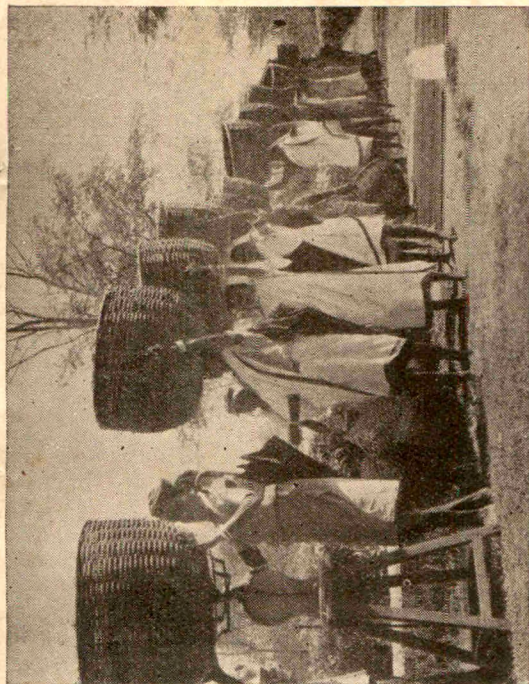
Countries	Tea Chests		1949 50
	1947-48	1948-49	
U. K.	1,510	11,703	5,34,206
U. S. A.	1,01,72,836	1,10,63,515	10,35,349
Canada	1,35,216	27,95,018	1,66,687
Total	1,08,77,403	1,88,76,937	1,26,59,847
	Machineries		
	1947-48	1948-49	
U. K.	54,56,027	55,25,153	69,26,098
U. S. A.	....	12,987	....
Canada	....	....	....
Total	56,28,828	56,93,841	70,47,316



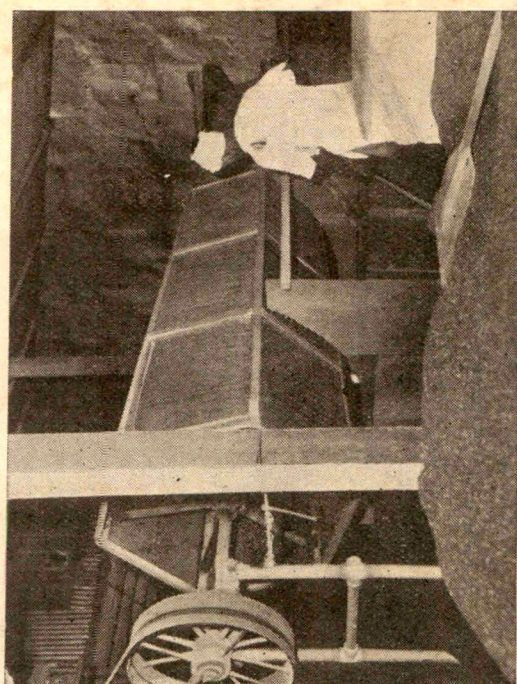
Plucking : Two leaves and a bud at a time is the secret of fine plucking. This work is done chiefly by women who carry light bamboo baskets strapped to their backs.



Rolling : The rolling machines process the withered green leaves which are twisted, breaking open the cells containing the stimulating juice of tea.

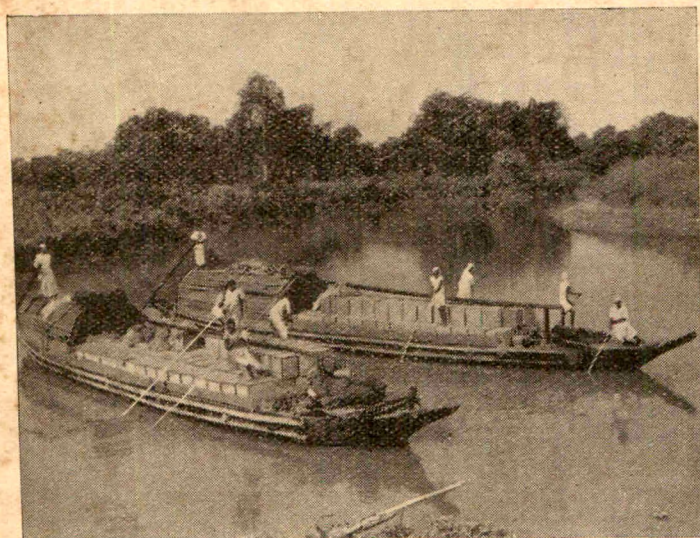


Weighing : Baskets loaded with picked leaves are carried by workers to the weighing centre before being taken to the factory.



Sorting and Grading : The leaves are sorted according to their size and quality before being packed into paper-lined chests.

Tea plantation in India is a potential source of employment and the condition of the labourers are far from being satisfactory. It is, however, a good sign that the National Government's attention has been diverted to this direction also. Labourers are mainly recruited through Sardars (middlemen) who approach the villagers in far distant lands and promise them all possible earthly pleasures in return of their leaving the homestead and joining the tea gardens where even the children are paid! The poor villagers fascinated by these alluring promises come to the garden *en bloc* only to realise that their future is sealed.



Transport: Tea chests are being loaded on to river boats. Considerable difficulty is experienced over getting the tea from the producing districts to the market at Calcutta. Tea chests are required to be carried by men, lorries, bullock carts or water transport

The number of persons employed in the industry in 1942 was returned at 923,742 which rose to 985,616 in 1949 in spite of the fact that certain tea-producing areas acceded to Pakistan. The following table gives the number of persons in different categories employed by the industry in recent years:

TABLE V

(Daily average)

Years	Garden labour	Outside labour (permanent)	Outside labour (temporary)
1948	863,915	52,416	53,399
1949	880,774	53,180	51,662

Below is another table to show the average monthly income of plantation labour in different years:

TABLE VI
Class of Labour

Settled labour—	Men Rs.as.p.	Women Rs.as.p.	Children Rs.as.p.
1941-42	10 7 4	9 12 9	6 4 4
1945-46	11 14 6	10 7 1	7 5 11

	Men	Women	Children
1946-47	18 4 1	15 9 7	9 9 6
1947-48	21 14 3	19 6 11	14 8 1
Faltu or Basti labour—			
1941-42	9 7 11	8 11 5	5 13 8
1945-46	11 13 8	10 11 0	6 10 3
1946-47	16 1 10	15 4 6	9 0 0
1947-48	22 11 9	18 15 1	11 0 10

The above wage rate has been modified with effect from December, 1951. An adult male labourer now earns a cash wage of Re. 1-3-0 per day which is farther supplemented by an income of two and a half annas per day in gardens with more than 500 acres under plantation and two annas in gardens having less than 500 acres under plantation. The daily wage of a female and a child labourer now comes to Re. 1-1-0 and 13 annas respectively.

In 1903, an Act known as the Indian Tea Cess Act IX of 1903 was passed at the request of the trade for the promotion and manufacture of tea. Under this Act a duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ pie per pound was levied on all Indian tea exported up to the 30th April, 1921, after which the duty was raised to $\frac{1}{2}$ pie per pound. By increasing the duty gradually in March, 1939, it was fixed at one rupee and annas six only per 100 lbs. and in May, 1946, it was subsequently reduced to rupee one. It was again raised to one rupee and six annas per 100 lbs. on 10.1.48 and the final enhancement took place on 5.11.49 when it was made one rupee and annas ten only. The whole of the amount collected was credited to the India Tea Cess Fund which was governed by a committee appointed for the purpose. The Indian Tea Cess Act expired on August 1, 1949, when the Central Tea Board Act came into force. The total amount collected in different parts of India in 1948-49 was Rs. 58,09,000 against Rs. 41,97,000 in 1947-48 and Rs. 35,73,000 in 1946-47. This shows that the industry is in a prosperous condition in spite of losing some tea-growing areas which acceded to Pakistan.

Excise duty in respect of tea brings approximately an annual revenue of Rs. 14 crores to our national exchequer. Every pound of tea must be duty paid before it is allowed to come out of the factory and the present rate of excise duty is as follows: If exported—annas four per pound, if not exported—annas three per pound.

The tea industry in India is mainly conducted with foreign capitals. Table No. VII given below

illustrates the capital structure of the tea industry in India :

Years	TABLE VII (in thousand of rupees)		Total
	Companies incorporated in India Rs.	Companies incorporated outside India Rs.	
1942-43	.....	.....	4,92,413
1944-45	1,50,572	26,877	5,08,932
1945-46	1,50,691	26,687	5,06,518
1946-47	1,61,218	26,703	5,17,258
1947-48	1,77,272	26,072	5,24,899

The living condition of labourers in tea gardens is bad, which in Indian-owned industries is worse still. The war brought an unexpected boom to the industry; the profit was practically consumed by the management and the shareholders who did not even see the necessity of creating an adequate reserve fund to tide over unforeseen contingencies. The peril that the industry is now facing is mainly due to the above-mentioned factor. The labour got practically nothing out of these bumper profits and there are hardly any cheap canteen in the tea gardens to supply hygienic food to the labourers. The only amusement provided by the management is the installation of a radio set in the office building from where occasionally programmes are broadcasted. Arrangement of sports and games is more on paper than in reality and almost all the gardens are operated on "no work no pay" basis. Hospitals are meant for governmental

inspections while the outdoor dispensaries are in chronic dearth of medicines.

There are several well-known organisations of the planters whose aim is to bargain as much benefit as possible for themselves while there is practically none to look after the cause of the poor labourers. Trade Unions are run on the whims of the party bosses and they are more political than economic; this type of trade union activities do not cover even all the gardens. As such whenever necessary the management purchases a section of labourers to suit its own objects and the last general election furnishes immense proof as to how the labourers can be bribed to suit the cause of the capitalist owners.

There have been some legislations aiming at the welfare of the plantation labour but the situation as it is will convince even a casual observer that those legislations are honoured more in the breach than in their observance. Strictest possible measures must be adopted to enforce the spirit of those legislations if the welfare of the toiling masses is really aimed at.

These are not to be mistaken as generalisations. The writer who lives in a place surrounded by tea gardens claims to have an intimate knowledge of the state of affairs in the tea industry and whatever he has said in this article is the outcome of his first-hand knowledge.

Illustrations: By courtesy of the Central Tea Board.

—:O:—

THE CHALLENGE OF ANGLICISM AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN BENGAL

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

It is reported that a history of the Indian Struggle for Freedom is going to be written. We do not know on what lines this history is proposed to be written; whether the facts of this history will be restrictively selected and interpreted in the light of a particular school of thought or facts will be impartially selected and objectively treated to tell the full story how the nation's endeavour for attainment of freedom has been again and again halted or delayed by obstacles created by alien and native opponents of Indian nationalism, by the people's own weakness or by the shortcomings of leadership. We shall have, perhaps, no opportunity to know all this before the history, if the proposal to write it materialises, is published.

When the report that a history of the nation's struggle for freedom is proposed to be written reached us our eyes rested for a minute on the face of Bengal

today, pale, anxious and deeply furrowed by agonies and sufferings of the last half a century and then slowly wandered through the realm of forgotten memories and settled down on the face of Bengal as it was more than a century back.

Those were the days of the new awakening of India and it was on the soil of Bengal that the awakening took place. Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) inaugurated the new era of awakening.

Through the united efforts of Rammohun, David Hare and others, the Hindu College was established in 1817 and English became the medium of instruction in India in 1835. The first effect of English education had an unbalancing effect on the majority of those who received it. For nearly thirty years from 1817 a great mental ferment marked by loss of self-possession seized a large section of the middle class

English-educated Hindu Society in Bengal. It was the age of the challenge of Anglicism and rise of the Young Bengal School.

A perusal of the contemporary records of the exploits of the first generations of the Young Bengal School will now provoke a laugh. But they were serious-minded people, though somewhat ostentatious. They were possessed by a mania for destruction and hurled indiscriminately their blows of criticism against Hindu religion, Hindu society, Indian languages, customs, manners, dress, etc. Their words and deeds breathed an exaggerated rage against and contempt for the society in which they were born and betrayed infatuation for things foreign. They cultivated Anglicism in everything with a vengeance. The following extract throws interesting light on the time:

"Indeed the rage for Anglicism went so far among the first generations of English-knowing men that a giant of English learning of that time used to sprinkle brandy over his children's rice saying, take your rice with the milk from the English cow, it will make you strong. . . . Some English-knowing men of that time thought the manners and customs of the people of India were Satan's devices while others regarded them as Brahminical devices. With them it was manliness par excellence to hate those manners and customs. Yes, that proved moral courage and independence. And the English-knowing youth who behaved in that way were applauded as wise by the Englishmen of that time."

While the British well-wishers of India were still gloating over their easy success in the task of anglicising the Bengalis, furnishing incidentally in their eyes one more evidence of the superiority of Western civilisation over the Eastern, and the challenge of anglicism threatened the contemporary Bengali society, something unsuspected was shaping itself beneath the surface of that society.

While adopting English dress, English food and drink and English manners the Young Bengal also memorised Bentham, Bacon, Thomas Paine, Byron, and Shelley and studied the political history of the English people, the history of the French Revolution and American struggle for independence. They became anglicised in mind as they had become anglicised in manners and dress. The direct result of this intellectual anglicisation was that they completely shed off the inferiority complex of a conquered people. They regarded themselves as belonging to the same level with Englishmen in education and culture. And they started demanding to be treated as such.

The challenge of Anglicism evoked a retort not realised by India's rulers.

And by this time a fresh wave from Europe had reached the shores of India, helping to put the Young Bengal again on their feet.

In Germany, France and elsewhere scholars were carrying on researches in Comparative Philology and Vedic and Avestan studies. They proclaimed to the world that the Hindus of India, though dark-skinned, were distant kin of the European Aryans. The Young Bengal were astonished when they heard it; their exultation knew no bounds and their thoughts began to follow a new track. It was the track which the great Rammohun had shown.

Little by little the attention of many of the members of the school turned to the ancient religion, literature and philosophy of their country, to the ancient glories of their ancient land. Things of their own country which they had learned to despise revealed themselves as possessing a new significance. Those that had turned their face towards Europe from a sense of frustration and despair, thinking that a people held in subjection for long centuries they had nothing to be proud of, now looked back to their own country. They realised that they had indeed a proud heritage of ancient wisdom and learning, they were descendants of far-famed ancestors. The first unhealthy mental ferment began to subside; the spell of anglicism was broken.

On the soil thus prepared a cultural revolution of the greatest significance took place in Bengal. It opened the epoch of a new awakening in India. It marked the beginning of national renaissance in India after seven centuries of political subjection, moral stagnation and intellectual somnambulism.

The claim for equality with the English and demand for equal treatment with them presaged a clash between the English-educated young Bengalis on the one hand, and, on the other, the new feeling of pride for the ancient glories of their country and deep regret for her present fallen condition roused them to devise means for her uplift.

The clash was the first phase of revolt declared by the English-educated middle class Bengalis against British administration in India. The voice of revolt became distinctly audible after the Sepoy Mutiny.

It was at this time that a section of the Young Bengal school led by Ram Gopal Ghose and assisted by some landholders and wealthy men founded the British Indian Association (1851) for securing the right of greater participation in administration for the children of the soil. It was the first political organisation in India.

Shortly after this the great Mutiny broke out.

TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

By S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D.,

Delhi University

If an English teacher today thinks of planning for the future education in this country, he has to satisfy himself whether he has any future for himself. In other words, he has to assure himself if there would be a legitimate place for the study of English in the curricula of the Boards and Universities of this country. That assurance I think is not difficult to give. It will be clear to anybody who happens to wander through the collections of books in the libraries of any school or college devoted to the teaching of Medicine, Engineering, Military Science, Forest Research or Geological Survey. Are these books, he will ask himself, mere junk to be scrapped or useful? If higher education is impossible without them, how are we to get them in our own language? Will the books on military strategy, histories of wars, biographies of great soldiers, accounts of how wars were won or lost, now to be found in the Defence Academy, Dehradun, be ever translated into Hindi, or if so, how long will it take, and how about the cost? Coming nearer home, is research in Indian history possible without acquaintance with the original findings of the great European scholars of Indian archaeology? An attempt of course is being made to bring out textbooks in Hindi as quickly as possible. But is the newly coined terminology with its flexible connotation good enough for exact science, or even for law where each term must have a fixed meaning well-known to all? A dispassionate consideration of these problems is sure to impose a restraint on the enthusiasm of the people who would discard English, say, at the end of ten or fifteen years. If to dislodge Persian, at one time the language of culture in this country, took about a century, how long will English which has struck a deeper root in our soil, a root more widely spread and intimately interwoven with our mental life than Persian? A time-limit for the exit of English from the cultural life of this country can therefore be set only by a facile optimist.

Here is the justification of our existence and ground for continued usefulness in society. We must realize that our days are far from nearing an early end. Even when English will be squeezed out of its strong position, it will continue to serve a very great purpose in this country. English is the language of every port, and is spoken or understood over at least half of the world. The demands of commerce and diplomacy, if not the need for international contact on personal level, will make it incumbent on us to acquire a good knowledge of it.

If I am taking the liberty to rehearse these well-known facts, it is to remove the misgivings of some of our worried friends, and to look ahead with a clear conscience and knowledge of our place in the new dispensation of our country.

It is true English one day will go out of the syllabus as a compulsory subject of study, and its place will be gradually taken by Hindi. We must not forget that at one time our grandfathers took their young people out of the *maktabs* and *pathshalas* (*tols*) and sent them to High English Schools, for the knowledge of English was the *sine qua non* for Government employment. The same paramount necessity will drive the future generations to the cultivation of Hindi, even in regions where it is not known or taught.

But the reasons mentioned above will remain, and English will have to be studied by all who would look forward to higher education. It is possible that this will be done with a split mind and ever-waning purpose. The time which was given to its acquisition hitherto will perhaps not be available. Yet as much of it must be learnt as would help the future generations to use it, *if not for writing or speaking, at least for reading and understanding*, with as much facility as their predecessors.

The task of the future English teacher will grow more difficult and involve greater responsibility than now, but it would not be impossible if approached with a well-prepared plan. This must save much frittering away of energy of the present system and ensure progress in a much shorter time than before.

The question therefore is at what stage should a student be introduced to a course of English, where he will end it, and how shall we conduct it so as to produce the most effective results.

At present the study of English commences even from the lowest class. Each student has to give up the greater part of his time for about ten years in acquiring a good knowledge of the language. But it does not end there. It continues for another two years at least, if not four. Still a confident grasp of the language is nowhere in sight. Perfection no one can claim. And all this at what cost? This early imposition of an alien tongue on a young learner, deprives him of much valuable time when he could have gained a good deal of useful knowledge. For example, at present he finds very little time for geography, drawing and common knowledge. He has very little opportunity of knowing the history of any country but his own. Scientific and vocational subjects cannot have place on the time-table for the same reason. He has to sacrifice all interests in life because he has no time for them.

A young student whose mental horizon has not widened beyond his home and his immediate neighbourhood, wonders why he should be subjected to the torment day and night for the acquisition of something whose value is of doubtful significance to him. If it is so *now*, would it not appear more futile to him in the future? Formerly he was at least aware

of the physical presence of the Englishman in his own country and saw his life at least from a distance. In course of time, the Englishman will become as legendary a figure as Alexander, Chengiz Khan or Nadir Shah. If this is so, the young learner will have no chance of discovering his contact with, and realize his interest in, the West before he starts upon the scientific subjects, and this will not happen before he comes to the last lap of the Middle School stage. If I were to plan for him, I would introduce him at this stage for the first time to the rudiments of the English language. This may be in Class VI or Class VII, probably the latter. I have reasonable grounds for hoping that he will now take to it with an awakened interest and delight. Just for the sake of novelty, and perhaps with some puzzled amusement, he will romp through the alphabet and the mystery of the English vowels.

What shall we do now not only to sustain this interest but also to stimulate a sense of wonder in his mind? I would put before him those very English words he has been using all his life under the guise of his mother tongue. Thus he would be amused to know that bat, hat, pan, fan, pin, tin, line, fine, boot, shoot, ball, goal, kick, back, bowl, catch, shirt, photo, rail, train, light, and numerous other words in daily use even by the illiterate, are really English. These and their uses will keep him occupied in the first year of his new venture.

It is claimed by the supporters of basic English that one can express oneself with eight hundred and fifty selected words. I would therefore ply the novice with a little more than two hundred new words every year for four years from Class VII to Class X. Indeed, I would set my target a little higher. It would be twelve hundred or three hundred per year. In addition to the words with whose sound he is familiar already, I would introduce him to the names of objects he is surrounded by at home, school and in the neighbourhood. I would perhaps begin with the kitchen and the dining room and move out to the neighbourhood and the school and onwards. Like the star, his mind must be kept moving, though not perceptibly perhaps but in effect. By daily repetition, he will thus remember the names of animals, their sound and simple behaviour, and also the names of inanimate objects and the verbs to describe them with. Stage by stage he must go forward according to a plan acquiring more vocabulary and its uses. Wave after wave with a calculated rate of attainment, the student must reach the predetermined goal. If he fails, he must not study English. *Let him try something else, and not aspire after University education which, as far as I can see, will not be within the reach of those who would not possess the knowledge of some European language.* All over Europe, a student has to learn a modern language which is not

his own. In some States, he has to acquire three or four languages.

At this stage, I would not harass the young learner with any poetry or drama, nor with the grammatical definitions. Indeed I would not scare him with such forbidding terms as Orthography, Etymology and the names of the Moods of verbs. Rather than making an attempt with the abstract rules of grammar, I would initiate him to the mysteries of grammar by means of simple sentences with known words showing their relationship with one another. Only in the final year, of the Matriculation, a simple grammar showing the various uses of words should be put before him so that he learns systematically what he has known before.

Should he not study any literature all this time? Of course he will, but only the one written for him with the words he has already been acquainted with. As his vocabulary increases, the volume of his literature will increase in the corresponding manner. If he proposes to go in for science, I would put into his hands such writings of scientific nature as would familiarize him with scientific language. Should he think of literature, he must do some poetry and stories, in addition. Indeed I would prescribe for him an additional paper consisting of poetry, drama, essays and stories.

But specialization cannot be thought of at the Matriculation stage. It really begins at the Intermediate. A student then makes up his mind what he is going to study in the future. Here therefore the course of English syllabus should be so framed and enforced that he is not thwarted in his later studies by his inability to understand the books in English that he wants to consult for a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject he might perhaps be studying in an Indian language. Such books should be put into his hands as deal with science if he is a science student, or if he pursues an Arts Course he must familiarize himself with a diction sensuous and speculative.

It must sound as a tall order, because books have never been written or selected with a purpose. But a beginning must be made, and there is no dearth of people who are capable of this task. The Bihar Text Book Committee has already begun this laudable work according to its needs and plan. This should be emulated everywhere and we shall have all the books we want.

This is my scheme for Secondary Education. I am profoundly interested in it because I have to shoulder a heavy burden at a later stage. Possibly there is nothing in it that has not been thought of or said before. I have made bold however to set them before my readers for a discussion. I shall be amply rewarded if it results in a clarification of thought.*

* Read before the All-India English Teachers' Conference (1952) held at Ajmer.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

By PROF. N. VENKATA RAO, M.A.

"UNLESS philosophers become rulers or rulers study philosophy, there will be no end to the troubles of man." Such was Plato's conception of a ruler. With the help of the Light of Reason the philosopher is able to guide the destinies and affairs of men. Asoka, Akbar and Marcus Aurelius were the philosopher-kings of yore who administered their countries wisely and justly. They were no mere dreamers that lived in the abstract world of ideas. They were practical enough to bring their philosophy down to the Assemblies and Council Halls. It is just that a philosopher like Radhakrishnan should have been chosen as the first Vice-President of the Indian Republic. With his long and varied career as Professor and Administrator, Preacher and Diplomat, he richly deserves the place.

Born on 5th September, 1888 to orthodox parents at Tiruttani, Radhakrishnan enjoyed neither the advantages of wealth nor birth. From the early years he dreamed of the things of Eternity and had a firm faith in the reality of an unseen world behind the flux of phenomena. By nature, shy and sensitive, he loved silence and solitude. He always lived in the world of books and made companions of poets and philosophers. His pursuit of the world of ideas earned him a reputation for coldness and indifference. But, to quote his words :

"I am capable of strong and profound emotions, which I generally tend to conceal. I am nervously organised, sensitive and high-strung."

Radhakrishnan had his education in the Christian Missionary Schools where he early imbibed the teachings of Jesus. But his pride was wounded when he heard Christian Missionaries attacking the Hindu beliefs and practices. As a zealous young man, inspired by the work and eloquence of Vivekananda, Radhakrishnan determined to clear the cobwebs of prejudice of these missionaries and vindicate the spirit of the Vedanta. Steadily and ceaselessly, he worked up to his dreams, became the interpreter of the East, and carried the greatness of the Vedanta to the Western world.

Radhakrishnan drank deep of the wisdom of the Upanishads and the Gita, the epics and the Puranas, the great teachings of the religions and philosophies of the East and West. His acquaintance with the literatures of the world is deep and profound. He tempered his mind with scientific knowledge and earned a reputation for precise thinking. Thus he acquired a wide knowledge of human affairs, a broad outlook, religious tolerance and successfully and harmoniously blended the Eastern and Western cultures in his teachings. His mind is a fine flower of culture, a synthesis of all that is true, good and beautiful.

Radhakrishnan's early thesis on the *Ethics of Vedanta* shows his bent of mind. It was a reply to the charge that

the Vedanta had no room for ethics. It won high praise from his teacher. His main argument is that

"Religion must express itself in a reasonable thought, fruitful action and right social institutions."

To him religion is not a dogma or a ritual. It is essentially a personal experience, a concern of the inner religion, for which faith and hope, spiritual labour and life which lifts man above the meaningless existence and dull despair. The sense of the infinite is the basis of moral activity are essential. The ethical aspect is vital for the purification of the mind and communion with God. With this end in view, Radhakrishnan maintains that Hindu Religion is not other-worldly, that conduct is supreme, and the doctrine of Maya belongs only to the phenomenal existence and does in no way conflict with the ethical seriousness. Thus his view is spiritual and non-dogmatic. In this light he has interpreted the East to the West. His writings bear the stamp of a creative artist with lucid style, clear insight, "fertile imagination" and sympathetic understanding.

Radhakrishnan is not blind to the weaknesses of Hindu Religion. It has fallen on evil days, lost much of its old vigour and vitality, become dull and listless. Many of our practices have disgraced our religion, blocked the way to progress and social reconstruction. We have mistaken tradition for Truth and the household gods are dethroned by the tin-gods of fashion and vanity. These gross abuses must be eliminated ruthlessly. We have to learn much from the West—its vitality and courage, its science and technology.

"After a long winter of some centuries, we are today in one of the creative periods of Hinduism."

It is not without misgivings that Radhakrishnan looks upon scientific progress and industrial civilization. Science helps us to build up our body and mind. But the cultivation of the spirit is equally necessary. In spite of our tremendous progress in knowledge and scientific invention, we are not above the level of past generations in ethical and spiritual life. Mechanization is the death of the spirit. Void within, we are reduced to mere atoms in a community, members of a mob.

Radhakrishnan sees abnormal inequalities in modern society and pleads for social justice and rational distribution of wealth. Today luxury and starvation dwell side by side. He thinks that

"The Russian experiment, whatever we may think of it, is at least an honest attempt to secure for all an equal share in things which constitute the physical basis of life. The glaring contrasts of poverty and wealth are not accepted by them as inevitable."

Society has become intensely selfish and greedy ; love of humanity is replaced by love of power and the

ture of position. Physical efficiency and intellectual alertness are dangerous if spiritual illiteracy prevails. Loss of faith and indifference to ethical discipline have resulted in the crisis of modern civilization.

Radhakrishnan deplores the lack of spirit in the modern civilization and its pursuit of the glittering bubbles of life. The trouble with our civilization is its neglect of the enduring things of life and the preoccupation with the fleeting. It is sacrificing Life for the sake of life. Our civilization is emptied of its spirit-content. Politics and economics do not take their direction from ethics and religion. Our society can be remoulded only by sincerity and understanding, by ethical discipline. Only integrated personalities can save us by their inner strength and sincerity.

"They by their self-sacrificing will contribute to the reign of God, of love, of virtue on earth. The stronger individuals help the weaker ones until all are saved."

Radhakrishnan is a Hindu to the core. We find the spirit ruling him at every step. A spare, light figure, keen alert face, bright brown eyes, his personality is arresting. As a Hindu preacher delivering sermons from Christian pulpits at Oxford and, Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, he made a profound impression on the audience. With a melodious and beautifully modulated voice, he conveyed his thoughts in a series of exquisitely turned phrases thus revealing his mastery of English language as well as Hindu metaphysics. His lectures were spontaneous outpourings of a soul that gazed at Eternity. "The audience swayed at times to his chant; and one felt as if the barrier between the East and West was gone." Referring to his sermon on "Revolution through Suffering," an Oxford Daily observed:

"Though the Indian preacher had the marvellous power to weave a magic web of thought, imagination and language, the real greatness of his sermon resides in some indefinable spiritual quality which arrests attention, moves the heart, and lifts us into an ampler air."

I had the opportunity to hear his Gita Lectures delivered at the University of Benares during his Vice-Chancellorship. Every time I heard him I was lifted into a rarer and diviner atmosphere.

Radhakrishnan is a Hindu not only in his thoughts and outlook, but also in his dress and habits. His food is simple and frugal without the touch of an ascetic; his dress too is simple and immaculate; his hair is never combed (now he has grown bald). He entertains his guests on a strict vegetarian fare seasoned with brilliant talk. He is accessible to all and sundry. He undergoes a severe self-imposed discipline.

The detachment of Radhakrishnan is really remarkable. A beloved husband to a devoted wife, an affectionate father to brilliant children, servant to all, he leads the life of Janaka with detachment, simplicity and humility. He is not an ascetic but he attaches little

importance to the joys and values of the earth. Authority sits lightly on him. The choicest delicacies of the dinner room at All Souls were not an attraction to him. "Some say that he used his private key to go out of the college by the back door when he found the front door jammed by celebrities."

Radhakrishnan has made this wide world his own home; mankind his kith and kin. Like a bird of passage he constantly moves from one part of the globe to the other; meeting and addressing people of different types and creeds. Whether lecturing to a class or addressing statesmen, his burden is invariably the same—the re-establishment of the Indian outlook of life in the heart of the human family. Society must live in peace and toleration. Hatred and ill-will must cease; intolerance and violence must go. Love and compassion must rule the world. Catch-words like socialism and capitalism do not appeal to him.

As a teacher Radhakrishnan came into contact with many young men pulsating with life. He educated them to a belief in a spiritual and ethical universe, stressed the importance of prayer and a frequent withdrawal to oneself from the machinery of existence. A genuine teacher is a living lamp that kindles light in his pupils, quickens them to the ideas of Truth and Beauty. Through suffering we grow and obtain grace. With the shedding of ego, love reigns supreme, and love is greater than law or justice, learning or fame.

"The touch of a compassionate hand," writes Radhakrishnan, "often illuminates one like lightning-flash in the darkness. Profound influences are wrought by creative minds by a light gesture or a brief conversation."

Radhakrishnan is not a pedantic scholar or cold dispenser of thought. He is intensely human and is alive to the value of emotions. He has a capacious heart and sympathetic understanding. He suffers fools and criminals. The infinite pathos of life, he says, call for infinite understanding. He sees in the sinful, the mystery, the beauty and the sadness of life. He has the magic gift of confidence and his correspondents include all and sundry craving for help and advice.

"It pleased me to know," he writes, "that to some lonely or enslaved souls I was perhaps the only or the first person to show any sympathy or understanding."

Radhakrishnan is an apostle of culture, an ambassador of love. He works for sweetness and light to make the will of God prevail. Blessed are they that spend their lives in dispelling ignorance and mitigating misery. Great souls like Buddha, Christ and Gandhi strove to lighten the burden of humanity by suffering and love. "If we are to imitate in some small measure their example, we must help the weak and comfort the unhappy." A little help, a kind word, or even a smile may go a long way in alleviating human misery.

THE LATE MR. T. R. VENKATRAMA SASTRY

A Personal Tribute

By P. RAJESWARA RAO, ADVOCATE

The passing away of Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastri, the doyen of Indian liberalism and a Constitutional lawyer of considerable erudition and noted for his moderation and caution marks the end of an epoch in the public life of our country. As a faithful disciple of the late Rt. Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, he lived up to his faith to the last breath of his life. Like most of the public men of his generation, he took to the legal profession and soon made his mark as a great jurist and an eminent advocate. The Advocate-Generals in Madras came to him in the normal course. Though he succeeded Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer as the Law Member in the Governor's Executive Council, he could not remain in that position for more than 48 hours consistent with his notions of dignity and self-respect as the Police Portfolio was suddenly removed from the control of the Law Member. His exit opened the door to yesmen who were awaiting an opportunity.

Whatever his politics were he espoused the just causes whenever and wherever they cropped up. When Rev. Paton, the Christian Missionary, was unjustly beaten by the Police during the Satyagraha Movement, he lodged his protest. Again when the Madras High Court sought to take action against Mr. Vaidyanatha Iyer of Madurai for defying the ban imposed on him by the executive during the Quit India Movement of 1942, Mr. Sastri stood by him and described the conduct of Sri Vaidyanatha Ayyer as a symbolic protest against an order which he considered to be unwarranted. The then Chief Justice Mr. Lionel Lach who was both imperious and hot-tempered cooled down and closed the matter with a censure. The tragic end of Mahatma Gandhi sent the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh into disgrace. Many were grieved to find this brotherhood of Hindus built upon sustained service and sacrifice disintegrating. In the fitness of things Mr. Sastri came to its rescue and rehabilitated it in the eyes of the public and the Government alike. The instances are merely illustrative and not in any sense exhaustive.

He touched life at many points. He was an ardent social reformer. He was the earliest champion of equal rights for women. As a member of the Sir B. N. Rao's Committee on the codification of Hindu Law he rendered yeoman's service. He was interested in the cause of higher education and was intimately

connected with the various academic bodies of the Madras University for a long time. He also officiated as the Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University. Above all, he was a Sanskrit scholar and was responsible for the upkeep of the Kuppuswami Sastri Sanskrit College and Research Institute. He also enjoyed his share of club life till the end.

Above all, he was unassuming and fast in his friendships. As one known to his master the late Rt. Hon'ble Sastri, I required no introduction to him and enjoyed the privilege of his friendship. He always received me with great warmth. We exchanged notes on public problems. I differed from him often and even gave publicity to such differences. But it never affected our personal relations. I always admired his enthusiasm for the study of public problems. He expressed himself on every crucial issue. When I met him last in April, though signs of senility were apparent, his mind was mobile. Though the atmosphere was surcharged with ill-will, animosity and prejudice on account of the impending formation of the Andhra State, we talked to, instead of talking at, as Indians. We discussed all the topical issues at length and in detail, with impartiality and detachment. I wish that all my contacts were at such a high cultural level. He was definitely distressed over the formation of States on linguistic basis before we consolidated our freedom and developed the spirit of Indian citizenship. He was also apprehensive that the separation of Andhra would let loose the forces of communalism in Tamilnad. When I asked him why did he not at least agree to the conversion of Madras into a C class State, he replied with a spirit of resignation that the lot of Madras was after all cast with Tamilnad. But the Indian in him desired that the residuary State should be known as the Madras State, where the non-Tamils also would feel at home. He told me that some of his well-meaning friends (since they are distinguished Tamilians, I do not want to disclose their names) criticised him for saying that Madras should be part of Tamilnad. They wanted him to say that Madras would not be part of Andhra, and leave it at that. He had settled views on many problems. He felt that there was more politics than music in the Tamil Isai Movement. He was all admiration to the inherent musical potentialities of Telugu. In the event of a clash between the two power-blocs on the international scene, he was confident that India would be

neutral. He was an invaluable link between the older and the younger generation.

He passed away full of years and honours. But his death has created a void which cannot be easily

filled up. I salute Sri T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, the liberal patriot, scholar, educationist and philanthropist who passed away from mortality to immortality.

—:O:—

AN OUTLINE OF A SCHEME TO ATTRACT YOUNG MEN OF MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES To Adopt Agriculture as a Profession

By DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

It is high time that earnest endeavours should be made to encourage young men of middle-class families to adopt farming as their main occupation. But prior to it, it is important to demonstrate adequately that farming, on an area of land, 10 to 15 acres, which may be readily available in the countryside to some young men, is a paying proposition. With this object in view an area not more than 15 acres in suitable localities may be acquired or taken on lease by Government and a cropping scheme adopted in order to demonstrate abundantly that farming on such a small area pays sufficiently to enable a young man to maintain his small family. The farm will be run on absolutely economic lines and the buildings, sheds, etc., constructed on it should be as simple as possible, fitting in with the conditions prevailing in villages, with such improvements which may be effected within the means of a villager. The methods adopted to run the farm should also be within the reach and means of an average cultivator.

A young man of the locality, preferably a Matriculate, with a bias towards agriculture and possessing some capital, should be entertained at the farm as a learner, but he should be required to work on the farm with the labourers doing with his own hands all the operations of the farm. The training should be so arranged as will give him an insight into the working of the farm in all its sections in-

cluding cropping, accounts, balance sheets, etc. He should be given a wage of Rs. 65 a month.

A farm of this type should be run in a locality for 3 or 4 years entirely at the cost of Government and under the spot supervision of a competent agricultural officer. In course of this period the Agricultural Department should be able to demonstrate that the cropping scheme worked out at the farm is suited to the local conditions and is a distinct improvement over the local methods. If they cannot demonstrate it within a reasonable period, the farm should be abolished.

But if they can demonstrate that the farm is sufficiently paying to enable a young man and his family to maintain themselves it should be offered to the young man to run it on his own account. If he has funds, he may purchase the farm at a reasonable price or the farm may be leased out to him on a reasonable rate of rent. If the farm is paying the young man is likely to be attracted to enter into an agreement with the Government under suitable conditions to run it on his own account.

The above is only an outline of a scheme to attract and inspire suitable young men to adopt agriculture as a profession. Details may be worked out.

A number of farms of this type will also serve as an object-lesson to the cultivators of the locality.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE TEACHINGS OF THE UPANISHADS: By Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya. University of Calcutta. Pp. vi + 326. Price Rs. 10.

Sri Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, who has utilised his retirement from an exalted post under the Government of India, gives in the volume under review a summary of his convictions, based on wide reading, concerning some of the fundamental conclusions of orthodox Hindu philosophy and religion. The key to his position is to be found in the last chapter, namely, "Complete Truth in Vedic Religion," in which he tries to establish the superiority of Hinduism over other religions, indigenous and foreign. In the chapter preceding he gives a summary of "Other Schools of Hindu Philosophy" and attempts to prove the superiority of Vedanta over other systems of thought, orthodox and heterodox alike. In the chapter of "God and the Soul" he tries to show that Ramanuja has given a better interpretation of Vedanta than Sankara.

The reader can now expect what the general aim of the author would be like: it is to establish the superiority of the theistic position with the help of the Upanisads. This objective has narrowed the scope of the enquiry by practically limiting the treatment of the Upanisadic materials to their bearing upon the nature of the soul, its spiritual training, and its ultimate destiny. The book is therefore not a comprehensive study of the Upanisads like that of Deussen or Ranade nor a critical account like that of Keith or Belvalkar and Ranade. In fact, the introduction of Vedanta and Bhagavadgita materials has tended to obscure to some extent the exact Upanisadic speculation. Conversely, the inclusion of the big penultimate chapter on other schools has somewhat widened the scope of enquiry though it has tended at the same time to deflect the attention from the Upanisads proper. The book is, therefore, to be regarded more or less as a critical examination of the Vedanta as interpreted by Sankara and Ramanuja with the help of Upanisadic texts and as an attempt to establish the validity of the traditional Hindu view as against the criticisms of modern scholars, both Eastern and Western.

But within the limits set by himself the author shows intensive study and deep meditation. His spirited defence of the Hindu view of life with its doctrine of *karma*, its eschatological speculation, and its scheme of spiritual discipline and his vindication of the *Varnasram Dharma* make him a redoubtable champion of Hindu orthodoxy. It is obvious that on some of the positions taken up by him it is possible to join issue with him, seeing that divergence of opinion is present

within the orthodox texts and interpretations themselves and an historical evolution of thought cannot be lightly set aside in favour of an eternally fixed canon. A wholesale support of ancient texts runs the obvious risk of ignoring evolution of human thinking in all parts of the world with the growth of critical faculty. Naturally, arguments have sometimes to be twisted to support a personal view-point.

The salient points that the author wishes to make out are that the Upanisads did not condemn or abandon unequivocally the performance of ordained duties and the invocation of the gods in the Vedic fashion and that they did not make the practice of morality difficult, illogical or superfluous. He naturally justifies the use of images for worshipping God, but wisely permits sectarian difference on temperamental grounds, and even supports syncretism and synthesis. He holds that the Smritis and the Puranas can be relied upon to supplement the Upanisads in spiritual matters as being ultimately based upon the Vedic tradition. He has no difficulty in showing that Sankara's philosophy is neither Vijnanavada nor Berkeleyan idealism, though it is not a better guide than Ramanuja's, and that it is not impossible to reconcile the two statements that Brahman has no parts and that the *jiva* is a part of Brahman. He has used his mathematical knowledge to establish that space and time can be proved to be limited and false in an ultimate reference. Naturally, philosophies that take matter as equally important with soul find no support from him though he does not favour Sankara's *vivartavada* as an explanation of matter and finite souls.

This short review does not do full justice to the wealth of materials to be found in the book nor to the simple and forceful style in which the author defends his view-point. It is a matter of great regret, however, that due to very bad proof-reading a large number of mistakes should manage to linger on in the text and need correction in the next edition. His spelling of Sanskrit words is not free from mistakes and the diacritical marks have not been properly used in many places. Seeing that it is a Calcutta University publication, expert aid should have been placed at his disposal for removing slips and checking references. The author's own mistakes are very few as compared with the errors in printing. If these are ignored, we have in this volume a unique spectacle of a highly cultured Hindu not afraid or ashamed to own publicly his allegiance to the much criticised and much maligned culture of this ancient land that has weathered so many storms in course of its long career and shown renewed vitality when all seemed to be lost through the hostile attack of outsiders and the wavering faith of its adherents.

HARIDAS BHATTACHARYYA

MYSTIC APPROACH TO THE VEDA AND THE UPANISHAD: By M. P. Pandit. Published by Sri Aurobindo Library, 369 Esplanade, Madras. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 3.

This book is a collection of six papers contributed by the author on special occasions to the Annual Numbers of Sri Aurobindo Circle, Bombay and Sri Aurobindo Pathamandir, Calcutta. These papers are, according to the learned author, governed by a unity of purpose which is to test and see for ourselves how far the claim made for the Vedas as revealed scriptures is justified and also to appraise the soundness of the mode of symbolical interpretation. The main principles of mystic interpretation of Sri Aurobindo are enunciated in the first paper and application of this method and the results it yields are illustrated in the subsequent chapters and on the legend of Shunahsepa. The last chapter emphasizes the need for a new approach to the Upanishads. The author observes that Upanishads do not constitute a departure from the Vedas but they draw upon and continue the spiritual tradition of them. He asserts that they are not philosophical texts but essentially living guide-books to the seekers of Truth. There is in the Rig-Veda a Sukta named after Rishi Shunahsepa. Shunahsepa denotes bliss, and sepa, a ray. Its literal meaning is, therefore, a ray of bliss. The Rishi finds himself bound by a bond and aspires after release and to be restored to Aditi. The legend recurs in the Aitareya Brahmana. Some Western Indologists conclude from this legend that *narabali* or human sacrifice is mentioned in it. Like Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Colebrooke, Wilson and Rosen, the present author challenges their false conclusion and refutes it with strong arguments.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR (A Study): By Haridas Mukherjee. Dasgupta and Co., Calcutta, 1953. Pp. 75. Price Rs. 2.

The late Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar deeply impressed himself upon his contemporaries at home and abroad by the amazing richness and versatility of his talents, the originality and boldness of his ideas, and the extraordinary fruitfulness of his literary output. It is therefore in the fitness of things that an attempt should be made in the present monograph to do justice to his remarkable career with special reference to his manifold activities spreading for nearly half a century over different branches of thought and action in connection with the Indian liberation movement. To the present reviewer, the work is specially welcome as it gives him an opportunity of paying his homage of affectionate regard for the memory of one whom he had learnt to esteem as one of his most valued friends since he was a fellow-student at the Presidency College at the beginning of this century.

The book consists of three chapters of which the first gives Professor Sarkar's life-sketch, while the second and the third deal in detail with his services to Bengali literature and with his contributions in the field of comparative study of Eastern and Western cultures. It is adorned with a portrait of Mr. Sarkar and it concludes with a number of appendices consisting of appreciative extracts from his friends and admirers in and outside India. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee, as a senior fellow-worker of Mr. Sarkar for many years, contributes an appreciative Foreword.

On a few minor points we may offer our criticism of the present work. The author's treatment suffers from a certain amount of duplication, the material of the second and the third chapters being anticipated

to a slight extent in the first chapter. The author, again, has fought shy of the question, why such a highly gifted person, to quote an extract from the Foreword, "did not get his dues in life which was somewhat marked by a subdued sense of frustration?"

U. N. GHOSHAL

BENGAL VILLAGE IN WOOD-ENGRAVING: Engraved by Haren Das with a foreword by R. N. Chakravorty and Introduction by L. M. Sen. Ten examples, two in colour. Published by G. C. Lahiri and Co., 1 Dharmatala Street, Calcutta. Price. Rs. 12.

This is a fine collection of wood-engravings representing typical scenes from Bengal village-life, of considerable charm and beauties. Wood-engraving is not yet a popular art though it has immense possibilities in the realm of illustrated journalism, particularly, in the Sunday editions of our dailies, still addicted to the pernicious habit of using clumsy, smudgy half-tone blocks which could be easily replaced by wood-engravings which will help to keep alive a group of artists, specializing in this Art. The price is prohibitive and will prevent a large circulation.

O. C. GANGOLY

RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE STATUS OF THE INDIANS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: By H. K. Junckerstorff. Published by Book Land Limited, 1, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta 6. Price not stated.

"Africa is on the march . . . The crucial question governing the future of the Dark Continent is the problem of the racial, religious and linguistic minorities incorporated in the old States and the new ones to be created."

Dr. H. K. Junckerstorff of St. Louis University gives in the volume under review a terse, yet on the whole clear, account of the plight of the more than three lakhs of South Africans of Indian origin. He knocks the bottom out of the Union Government's contention that the Indian problem is the domestic concern of South Africa by clearly demonstrating that Indians in the Union of South Africa are a national minority in international law, one which "includes only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics materially different from those of the rest of the population." (Definition by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities established by the United Nations). Specially brilliant is Chapter VI which shows how the South Africa Government has denied to the Indian minority the rights guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The rulers of South Africa should remember—more in their own interest than anybody else's—that the suppression of the minorities "will bring internal trouble and revolution." A policy of tolerance, mutual understanding and mutual help will usher in an era of peaceful progress in that benighted land.

The learned Doctor should have been more careful, however, about some of his statistics. Thus, according to him, Indians in South Africa number 282,500. In reality they are now more than 300,000. Again, in one place (p. 25) he puts the number of Indians in Durban at 113,400, and in another (p. 56) at 128,241. Both cannot be correct at one and the same time. These and similar inaccuracies and contradictions should be removed from the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJEE

WHEELS ROUND THE WORLD: By Alan Hess. Published by Newman Neame, London, 1951. Pp. 94. Price 15 shillings.

This exciting little book narrates the daring exploits and the quixotic adventures of the pioneers of motor traction from the end of the last century down to our times—of men battered, twisted, thrown about, but never vanquished or thwarted by the unspeakable hazards of the road. Here we read about the three-ton contraption—painted bright yellow—of Dr. E. E. Lehweß christened "Passe-Partout," which, after a flamboyant announcement of a round-the-world circumnavigation, lumbered its way from London through an interminable succession of dinners, receptions and festivities, and finally ended up ignominiously by getting bogged in a snowdrift near Nijni Novgorod. Then there was the three-car race from Peking to Paris organised by *Le Matin* in 1907. The winner was Prince Borghese who reached Paris in 60 days. 1908 saw an even more ambitious race from New York to Paris. The journey was initially planned *via* Alaska over the frozen Bering Strait. But this part of the programme was abandoned at the last moment. Andre Citroen's Sahara expedition in 1922-23 in an aluminium car, which took 22 days to make the crossing, was another mile-stone in the life of the "horseless carriage." Also remarkable were Michael Terry's dash across Northern Australia's "Never Never Land," in 1923, through 200,000 square miles of bush and desert country and the desperate ingenuity displayed by the men of the Court-Treatt Cape-to-Cairo expedition during 1924-26. Equally spectacular were Captain T. Yates-Benyon's race from London to Calcutta in 1932, the Sleigh expedition from Algiers to the Cape in 1938 and, finally, the author's own air-cum-overland circumnavigation of the world in the record time of three weeks in June, 1951. Numerous beautiful sketches from the pen of George Bass and eight pages of illustrations covering Hess' round-the-world trip enhance the value of this exceedingly well-produced book.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE WEST BENGAL SECRETARIAT CLERKSHIP EXAMINATIONS: By B. Samyal, M.A., B.L. Published by the author from 106, South Sinthee Road, Calcutta 30. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 5.

Questions 1947-52 are included with answers besides a very useful Appendix at the end of the book. Rules of the Examination together with the syllabus are also given for the benefit of the examinees. This is the fifth and up-to-date edition of the book and shall prove a useful guide to those for whom it is intended.

DIRECTORY OF THE BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS, 1953 (Parts I and II): Compiled by Devan Ram Prakash. Published by Bookwala Brothers, Calcutta 17. Pp. 214. Price Rs. 10.

Part I contains names and addresses of Booksellers and Publishers in India and Pakistan, alphabetically arranged according to places of business. Part II contains names of Newspapers and Periodicals similarly arranged. Although a useful publication, the price fixed seems to be a bit too high.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

BANGLAR BARSALIPI, 1360 (B.S.): Edited by Sisirkumar Acharyya Chowdhury. Published by

Sanskriti Baithak 17, Panditia Place, Calcutta 29. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a Bengali Year-Book dependable and up-to-date. Its popularity is proved by the fact that this is the tenth year of its publication. We have no hesitation to remark that from a schoolboy to a businessman, particularly, those who cannot make use of Year-Books in English, this handy volume will prove extremely useful.

A. B. DUTTA

KRISHI-BIGNAN, Vol. II (Fasal Sabji-O-Fal): By Rabi Rajeswar Das Gupta Bahadur, I.A.S., M.R.A.S. (Eng) and edited by Ramesh Das Gupta. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 607. Price Rs. 10.

The book deals with a subject, applied agriculture, which is throbbing with life to-day and is in the forefront, now when India is making a bold bid to be self-sufficient in food. The book is of interest because it is written by one who in the earlier part of the twentieth century instilled the life or the spirit of research in agricultural enterprise in Bengal.

Agriculture in India, then, was just a by-word. The Government sent men abroad for agricultural training and on their return gave them magistrateship or something like that, while the state of agriculture in the country was getting worse and worse. The author felt the distress of the cultivators and was determined to improve the condition of agriculture. He invented improved agricultural implements and found out more scientific and economical methods of agriculture. It is a pity we lost him early, but we are fortunate enough to be left with his masterly views and ideals in his books.

The book under review is a part of the author's encyclopaedia on agriculture. In every page of the book we feel his keen passion for improvement of agriculture in India. This particular book deals with crops, vegetables and fruits, from economic, practical and theoretical aspects. Whatever the author has dealt with he has done exhaustively and in lucid style to be understood by anyone with an elementary knowledge of the Bengali language. The book is indeed an asset—the first of its kind in Bengali language. The book has kept up with the modern views and facts in the fast developing science of agriculture. This reflects much credit on the author's knowledge and farsightedness. The book has been admirably edited and revised by Ramesh Das Gupta with his thorough knowledge of the subject. There is a chapter on popular sayings to interest the general reader and an appendix containing cost of cultivation of important crops, vegetables and fruits to help the wise and thrifty farmer. The author has dealt with the subject in several well-classified chapters and has given all the information that the reader may wish to know. He has dealt separately with the insect pests, and plant diseases, and their prevention, manures, cultivation, seed required and nett yield per bigha, for each item. In the chapter on fruits he has dealt at length with the procedure and use of different types of grafting.

This sumptuous Volume of about six hundred pages embodies the experience and observation of an enthusiast and specialist in agriculture.

Now that the national government have come to realise the importance of improved agriculture in India the book ought to be the text-book for students in agricultural colleges and schools and in the hands of all officers entrusted with agricultural improvement.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

HINDI

HINDI SAHITYA KI PARAMPARA : By Hansraj Agarwal. Published by Sahitya Prakashan Mandir, Lashkar, M. B. Pp. 436. Price Rs. 5.

A handbook of Hindi literature tracing its growth from the beginning to the present day, briefly but informatively, against the triple concurrent background of political, social and cultural influence and environment of each period. As such, it will be found very useful by students but it could be used with advantage also by all those who desire to have ready at hand a helpful reference book on the subject. But the handbook is more than a history of Hindi literature; it is a delightful interpretation and assessment thereof as well.

KALA KI KALAM : By Raghuvir Sharan "Mitra." Published by Akhil Bharat Rashtriya Sahitya Prakashan Parishad, Meerut, U.P. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 3.

A collection of sixteen stimulating critical essays on Art, Literature, Beauty in Poetry, Literature and Society, Mysticism and other allied themes. The author is a well-known *litterateur* and critic, so he has written with intellectual acumen and literary flair and felicity.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SHI K. M. MUNSHI-NI PATRA-SRISTHI : An Album of pictures drawn by Ravi Shankar Rawal and published by Guzerat Sahitya Sabha, with a dedicatory page signed by C. M. Diwan, K. K. Sastri, D. D. Shah, Ballantyne Haveli, Tin Darvaja, Ahmedabad. 1953. 32 colour plates. Price Rs. 25

This is a respectful tribute offered by his countrymen to the Hon'ble K. M. Munshi, the distinguished son of Gujarat, on his 60th birth-day. Such *Festschriften* of tribute have become quite fashionable in India. But generally such tributes are in the form of a bunch of learned essays and articles from the pen of scholars and savants. But this is a new departure as it avoids the trodden path of literary contributions and takes the form of a bunch of Water Colour Paintings, specially painted by Ravi Shankar Rawal, the famous artist and journalist of Ahmedabad. The 32 pictures, each mounted on cartons, with a descriptive note in Gujarati and Hindi, are in three sections: Vedic-Puranik (14), Historical (14) and Social (4). The pictures are imaginative presentations, not always happy in their designs, draughtsmanship and colour scheme, the best pieces being Kartavirja-Arjun, Daddanath Aghori, Dhodha Bapa, Chaula, Muhammad of Ghazni, Prasanna, Ranak Devi and Kirtideva. The unspecified portrait pasted on the Album is a powerful study of an unidentified historical figure. The famous Gujarat artist has set a new precedent for the forms of Prasasti volumes which it is hoped will be followed by later pilgrims on the same path.

O. C. GANGOLY

1. **SHRI KRISHNI AN OR AT THE MONTH OF THE GUN :** By H. D. Dave.

2. **GITA SAPTARATNA SAPTATI :** By Babubhai Ichcharam Desai, B.A.

Both published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay 1. 1950. Cloth-bound. Paper-cover. Pp. 176: 171. Price (Rs. 4-12, Re. 1).

The weekly paper *Gujarati* presents to its subscribers at the end of every year, a novel or other book for the last sixty-six years. Book No. 1 is its present for the sixty-seventh year. A man called Bhandas was, through jealousy, unfairly shot, by Maharaja Khanderao, at the month of the Gun. Later he

repented and honoured in open Darbar his widow and daughter-in-law. The book sets out that story and is based on the archives of chroniclers (Bahroti). The second book contains the Sanskrit text and Gujarati translation of the first Part (Shlokas 1-40) of the 18th Adhayaya of the Gita, with useful explanations and comments based on the sermons of Godse Shastri-Babubhai is a close student of the Gita and has propounded its principles very well.

MAHASABHANUN BANDHARAN : Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 17. Price As. 8.

This is a Gujarati version of the contribution of the Hindi Rashtriya Mahasabha as adopted at Bombay on 24th April, 1948.

SATYAGRAHA MIMAMSA : By Maganbhai P. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 294. Price Rs. 3.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1934, when Satyagraha was being practised at its highest. Its significance, its object, its limitations, its *ahimsa* character, and every phase relating to it was given there. During the course of fifteen years after 1934 many occurrences have taken place, to which Shri Desai has referred in his extensive Introduction. He has noticed that Sangathan-Union can be based on jealousy, envy, hatred and falsehood, instead of on love and truth, and gives us an instance, the union of Muslims brought about by the late Mr. Jinnah. Kaka Kalelkar's second Introduction, i.e., Introduction to this edition, entitled "The Direction in which Hope Lies," is a valuable guide to workers in this line.

ARTHASHASTRANI PARIBHASHA : By Vithaldas Maganlal Kothari. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 65. Price As. 14.

In these days of economic upheavals a sort of Dictionary, giving synonyms and explanations of economic terms and phrases was necessary. Mr. Kothari has met the need, by this small volume, where he gives the meaning, significance, and trend of nearly 500 English words and phrases, and explains them, e.g., cornering, currency, dumping, socialism and many more.

K. M. J.

GOPALAN : By Natubhai Solanki. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir. May, 1953. Price Rs. 3.

Natubhai Solanki has been trained in Sabarmati Gandhi Ashram working on cow-keeping, and has produced a book on Gopalan in Gujarati covering different aspects of the problem. He has carefully studied Shri Satish Das Gupta's well-known book as well as the special issue of the *Kalyan : The Romance of the Cow*, Sri Valjibhai's *Go-Raksha Kalpataru*, and he has in course of seven chapters produced a handy book showing how the cow was held in great request in our ancient books. He has described the different breeds, milk and milk products. He has also treated ordinary cattle diseases and easily available remedies and *pinjrapoles* for the old and infirm. He has assessed the value of cows against buffaloes, bullocks against tractors, and in a few appendices he has shown how records are to be kept regarding cows and how the various forms of Vanaspati and similar products are to be balanced against ghee, concluding his books with miscellaneous interesting side topics. The book is sure to be very useful to all interested in our cattle wealth, and surely their number should be large enough to embrace all rural welfare workers.

P. R. SEN

THOUGHTS OF POWER : A collection of thoughts from Swami Vivekananda to rouse, to inspire and to guide the youth of the country.

Attractive Get-up

Pocket Size

Price As. 6

HINDU VIEW OF CHRIST : By Swami Akhilananda. An American publication offered at reduced price for Indian Sale. Price in U.S.A. \$ 3.00

Excellent Get-up.

Pages 291

Price Rs. 6

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : A choice collection from the eight volumes of *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* which gives us a glimpse into the strength and sublimity of the great Swami's teachings which have deeply influenced the minds of people all over the world.

Pages 272

Pocket Size

Price Rs. 3

TEACHINGS OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA : A collection of about one thousand teachings of the Great Master.

Pocket Size

Nicely Got-up

Price Rs. 5

SUBSCRIBE TO PRABUDDHA BHARATA

The January 1954 issue will be a special number to commemorate the Birth Centenary of Sri Saradamani Devi (The Holy Mother) and will be given to the Subscribers without extra charge.

Annual Subscription : India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5 ; Foreign 14 sh. ; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.



JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit Maha Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palmist, Tantric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavirajas, redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult law suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and free people from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji.

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.

Dhanada Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman :—for vast wealth, good luck and all round prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129-11.
Bagalamukhi Kavacha :—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning civil or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 184-4.
Mohini Kavacha :—Enables arch foes to become friends and friends more friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14.
Nrisingha Kavacha :—It cures Barrenness and all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 13-9. Super-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9.
Saraswati Kavacha :—Succeeds in examination and sharp memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9. Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful Astrological book in English **"MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"** by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Head Office & Residence : "Jyotish Samrat Bhaban", 50/2, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction), Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours : 7-30 A.M. to 11 A.M. & 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.
Nabagraha & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 9-30-10-30 A.M. Phone: B.B. 3685.
Central Branch Office :—47, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone : Central 4065. Hours 5-30-7-0 P.M.
LONDON OFFICE :—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 9-A, Westway, Raynes Park, London.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Professor Girindra Sekhar Bose

Dr. S. C. Mitra writes in *Science and Culture* :

Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose, D.Sc., M.B., F.N.I., the first Professor of Psychology of the Calcutta University and one of the founders of the Indian Psychological Association, passed away on 3rd June last at the age of 67 years. He had a stroke in 1949 and since then he had been practically confined to bed till the time of his death.

We had the privilege of living in close association with Dr. Bose for more than 30 years and thus had the opportunity of witnessing the gradual development and unfolding of the rich and varied powers of his mind. We first came in contact with him in 1917 when he was our teacher. What struck us most at that time was the keenness of his intellect, his novel methods of teaching, and his original ways of interpreting the phenomena of mind. Above all, the rigorously scientific bent of his mind fascinated us. Everything that he said and did, even the routine of the daily activities of his life was based on strict scientific principles. Through close contact we gradually realised the versatility of his interest and his capacities in different fields of intellectual and social activities.

Girindrasekhar was a son of Dewan Chandrasekhar Bose and was born in Darbhanga on January 30, 1886. He is survived by three elder brothers, one of whom is Rajsekhar Bose, a former manager and a present director of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works; a master of Bengali humorous prose who writes under the pen name *Parashuram*.

Graduating in science in the year 1905 with Honours in Physiology and Chemistry in both of which he obtained First Class and stood first, Girindrasekhar entered the Medical College. Passing out all medical examinations with great credit in 1910 he began his career as a medical man. By this time he had already mastered the techniques of hypnotism. From a very early period of his life he was deeply interested in the workings of the mind and had a burning desire to study these in a thoroughly scientific way. The creation of the Psychology Department in 1916 gave him the desired opportunity, and he at once took advantage of it. He joined the Department as a student and acquainted himself thoroughly with all that the leading psychologists of the day had to say about mind. He passed the M.Sc. examination in Experimental Psychology in 1917 in the First class. He however was not satisfied with what he learnt about psychology from the authorities and found serious gaps in the theories about many of the mental phenomena. At that time Sigmund Freud's revolutionary theories had begun to agitate violently the scientists, the religious men and leaders of society of the Western countries. Storms of protests and personal vilifications were the order of the day. Dr. Bose however, was convinced of the truth of Freud's discoveries and found them extremely helpful in explaining much of the hitherto unexplained mental phenomena. He was bold enough to adopt and preach Freud's theories and began practising psychoanalysis himself. It was a great step taken in the history of the progress of psychological

studies in our country. To-day psychologists, anthropologists, historians and even fashionable leaders of our society refer to Freud and speak of his psychoanalytical theories but let us remember that it was Dr. Bose who introduced Freud to India and it was he who was the pioneer of psychoanalysis here.

Dr. Bose was not content merely to discuss and disseminate Freud's theories. He began his own investigations on the unconscious regions of the mind and soon made contributions which attracted the attention of Freud, Ferenczi, Jones and other foremost psychoanalysts of the day.

It was these researches which won for him an international reputation and Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose was asked to be a collaborating editor of the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. In the meantime he obtained the D.Sc. degree of the Calcutta University in 1921 by submitting his thesis on "The Concept of Repression." In the general psychology too he made a number of origin contributions and Spearman in his famous book *Psychology down the Ages* quoted long extracts from Dr. Bose's article on Illusion and elaborately discussed the views expressed therein.

During the course of his psychoanalytical researches, however, Dr. Bose's versatile mind soon realised that there were parallelisms and similarities between the psychoanalytical view and the ancient Indian conceptions about the mind. Accordingly with his characteristic zeal he began with the help of Pandits to study the ancient Sanskrit texts, philosophical, mythological and historical. The products of his devotion to these studies are his well-known treatises *Puram Prabesh*, *Gita* and other articles. The manuscripts of another book had been completed before his death but unfortunately had not been published as yet. With the help of a German tutor, Dr. Bose learned the German language and acquired considerable proficiency in it. His studies on the psychology of language, Bengali technical terms, are authoritative ones. The pages of many journals, English as well as Bengali, have been enriched by his valuable contributions. It was his book *Swapna* written in plain, easily intelligible Bengali language, which first introduced the theories of Freud to the intelligent lay public of our country. As such it was a definite contribution to our own literature. Juvenile literature also did not escape the touch of his hand and his *Lal-Kalo* will always occupy a distinctive position in this field.

Apart from these versatile intellectual activities he had many other solid achievements to his credit. For wider propagation of psychoanalytical knowledge he founded the Indian Psychoanalytical Society, the first of its kind in India, if not of Asia, in the year 1922, long before many other countries of Europe and States of America thought of doing so. He remained the President of the Society, which was affiliated to the International Society, till the last day of his life. Another notable achievement of his was the opening of the Applied Psychology Section in the Department of Psychology of

our University. He considered it humiliating that whenever we had to discuss anything about the child mind or any other topic of Psychology, we had to rely on observational data of other foreign countries. While our students know many things about the IQ's of the British and American boys and girls and the temperamental qualities of the children of Germany and Switzerland they did not have any reliable scientific data about the children and youths of our own country. In order that this serious defect could be overcome the Applied Psychology Section was started with the main object of collecting data and carrying on researches. A scheme was formulated with the help of Dr. Myers, the Founder of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, and Dr. Spearman, the then Professor of Psychology of the University of London, both of whom happened to be present here at that time at the invitation of the Indian Science Congress. The late lamented Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University gave full support to the scheme and the section was inaugurated in 1938. It was the earnest desire of Dr. Bose that this section would gradually be converted into a full-fledged Postgraduate Department of Applied Psychology and Dr. Mookerjee assured him that there would be no difficulty in doing so.

It is a matter of deep regret that even after fourteen years, this undertaking given to Dr. Bose has not been implemented by the responsible authorities. Even now efforts have to be made every year to induce authorities to extend the life of the Applied Psychology section. It will be a fitting recognition of Dr. Bose's efforts in this direction if finally a separate Applied Psychology Department of the University be established. To Dr. Bose goes the credit of starting this completely new venture in our country.

The most important activity of Dr. Bose in the social sphere was the starting of the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital.

Bengal did not have any hospital, Government or private, run on strictly scientific lines for the treatment of the mentally diseased persons. The Lumbini Park is the only hospital in Bengal where all the latest methods of scientific treatment, physical as well as psychological are meted out to patients suffering from diseases of the mind. Starting with 3 beds in 1940 Dr. Bose had raised the hospital to its present position where 80 patients can now be accommodated. It is still a completely private institution and receives no help from the Government.

Dr. Bose's radiant appearance, his magnetic personality, his winning smile attracted everybody towards him. His deep insight and his wide sympathies had considerable influence on his friends, acquaintances and patients. As he was versed in so many subjects it was always a treat to listen to his discourses whether in the academic circles or in drawing room parleys.

Lastly, I cannot refrain from mentioning one thing which has made a deep impression on me. The way he bore his illness during the last 4 years of his life was wonderful indeed. Not a single day did I hear him making any complaint or fretting about his illness. Unless asked he would never voluntarily speak of his ailments and of the pains and troubles he had been suffering from. This spirit of calm resignation is seldom met with now-a-days. If I be permitted to use such an expression, I would say that while other persons read the Gita, our Dr. Bose used to *live* the Gita.

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with **NOVUM** to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit: Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

H. J. Massingham

THE CRAFTSMAN AND SOCIETY

John M. Todd, a Britisher of Pacifist convictions and Gandhian sympathies, writes in the *Aryan Path* appreciatively of the late H. J. Massingham's contribution to agricultural and industrial reform :

There has died recently in England a man whose great concern was to see the restoration of the intensively cultivated small farm, and the revival of the myriad rural crafts which are needed by it. H. J. Massingham was no sentimentalist. He knew that agriculture and rural society generally must adapt itself to and take advantage of industrial power. So sure indeed was he that the day of the old craftsmen had gone that he made a collection of representative agricultural instruments and craftsmen's tools, to make possible the study of techniques which had ceased to be practised. This collection has now become a permanent museum situated at Reading, in Berkshire, England, useful to the student of history, the economist and the sociologist.

But Massingham knew that any healthy society must be based on a thriving agriculture and must have a responsible attitude towards every bit of work that any man or woman does. He held up the achievements of the past in England, and put a spotlight on the modern abuses of the natural world. He was a prophet, though a minor one. Like most prophets he was detested or laughed at by entrenched opinion for his central message, whilst he was equally adulated by a following of men unknown to fame.

His literary fame in England rests on a collection of books describing the English countryside, *English Downland*, *Cotswold Country*, *Chiltern Country* and his last book, *The Southern Marches*. These fine books are the fruit of his early work at London University as an anthropologist who also studied geology, combined with an increasing interest in the relationship between society and religion. The result is a quite remarkable ability to convey the "feel" of a countryside. Massingham knew the underlying physical nature of it, and the historical processes, social and spiritual, which it had seen.

But all this was ultimately only the happy overflow from his most substantial work and his deepest convictions. It was these convictions which enabled him to convey the sense of wholeness, of harmony, of unity in diversity, in his descriptions of the limestone hills, the stone villages which they nurtured and the craftsmen who lived there, of the chalk downs with their treeless pastures, and religious monuments.

Like most prophets, Massingham was a fighter. He was not content merely with making careful historical surveys of country craftsmen. He did make many of these ; though through them could always be seen Massingham's own passion for good work, for beauty wedded to usefulness. But, further, Massingham felt the need to take up controversial positions on contemporary questions. Thus he became known as a bitter critic of the policy of the Forestry Commission in England in planting great areas of hill-sides exclusively with conifers. He became known also as almost fanatically opposed to the use of artificial fertilizers, at least as a virtually complete alternative to organic manure. And Massingham became known too as one of those who maintained that the wholemeal loaf should be the loaf to be subsidized, not that made from flour from which the germ and the outer skin of the grain had been removed.

There has been a spate of books in the last few years about world food shortage and soil erosion, and most of them go to one extreme or another on an exclusively material level in propounding solutions.

One will advocate compulsory birth prevention. Another will advocate the exploitation of natural resources on a vast scale. For Massingham either of these answers is an attempt to make a short cut past the most fundamental considerations. He maintained that any approach will be doomed to failure if it looks on nature as something "to be conquered." The materialist approach forgets that man is a creature, set amongst creatures. It ignores the fact that God made the world, and ordered it in a system of love. Man thus has no right to treat the natural world just as he thinks fit. His proper attitude is indicated in a phrase which Massingham used to describe the peasant : he is wedded to the natural world in husbandry.

Massingham presented his own thought most methodically in a book published in 1943, *The Tree of Life*. It is a historical survey of religion, society and literature in England. In it he quotes a key passage from T. S. Eliot's *The Idea of a Christian Society* :

"A wrong attitude towards nature implies, somewhere, a wrong attitude towards God, and the consequence is an inevitable doom. For long enough we have believed in nothing but the values arising in a mechanized, commercialized, urbanized way of life ; it would be as well for us to face the permanent conditions upon which God allows us to live upon this planet."

The publications of the SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE, Amritsar in Punjabi, Hindi and English are sold almost at their cost prices. The first editions of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib in Punjabi and Hindi are out and Bheta fixed is Rs. 40, and Rs. 16, respectively. Printing of Gurbani in Punjabi is done through Photo Blocks. "Muslim League Attack on Sikhs and Hindus in 1947" 20" x 26/8" size, antique paper with pages 453 is sold for Rs. 8 only.

For further information and free copy of the catalogue, please write to the Secretary.



ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.,

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele : Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

BOOKS THAT MATTER

OUTSTANDING FICTION :

	Rs. as.
1. Private Life of an Indian Prince by Mulk Raj Anand	9 6
2. Ah King by W. Somerset Maugham	6 6
3. On a Chinese Screen by do	6 6
4. The Trembling of a Leaf by do	6 6
5. The Casuarina Tree by do	6 6
6. The Case of a Lonely Heiress by Erle Stanley Gardner	7 14
7. The Case of Fan Dancer Horse by do	7 14
8. The Case of the Vagabond Virgin by do	7 14
9. The Story of Esther Costello by Nicholas Monsarrat (Latest book by the author of "The Cruel Sea")	7 14
10. After the Funeral by Agatha Christie	7 14
11. The Lovers by Kathleen Winsor	10 2
12. For Ever Amber by do	11 0
13. The Literature of Crime edited by Ellery Queen (Omnibus of Mysteries Stories by twenty-six famous authors)	11 4
14. Complete Sherlock Holmes by Conan Doyle (Nine volumes in one)	30 0
15. Readers Digest Omnibus edited by H. E. Bates	11 4
16. Great Stories of Science Fiction edited by Murray Leinster	11 4
17. The Loved and the Unloved by Francois Mauriac (Nobel Prize Winner for 1952)	7 2
18. The Woman of the Pharisees by do	7 14
19. The Knot of Vipers by do	8 40
20. That Which Was Lost by do	7 14
21. The Kiss for the Leper by do	8 12
22. The Little Mystery by do	7 2
23. The Desert of Love by do	7 14
24. The Unknown Sea by do	7 14
25. The Life of Jesus by do	6 9
26. The Frontenac Mystery by do	8 10
27. Margaret of Cortona by do	7 2
28. Great Men by do	13 2
29. Hunger by Knut Hamsun	5 10
30. Growth of the Soil by do	4 6
31. The Soul of Lilith by Marie Corelli	6 6
32. The Mighty Atom by do	5 4
33. Thelma by do	7 2
34. Vendetta by do	6 6
35. Ardeth by do	7 2
36. Boy by do	5 10
37. Warmwood by do	6 6
38. The Sorrows of Satan by do	7 2
39. Barrabbas by do	5 4
40. The Immoralist by Andre Gide	6 6
41. The Vatican Cellars by do	7 14
42. Barabbas by Par Lagerkvist	6 6
43. Poison at Plessis (Latest) by Maurice Dekobsa	6 6
44. The Holy Sinner by Thomas Mann	11 4
45. Doctor Faustus by do	15 12
46. Budden-Brooks by do	11 4
47. Stories of Three Decades by do	11 4
48. The Magic Mountain by do	13 8
49. Moses by Sholem Asch	11 4
50. Salvation by do	11 4
51. The Apostle by do	11 4
52. Lust for Life by Irving Stone	1 14
53. The Presidents Lady by do	9 6
54. Desiree by Annemarie Selinko (Book Society recommendation. over half million copies sold)	11 4
55. Spartacus by Howard Fast (7th Imp.)	6 0

GENERAL

	Rs. as.
1. The Indian Struggle 1935-1942 by Subhas Chandra Bose	5 0
2. Asia and the West by Maurice Zinkin	11 4
3. India A Fire by Clare and Harrie Wofford Jr.	22 8
4. New Education in the Making in Pakistan by Hon. Fazlur Rahman	13 2
5. Punjab Prelude by Loveday Prior	15 12
6. The Land Ragamla Miniatures (A study in the Indian Painting and Music)	15 12
7. The Workers Educational Association (The First fifty years)	11 0
8. Psychology and Alchemy by C. G. Jung	30 0
9. Problem of Economic Union by James Edward Meade	8 5
10. Asia (A Regional and Economic Geography by Dudley Stamp	30 6
11. Stevenson's Book of Quotations—70,000 Quotations, 2356 pages.	61 4
12. Stevenson's Book of Proverbs	73 8
13. Nehru—The Lotus Eater from Kashmir by D F. Karaka	6 8
14. Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf (Rare)	40 0
15. The Rommel Papers	18 12
16. Stemming the Tide by Winston Churchill, 1952	26 4
17. The March of Journalism by Harold Herd	18 6
18. The Poetical Works of Lord Byron (in 1 vol.)	15 12
19. Art Teaching in Secondary Schools by Edith C. Walter	14 0
20. Our Undeveloped World by Dudley Stamp	15 12
21. The Background of Assamese Culture by R. M. Nath	7 8
22. Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw (in 1 vol.)	26 0
23. Selected Prose of Bernard Shaw (in 1 vol.)	36 12
24. Notes on Andre Gide by Roger Martin du Gard (A portrait of a Nobel Prize Winner)	8 5
25. A Concise Dictionary of English Idioms	7 7
26. Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases	15 12
27. The True Voice of Feeling by Herbert Read	21 14
28. Arrow in the Blue (An Auto-Biography) by Arthur Koestler	13 8
29. Anyone can Paint by Arthur Zaidenburg	24 0
30. Principles of Figure Drawing by Alexander Dodkin	30 0
31. The Art and Architecture of India by Benjamin Rowland	36 12
32. Nehru's Auto-Biography	9 6
33. Shakespeare his World and his Work by M. M. Reese (1953)	31 8
34. The Principles and Practice of Management edited by E. F. L. Brech (1953)	43 12
35. The Play Fair Book of Test Cricket—2 vols. by Roy Webber	46 4
36. The Play Fair Book of Cricket Records by Roy Webber	18 12
37. The M. C. C. Book for the Young Cricketer	7 14
38. Contract Bridge Complete (Gold book) by Ely Culbertson	9 6
39. Oxford Shorter Dictionary (2 vols. New Edn.)	96 14
Chamber's 20th Century Dictionary (New Mid- Century Edn. with 40,000 additional References)	15 0
41. Look Young-Live Longer by Gayelord Hauser (Best Seller since 1951)	9 6
42. Diet Does It by do	11 4
43. Be Happier, be Healthier by do (Latest)	9 6

And for any Book on any subject please write or visit :—

MODERN BOOK DEPOT: 9, Chowringhee Centre (opp. Light House) CALCUTTA-13

(Calcutta's Treasure House of Books)

or G. S. Road, SHILLONG

In a short article of this sort it is impossible to indicate the full scope of the theoretical background to Massingham's thought which *The Tree of Life* provided. But one can indicate its purport by practical examples from his other works. Massingham observed that few men have lived so well and so happily and with such benefit, in the ultimate sense, to others, as the peasant and the craftsman. So he travelled far and wide observing the last inheritors of their traditions. Here were men who had clearly fulfilled the conditions upon which God permits us to live on this earth. Here were what the modern philosopher calls the "synthetic criteria" by which we could judge modern society.

In 1942 Massingham wrote *The English Countryman*. This was again a historical survey and perhaps the greatest of Massingham's works, illuminated with his own personal acquaintance with contemporary craftsmen.

At the end of Chapter III, entitled "The Craftsman," he wrote :

"I have known many craftsmen of various types and trades and I possess many of their works and implements. Is there a family likeness between them as there certainly is between their tools? Since their personalities are probably more diverse than those of an equal number of mechanics or factory-workers for the simple reason that their work gives them latitude for self-expression, it would seem that a family likeness, say between an Oxford saddler, a Dorset thatcher, a Cotswold slatter, a Yorkshire hurdler and Sussex wheelwright could not possibly exist. From my experience which is not small, it does exist, this shared quality of being, and, for want of a better word, I shall call it serenity. . . . This equanimity of temper, exceeding rare in an age of schizophrenia, is conferred upon them by the nature of their work and their intimate contact with Nature herself. It is not insensibility but poise, and, if it owes something to inheritance, still more to lack of frustration, more yet to consciousness of service and even more to the small green world in which they live, it owes most of all to an attunement with the will of Creation itself."

The "will of Creation" is an ambiguous phrase and typifies Massingham's principal fault, that of verbal inexactitude. Yet the principal meaning is clear. He had been elaborating the virtues of the craftsmen in the preceding pages. He described the training of son by father, and referred to Arthur Bryant's description of this sort of education as "a mental and spiritual discipline," Massingham went on :

"Tradition became variable within certain limits because the human element, nourished by skill and personal responsibility, was always replenishing it It fostered rather than fettered individual treatment and so was inevitably antipathetic to mass-production But it is impossible to understand this interplay between tradition and individuality except by watching a craftsman at work," and Massingham here goes on to describe the Cotswold dry-wallers.

The complex traditions of the old crafts, bound to no time-sheet united with a regional self-sufficiency, and acting by an interchange of goods and services rather than money, were the pillars and arches of a social structure whose core of soundness was no less ethical than economic.

Many times during his life Massingham made his basic attitude to the machine clear, although, as we shall see later, he failed to apply his attitude to the industrial world. In *The Tree of Life* (p. 157) he wrote :

"It is not the machine itself which has been responsible for this degradation, since electricity and the internal combustion engine could and should be of the utmost service in the diffusion of property. It is the machine in combination with a predatory philosophy which has degraded work and finally gone on without it, and this is the work of the economic system which has degraded property and has gone on into a functionless finance."

From there he goes on to quote from R. H. Tawney's *The Acquisitive Society*, about the morally satisfactory nature of mediæval economics. Massingham sums this up :

"The peasant's relation to the land is symbiotic by nature, and so the reverse of predatory. . . . The hallmark of every peasant society is that of integration between nature and religion, freedom and tradition, responsibility and ownership, social service and individual rights. That such wholeness was commonly realized in practice would be too much to claim; what is incontrovertible is that it was the normal and familiar pattern of peasant society."

Massingham emphasized "wholeness" as an essential characteristic of the craftsman. His is a synthesizing work. A master of his own craft, the craftsman is also skilled in understanding his material from its first natural setting to its final use, whether it be from tree to chair, osier bed to basket, stone to house, or sheep to serge. He is in a sufficiently close relationship to the natural setting and to the ultimate consumer to produce an article which is perfectly fitting; he moulds its natural beauty into efficient utility, the result of an under-

আয়ুর্বেদ-বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈদ্য কবিরাজ প্রাণচর্চা

ডক্টর শ্রীপ্রভাকর চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম, এ ; ডি, এস-সি প্রণীত

ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা

এতদিন পর্যন্ত ভারতীয় কোনো ভাষায় ক্যানসার রোগের ধারাবাহিক চিকিৎসাপদ্ধতি লিখিত ছিল না। ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা সম্পর্কে ভারতবর্ষে ইহাই সর্বপ্রথম নিদান ও চিকিৎসা সম্বলিত পূর্ণাঙ্গ চিকিৎসা গ্রন্থ। মূল্য ৫ টাকা। ডাকমাণ্ডল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান :—রাজবৈদ্য আয়ুর্বেদ ভবন।

১৭২নং বহুবাজার স্ট্রিট, কলিকাতা—১২

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted

Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum

Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

standing, in love, of the created world and of the men and women for whom he works. Part of the craftsman's particular virtue, then, is to be situated in this organic position. He cannot function in the abstract.

In the craftsman Massingham sees the perfect example of man coming to God through nature, man finding beauty through the ordinary processes of his craft, man expressing truth, by fitting harmoniously in with the laws of the natural world.

There is material here for the theologian to consider. But there is material also for the sociologist and the economist. How can the virtues of the craftsman, these supremely fine developments of the best in human nature, be educed in the modern industrial world? To what extent should it be a long-term aim in industry to make it possible for the majority of workers to have an opportunity to be craftsmen in some sense of the word?

Massingham did notably fail to attack this central problem of work in the industrial world. His thought never attained a full *engagement* in England. Yet the work he did achieve may in the end prove to be of wider import; and, in any case, encouragement of the old traditions, and efforts to enable craftsmen to adapt themselves to modern conditions, are valuable and important. Massingham did much in this sphere; in England the Rural Industries Bureau also has done very much.

In *The Wisdom of the Fields* (p. 136), Massingham cites as a typical instance of adaptation the case of a Somerset wheelwright:

"Sid Poole uses a handsaw and so presented me with one more example of the utility of the small machine to the master-craftsman. He maintained that it not only freed him to devote more time to the artistry of his handwork but cut out the shapes of the felloes more accurately than by hand."

In 1947 Massingham edited a book called *The Small Farmer*, a principal theme of which was the need for small agricultural machines. One of its chapters, "Small Machines for Small Farmers," by L. T. C. Rolt, dealt with the subject exclusively.

Can we say anything about industrial mass production in the light of Massingham's work? There is no question of doubting the goodness of using the power of steam or electricity or atomic energy. What might, however, be questioned is the wisdom of concentrating the work of design itself solely in the designer of the machine. Can the love of a Christian, can the personality of a human being, be properly exercised in producing the stock responses required in minding a machine which not only has its own power, but also the ability to complete an article within itself?

Mass production has sometimes to produce articles of doubtful quality, to last only a short while, in order that there shall be a continuing demand for the products of the mass-producing machine. On the other hand, we live in an age which is developing its understanding of

the natural world so rapidly that it could be unwise to commit oneself to objects that were going to last a very long time. But these considerations do not humanize work that is essentially inhuman.

As industrial organization is increasingly considered from the point of view of the human being, Massingham's witness will be increasingly of value as a yardstick.

Eventually it should be possible to talk quite realistically about the machine being used by human beings.

The revival of rural society and the increasing use by it of the machine may serve as an example here of what will enable industry to develop in the most human way. In England at the moment a great increase in agricultural production is being planned. In the last ten years a great revival has already taken place. And the work of Massingham and many others like him has been a part of it. At last it is again being widely understood that no society can be healthy, economically and spiritually, if it has not got its feet firmly on the agricultural ground.

The earth is provided by God for the provision of basic necessities. It is ignored only on pain of many troubles. On the most realistic level it has been obvious since the middle forties that it would become necessary for England to alter very considerably her "workshop of the world" economy. It is now becoming clear all over the world that man and the earth are in a relation to each other which has certain rules—there are quite definite conditions under which we are permitted to live on this planet.

Massingham is one of the minor prophets who have been recalling men to an understanding of these conditions. His thought and writings will enable man not to go slavishly backwards in time, attempting to copy the exact patterns of a past age which can never be revived, but to use these past achievements in developing the natural world today in the most human way possible.

Fifth Edition Now Ready:

EPICS, MYTHS & LEGENDS OF INDIA

Sacred Lore of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains by P. Thomas, author of "*Hindu Religion, Customs & Manners*". With a coloured Frontispiece & 268 Half-tone & Line Illustrations. Rs. 19. Here is a fascinating book, which explains the spiritual and philosophical conceptions of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism all told in Epics, Myths & Legends. The book is beautifully illustrated by photographs of masterpieces of Indian sculptures & paintings.

TARAPOREVALA'S

"Treasure House of Books,"

210, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY-1.



AMRUTANJAN
THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM/

RINGWORM OINTMENT
THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!
AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7



Estd-1893

Goa and the Problem of Merger

M. N. Wagh writes in *The Indian Review* :

We in India have the strong feeling that if a referendum is taken in Goa, the Goans, one and all would plump for a merger with India. This view is held not only by the proverbial man-in-the-street, who is a weather-van without an opinion of his own, but also by those who profess to be experts on the Goanese situation.

From the newspaper accounts of terrorism in the form of arbitrary imprisonment and whipping of those who talk, or are alleged to be talking against the Portuguese Government, we have come to take it for granted that the Goans if called upon to vote, would unanimously vote for a merger with India; that India, or Bombay in particular, is a heaven for them. This is a delusion, and the sooner we get over it the better.

There is no doubt that Goa is out and out a police state. It is beyond doubt that the Portuguese are interested only in making the maximum out of the manganese and wine industries that flourish there, that they do not want to utilise these resources for the general good of the colony. It is also true that Minister Rodrigue's promise to redress the grievances of the people was a sham to postpone, or if possible to evade altogether, what is a desideratum. It is also true that the ugly incident that occurred when the Minister toured the pocket reverberated through every nook and corner, and lingered many a day after its occurrence.

But—and that is a big 'But'—in spite of all these bad features of Portuguese colonial rule, which would normally have strengthened the embryonic desire of the subject people to cast off the shackles of slavery and be free, the problem of merger does not hold much attraction to a Goan. It is a paradox no doubt, but a paradox which can be easily explained only if we examine closely the back-ground of life that the people in Goa lead.

Poverty does not necessarily mean discontent and unhappiness. Poverty fomented discontent only when it verges on starvation and destitution. It is then that the people manifest their discontent with revolts and revolutions. A Goan is poor, economically or clearly, monetarily poor. He has no bank account, nor does he invest his money, or he has no money to invest. But he gets without difficulty what every human being in a civilised society should get, food, shelter and clothing. In the absence of stream-lined publicity and mass advertisement the temptation to struggle for luxuries is more or less nil. Hence the contentment and sense of security. An average Goan family with five to six children cultivates rice and if possible supplements its income from land by a wine shop called a taverna, or grocer's. From father to the youngest member of the family everybody is engaged in his or her piece of work and six to eight hours to toil and toil leave little or no time for thoughts of freedom and politics. The family lives in a shell of its own. The Minister's tour was merely a ripple in the otherwise smooth, monotonous stream of its life. Nobody understood the significance of the visit; nobody cared to know. Nor does anybody really feel that reform is necessary. The people are not only poor, but illiterate—insouciantly illiterate.

This is a vital fact. It is essential to look at the problem of merger in the light of this vital fact. The delusion under which we labour stems from ignoring it.

If after a study of the life of the people in Goa, we turn our eyes to our shores, we will find that Goa and Bombay are Poles apart. If Goa has no major food

problem, and rice though insufficient for home consumption can be imported conveniently, we have got a tremendous food problem to tackle. If Goa has adequate housing supply many of us here have to sleep in garages and even foot-paths. If crime is conspicuous by its absence in Goa, we are getting more and more worried over our mounting crime-graph. And above all, if wine is the tea of Goa, we here have to rest satisfied with pure water, or what for our consolation we call, Adam's ale. What have we got to offer the Goans in exchange for the peaceful, happy life that they lead there? Ave, there is the rub. "Goa might be a frying pan, but do you think we are eager to jump from the frying pan into fire?"

That was the answer, more like a rhetorical question that I had to take when I asked a man in Assolna, a village three miles from Murgao: "What do you think about a merger with Bombay?" In Kanakona also I pointed out to a policeman named Caroz with whom I had made friends the absence of educational facilities in Goa, and the charm of education in Bombay: "Is your damn education going to get me food, shelter and wine?" The answer was as convincing as the answer that a lady is reported to have given, when a journalist asked her if television would replace newspapers: "We can't wrap herrings in a television!"

Such answers as these are not rare. They are a common feature. They clinch the issue; they leave one speechless, stunned. In short, they reflect the attitude of the Goans towards merger. We have to realise that the problem of merger is not as easy as all the experts argue it is. The necessity of awakening the people is of utmost importance; it comes first and foremost. In carrying on propaganda there is one grave danger of hurting the conservativeness or susceptibilities of the people. The problem is as delicate as the problem of birth-control, or the problem of enlightening an adolescent mind. Here we can very well imitate the method of door-to-door indoctrination carried on by the communists in our country. This method has yielded good results to the communists. By constant repetition of the fact of slavery, by making the people aware of the injustice of their life, public opinion can be mobilised. Such intrepid leaders like Brute De Costa are striving to do that.

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for

DIABETES

At All Leading Chemists.

DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM

HIMALAYA DRUG Co.

251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY. M.B.



Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness ; to an opponent, tolerance ; to a friend, your heart ; to your child, a good example ; to your father, deference ; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you ; to yourself respect ; to all men, charity ; and to your loved ones ? Surely a Hindusthan Policy, the best of all the Pujah gifts.

*The pleasure of giving is yours
and that of serving you is ours.*



Hindusthan
CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LTD.



HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS 4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA-13.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

How Jews Built the Movie Industry

In the *Jewish Frontier*, July 1953, Ben B. Seligman tells the interesting story of one of the most romantic and gigantic industries of the modern world, viz, the motion picture industry and startles us by revealing that it is the Jews who came to Hollywood and built the movie industry in America :

The history of Jewish enterprise in the Diaspora is largely a history of peripheral industries. Developed by entrepreneurs who were compelled to seek their fortunes in untried pastures, these industries acquired non-Jewish respectability only when their high profits were well established. During the Middle Ages money-lending and banking were the only occupations open to Jews, and later it was foreign trade that permitted them to display their commercial talents. But these pursuits were viewed with disdain by the populace, and the authorities did not mind letting Jews extract the initial profits. This pattern of industrial development holds true even in America : and the motion picture industry is the classic example.

The motion picture industry is young—its commercial beginnings go back to but 1896—but it has already passed through all the major phases of capitalistic growth. Innovators forcibly took the industry away from unimaginative inventors and promoted it into a fantastic money-maker. Expansions and mergers marked its history during its first three decades, and once financial success was firmly established, Wall Street moved in quietly to capture another bastion for finance.

The potentialities of the motion picture were not recognized by the first promoters and inventors. They were anxious to protect patent rights, and did not seek a mass market. The task of development was undertaken by hard-driving, aggressive nickelodeon operators willing to shoulder the risks of an infant industry. They did their own financing; they wrote their own scripts; they built their own scenery; they developed the films and exhibited

the pictures in their own primitive theatres. They had a capacity for work that only those on the periphery of the business world possess. These entrepreneurs were glove salesmen, pharmacists, furriers, clothiers and jewelers. They were innovators, arrogant and often vulgar, but they knew what the people wanted and they created a form of entertainment within the reach of all. Responsive to the demands of a hungry movie-going public, they created the feature picture and the star system. Their names were Zukor, Fox, Lasky, Loew, Mayer, Selznick and Goldfish.

In the beginning the movie industry was shunned by respectable business men. They thought it a low form of amusement that would only ruin reputations. The public, however, felt no such qualms and demanded more films. Studios mushroomed all over the country and anyone who could rent or steal a camera became a producer. By 1909 competition had become so intense that the larger manufacturers formed the Motion Pictures Patents Company as a measure of self-protection. Independent producers, however, refused to be intimidated by the patent combine's legal tactics, and economic warfare raged unabated.

The bitter struggle between the patent combine and the independents continued until in 1914 the MPPC

ABC OF COMMUNISM

By N. Bucharin and E. Preobraschensky
Tr. from German by P. LAVIN

"The book is a consistent yet lucid application of Marxism to the study of capitalism. It gained immediate recognition. Under Lenin's government it was made the university text-book on Marxism. This speaks eloquently of the book. It makes one familiar with the methodology of Marxism.

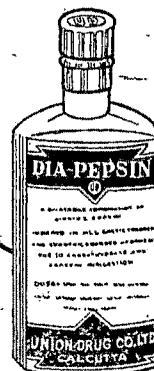
This is a book which deserves to be read by all serious students of Communism,—its history and ideology."
—Amrita Bazar Patrika

Price : Rs. 4-4, \$1 50, Sh. 9/6

Distributors : PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE CO.,
54, Ganesh Chandra Avenue, CALCUTTA-13

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

ceased to be a dominant factor. Carl Laemmle had formed a powerful protective association; William Fox, faced with a shortage of films for his theatres, began to produce his own pictures; the Lasky organization became too important to be suppressed. Men of that calibre did not accept easily the restrictive dictates of the early movie monopolists. Leading a shoestring existence, they did not mind an occasional hasty trip to Mexico to avoid an injunction suit.

The need for quick escapes from the patent combine's process-servers compelled the independents to seek movie locations close to the Mexican border. Southern California became the ideal place, for here one found superb replicas of the deserts of Africa and of the wilds of India. Continuous sunshine permitted all-day shooting and cheap labor made mob scenes an inexpensive undertaking.

The experience of the patent combine proved to alert movie entrepreneurs that distribution and exhibition were the keys to absolute control. Adolph Zukor, William Fox and Marcus Loew began to dispose of their nickelodeons and acquire more dignified theatres. The extremes to which the early magnates went in their search for dignity is illustrated by one of Loew's theatre purchases. He bought a closed burlesque house in Brooklyn that had been often raided by the police. When acquired, the building was being used as a storage place by the Salvation Army. The decrepit theatre was fumigated physically and morally; for several months it was used by a troupe of Italian Shakespearean actors. Loew then opened it as a respectable family movie house.

Marcus Loew was a conservative business man in an industry marked by flamboyant extravagance. He started life as a newspaper boy on New York's East Side and by the turn of the century had become a fairly successful furrier. Peep-shows, the latest rage in low-cost, high-profit entertainment, offered a more attractive field, however; and together with Adolph Zukor, Loew began to build a chain of penny arcades. Zukor and Loew were very unfriendly partners; each wanted to run the business his own way. When the firm rented new office space, Loew conveniently forgot to provide his colleague with a desk and chair. Zukor could not overlook the insult to his dignity; he left to become an independent producer of films.

Throughout this early period of Loew sought to exhibit a better kind of picture. But he soon found it difficult to obtain good films, for Zukor, his erstwhile partner and now an important producer, stubbornly refused to exhibit in the Loew chain. In 1920 Loew decided to make his own own pictures. He bought out a moribund producing company called Metro Pictures, and in 1924 added the Goldwyn Picture Corporation and

L. B. Mayer Company. Thus was formed the alliterative MGM, Loew's producing subsidiary.

L. B. Mayer, born in Poland, came to the United States in the late 1890's. A member of the original group of Jewish furriers, jewelers and nickelodeon operators who built the movie industry, he became MGM's chief. Mr. Mayer's fantastically high salary testifies to his shrewd bargaining powers. When Loew wanted to buy his firm, Mayer inserted a profit-sharing clause in the contract—a clause that has often brought his yearly earnings close to the half-million mark.

After Marcus Loew's death in 1927, the enterprise was directed by Nicholas Schenck, a hard-headed business man who followed the conservative practices of his predecessor. Schenck had come to America in 1892 with his brother Joseph, and together they had operated an amusement park at Fort George, N. Y. One day Marcus Loew came there to show movies and the Schenck boys were imaginative enough to forget the amusement

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. Sirkar & Sons
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
 167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET
 & BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
 TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

BRANCH- HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
 CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

park game. Nicholas joined the Loew organization and Joseph became a movie producer. Nicholas Schenck soon won the reputation of knowing best where to build theatres. Thus, although the Loew chain is much smaller than the Paramount or Fox group, its income is markedly increased by the fact that about half of its houses are first-run theatres.

It was Adolph Zukor, however, who established the pattern for expansion in the new industry. Emigrating to America with \$40 sewed into the lining of his coat, he sought his fortunes in the novelty-fur business. Penny arcades were more exciting, though, and in 1905 Zukor transferred his energies and his \$200,000 profit in furs to that outcast branch of the entertainment world. When motion pictures became an important addition to the line of arcade gadgets, Zukor immediately realized the potentialities of the new entertainment form, and they soon became the sole attraction.

Exhibitors in those days had very poor fare to show. Skirt dances, a dare-devil ride in a barrel over the falls, or the pounding of surf on the coast of Maine made up the twenty- or thirty-minute program. Zukor wanted pictures that told a coherent story; the unprecedented success of Sarah Bernhardt's *Queen Elizabeth* strengthened this desire. After his split with Loew in 1912, Zukor went into picture production and formed the Famous Players Company.

Within four years he was at the top of a brawling infant industry. Motion pictures in those days were distributed by so-called exchanges. Zukor did business with the Paramount Picture exchange, headed by a

W. W. Hodkinson. Dissatisfied with the financial arrangement imposed by Hodkinson, Zukor suggested a merger. The former indignantly refused, but he failed to reckon with Zukor's pertinacity. Zukor quietly bought up most of Paramount's stock and within a year was able to oust Hodkinson.

Zukor reasoned that control of the market rested upon control at the source; if the best actors belonged to Paramount, he thought, the exhibitors would be at his mercy. Within a few years Zukor assembled a great collection of talent. Film rental fees increased sharply and block-booking was forced upon the reluctant independent exhibitor.

The latter, however, did not willingly accept this situation. In 1917 several theatre circuits formed First National Pictures, a producing company. With their own supply of film, they could exclude competitors' pictures from their theatres. Soon First National had 5,000 members and Zukor began to worry about theaters rather than talent. For two years he watched First National's tactics and then decided that it was time to set up his own distribution and exhibition outlets. Convinced that theatres were a good investment, he sold ten million dollars' worth of securities through Kuhn, Loeb and Company and began to build the Paramount movie chain.

The technique by which a theatre circuit was welded was not a soft one. An independent exhibitor was approached and bluntly told either to sell his property or suffer the competition of a newly constructed theatre. Independents screamed that the industry was

widely appreciated at home & abroad..

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,
Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. A. W. Hunter
3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington.
U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.

Neem
TOOTH PASTE



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.

CALCUTTA-29

being "raped," but Zukor went his way, disposing of First National's individual members one by one. By 1921 he controlled over 300 movie houses and in 1926 his acquisition of the Chicago Katz-Balaban circuit completely destroyed First National's importance in the motion picture industry.

With more than 1,600 theatres exhibiting the Paramount product, Zukor felt safe in the face of the depression. But the quiet ex-furrier discovered that even so depression-proof an industry as motion pictures could not carry the heavy fixed charges imposed by Wall Street financing. Paramount began to hit the financial reefs and for two years 53 assorted law firms, banks, investors' committees and experts scowled and quarreled over the ailing corporation. Involved in all this high legal bickering were the Chase National Bank, the Royal Insurance Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, and the Atlas Corporation. Paramount was finally reorganized in 1935. Of the old officers only Zukor and George Schaefer remained; the new board of directors was composed of bankers and real estate men. John Otterson, head of A.T. and T.'s Electrical Research Products, Inc. (ERPI) became president.

The early movie pioneers were quite aware of their humble origins and their thirst for industrial power was perhaps motivated by an unconscious urge to be treated as equals. But not all of them felt that it was necessary to create financial monstrosities; some preferred to be known as artistic picture makers. Such a man was Samuel Goldfish.

Goldfish left his native Warsaw at the age of 10 and arrived in Gloversville, N. Y., one year later. At 15 he began a successful road-salesman career in the toughest itinerary in the glove business. One day he walked into a Herald Square nickelodeon and became fascinated by the notion of owning a theatre. He soon discovered that it was cheaper to produce and sell films. Together with his brother-in-law Lesse Lasky, a vaudeville producer, and on a capital of \$26,500, he organized the Jesse Lasky Feature Play Company. Goldfish soon acquired the reputation of a man who did things his own way or not at all. When Lasky merged with Zukor in 1916, Goldfish stepped out to create a new production unit. His partners in this venture were the Selwyn Brothers.

The new business was called after the founders, *Gold Wyn* Pictures. Goldfish thought so well of the title that for the first time in the history of corporate enterprise a man named himself for a corporation: Goldfish became Goldwyn. And despite Zukor's hope that it would fail, the new company became a factor to be reckoned with.

Goldwyn's great contribution to movie making was his emphasis upon quality. In 1919 he conceived the notion that the key person in production was the writer. Before this a scenario had been nothing more than a rough outline to guide the director. Of course, this elevation of the writer to an important position may have been but a shrewd competitive device turned against Zukor, who had cornered the market in acting talent. Goldwyn hired such writers as Rex Beach, Gertrude Atherton, and Maurice Maeterlinck. While he failed to obtain many usable scripts, he did get a good deal of valuable publicity thereby.

When MGM was formed in 1924, Goldwyn tried to establish himself as production chief. Here, however, he suffered one of his rare defeats and was forced to withdraw. Not at all disturbed by this unfavorable turn of events, he organized another movie company, Samuel Goldwyn, Inc., Ltd. Here he was absolute boss and the responsibility was all his own. He continued to emphasize the quality of his pictures; in no other way could they have been exhibited. Then when the sound film made dialogue an important feature of the movie, Goldwyn's faith in writers was vindicated.

Most producers also tried to duplicate Zukor's tactics. They realized that their pictures possessed value solely in proportion to the number of theatres they controlled. Movie-making could be enlarged only by tapping an extensive market, and the need for a continuous outlet soon overshadowed the processes of production. Distribution and exhibition became the major means of eliminating rivals and of acquiring control of as large a segment of a highly competitive market as one could grasp.

The struggle for the movie market produced gigantic interlocking corporations whose complexity paralleled the complicated corporate structures in utilities, finance and automobiles. Independents were ruthlessly eliminated; production, distribution and exhibition became the functions of a few large corporations.

With the battle for theatres increasing in intensity, Eastern bankers began to recognize motion pictures as a legitimate enterprise. As Leo Rosten says, Hollywood shifted from the Arabian Nights to Dun and Bradstreet. The bankers, however, could think only of box-office receipts and this markedly influenced movie-making policy. In the early days producers exercised their ingenuity without any financial inhibitions; but with the advent of big business, Wall Street supervisors replaced the Hollywood genius. The supervisor's job was to protect his employer's investment; players and directors were selected with both eyes on the box office. A motion picture had to have "production value," "picture sense" and "box office appeal." And, of course, the best way of assuring these was to imitate the smash-hit formula of another company. Forced into this orientation, the motion picture as an art form began a steady decline.

Wall Street men as well as Wall Street money entered the movie industry. W. C. Durant, of the General Motors Corporation, and Harvey Gibson, of the Liberty National Bank, became members of the board of directors of Loew's. The Duponts and the Chase National Bank sponsored the formation of Goldwyn Pictures. The financiers reorganized the larger movie companies and mergers were effected. Soon the public began to recognize the signatures of these new movie-makers.

Into the midst of all this, the sound film broke with an impact that further shook the hold of the old-timers and strengthened that of the financiers. While most industries were prostrated by the depression, the motion picture industry remained financially healthy. Wall Street gazed at this astounding example of economic health and resolved more than ever to secure absolute control.

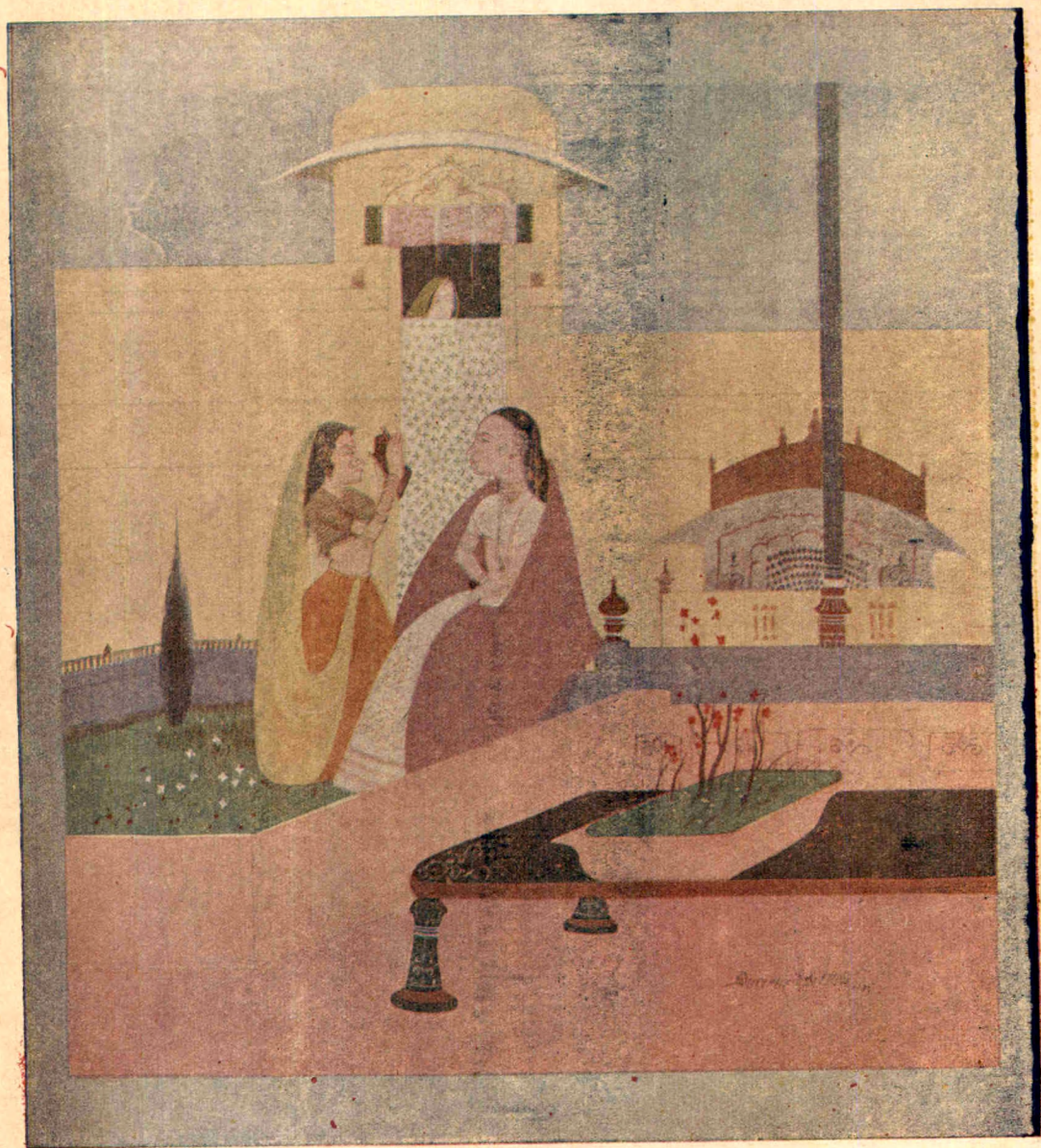
(To be continued)



The Life and Death of King John by Shakespeare : King John (Donald Wolfit); The Earl of Pembroke (Roderick Lovell); Prince Henry (Cavan Malone); The Earl of Salisbury (Maurice Colbourne)
 Courtesy : B.B.C.



Fisher-folk engaged in their trade on the Vishakhapatnam beach. Vishakhapatnam. Andhra



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

AFTER TOILET
By Gopal Chandra Ghosh

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER



1953

VOL. LXXXIV, No. 5

WHOLE No. 563

NOTES

The Gorwala Study of Calcutta

Calcutta has been going through a series of demonstrations and disturbances, which reached a peak in July last. Much in the July disturbances was puzzling, not only to officialdom, but also to the observant by-stander. Mr. A. D. Gorwala made a study of the situation and presented it to the public in a summary form through the columns of the *Statesman* on October 19 last. This survey is important, not only because of the writer's repute as a trained observer but also because of the gravity of the issues. For a superficial survey it is surprisingly deep in places, but all the same, it has the defects of omissions and wrong conclusions as is common in all bird's-eye views of an unfamiliar terrain. But its importance cannot be denied nevertheless, and we propose to deal with it in some detail. The *Statesman* has rendered good service to the citizens of its parent city by presenting such excellent fare for thought though its full implications do not seem to have been realized by many.

Let us take the omissions first. Mr. Gorwala has completely failed to see the part played by most of the popular newspapers of the city, most probably because he and his informants are not acquainted with the vernacular papers. The English language dailies were not all in a helpful attitude either, but even the most rabid amongst them were restrained in comparison with most of the Vernacular papers. These latter were the backbone of all the demonstrations and disturbances, as the leader of the July movements himself thankfully acknowledged to the editors he had called for a Press interview on the day the movement was called off. Indeed, taken as a whole, the attitude of the Vernacular Press was deplorable.

Even more deplorable has been the loss of contact between the common citizen and the Government.

This has been brought about because of the breach between the intelligentsia and the Congress Party. This has resulted in the Government becoming totally out-of-touch with public opinion and ignorant of the factors that were breeding mass unrest. The July movement took the Government completely unawares, which fact has been missed by Mr. Gorwala. This increasing loss of faith in the Congress and the Congress Governments, on the part of the informed and intelligent section of the public, is on the increase everywhere, and as a result the Government cannot find any means of rallying public opinion on its side in a crisis. This is the case in West Bengal today. Tomorrow it will spread out to other States unless the Centre wakes up. The Congress no longer possesses the sanctions that it had in 1947, or even in 1951.

We have dealt in detail with the July disturbances in our editorials of August, and therefore we need not recapitulate. We shall now proceed with the text of the Gorwala study.

Mr. Gorwala's study is as follows :

"The city of Calcutta has never been particularly noted for the tranquil behaviour of its inhabitants. To-day, however, the observant visitor finds an intensity of feeling far beyond the normal. Calcutta is even less at peace with itself than at any time in the past. A deep malaise seems to be eating into its system. Uncertainty, lack of confidence, fear—these appear to be the keynotes of its thought. Even the normally care-free are affected.

Calcutta has, of course, suffered more in the years since Independence than any other great city in India. Partition reduced its hinterland considerably. Its principal industry was cut off to a great extent from the areas where grew the raw material for its products. Refugees poured into it off and on for years, refugees of a kind unknown elsewhere, often totally unwilling to adjust themselves to a new life, resentfully anchoring themselves to their misery. More recently, low prices and lower exports for

the products dealt in principally, jute, tea and coal, have led to considerable deterioration in the economic position, involving substantial reduction of profits, and losses, for many firms, with consequent shrinkage of opportunities of employment. All this time the cost of living has continued high, making life year after year more difficult for the middleclass and the working man."

We would add that Calcutta suffered far more from war conditions than any other city or town in present-day India. The children of the soil suffered from the evils of war for three years, without receiving any of the benefits that other cities enjoyed. So the period of suffering started from 1942. In 1943 was the Great Famine.

"Psychologically, too, Calcutta suffers from deep-seated frustration. Very little of the trade or industry of this great port is in the hands of its native children. Almost all positions of importance in these spheres are held by people from outside the State or the country. In business, the Bengali does not come even a bad second. On the political scene too, his metier of the past, he feels he plays no great part now. None of the major Ministries at the Centre is held by a Bengali. The latest of Bengal's great men, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, resigned his Ministership because of the policies of the Central Government and even the striking role he played in opposition came to an end with his unfortunate death, the circumstances of which further embittered the people of Bengal against the Centre and authority generally. Within the State, the Bengali sees what is in effect a one-man Ministry, an energetic personality holding power almost alone, partly because there is none other of equal calibre to support him and partly because he chooses not to work with really able and good men outside his party."

This frustration is far more deep-rooted than Mr. Gorwala could possibly imagine. The native children were forcibly dispossessed of their share of the trade and industry from 1903 as a result of victimisation of the Bengali by the British in retaliation for the Swadeshi movement and the Nationalist agitations of 1903 against Lord Curzon's imperialism. The Bengali had hoped that he would get back all that he had been forcibly deprived of, when freedom came. He has reasons, therefore, to feel that he has been swindled.

"Despite these and other difficulties, for a time the Government of Bengal seemed to have a sufficient grip on the situation. Though its efforts at amelioration were by no means always rightly-oriented or effective, it gave the impression that it was striving hard, and thus gained a certain amount of goodwill, in spite of the general feeling that it was not altogether averse to acting in the interests of some of the rich men who were its supporters, even when such action did not necessarily accord with the public good."

"Now, however, all this goodwill would seem to have

been dissipated. The conduct of the Government in recent months has been largely responsible for this. Its extremely undistinguished handling of the situation caused by opposition to the increase in tram fares, during the whole of which period the Chief Minister remained away, started the decline in reputation. Since then there has been further evidence of the same lack of ability to manage. Despite the Chief Minister's return, the Bengal Government has allowed itself to be so bullied and intimidated from time to time that it seems that all that is necessary now to bring about a change in policy is the gathering together of a crowd of several thousands on the Maidan, the making of emphatic speeches and the sending of deputations to see the Ministers."

"The Communists have naturally taken the greatest advantage of this state of affairs. Their usual exploitation of the difficulties of the people and the Government, economic and other, has received an added impetus from the lack of will displayed by the Ministry and the consequent victories they have won over it have added greatly to their reputation, strength and influence. They seem to have been considerably assisted by the feeling in some Governmental circles that there was really no point in resisting them vigorously since even at the Centre there was now beginning to be a view among some quite influential Ministers that they were the party of the future and were bound to win in time."

"The Communist doctrine of the inevitability of the success of the Communists was, it is said, being stated privately by at least one senior Minister. What then was the good of the State Ministry in its enfeebled condition attempting to hold out against the Communists? How could it even be sure that, if it did, it would receive the full and unflinching support that it had a right to expect from the Centre?"

"A variation of this feeling has already led to the intimidation of business executives by employee unions led by Communists, without evoking any counter-measures. The Calcutta Communist labour leader has added a new variation to the old Indian custom of sitting "dhurna." A large number of the employees march into an executive's room, sit down in front of him and say they propose to prevent him from leaving until he agrees to whatever demands they wish to put forward. From time to time, they urge him to sign a paper and, on his refusal, the union official, usually a Communist, each time delivers a short address on the sufferings of the proletariat and the blood-sucking habits of employers and their tools."

"Such a session has in some cases lasted until the early hours of the morning; sometimes the telephone wires connecting the office are cut to prevent any contact with the outside; sometimes, aid from outside is refused by the executive, who having little confidence in Government's ability to look after him later, prefers to bear his cross now. On occasion, the intimidation brings successful results from the point of view of the union. In any case, it increases the influence and prestige of the

Communists and reduces that of the Government. What faith can one have in a Government which cannot protect one from such gross intimidation, of which one dare not even complain, lest worse befall? And how strong and well-organized must not the Communists be when they can with impunity behave in this manner?"

This is a fairly accurate picture excepting for the fact that undue emphasis has been put on the Communist Party. That party, of course, is a foreign inspired and guided disruptionist body. But the leading roles in all the disturbances were taken by their fellow-travellers of the day, the P.S.P., the R.S.P., and the Forward Bloc groups. Without them the C.P.I. could not have done much, if anything at all. The Communist menace is confined mostly to the student community and some fractions of organised labour.

"The situation is indeed full of danger. In the circumstances of Calcutta, the future may well see a tremendous increase in Communist power in Bengal, unless immediate and vigorous steps are taken to put an end to the present Communist dominance. In this matter there must be the fullest co-operation between the State and the Centre. The State by itself can do little unless it receives the wholehearted support of the Centre. There must be an unequivocal repudiation of any pro-Communist tendencies by the Centre. It must be made quite clear that the Centre regards as the veriest moonshine talk about the ultimate victory of the Communists and that for its own part it will deal severely with anyone, however high in authority, who attempts to shatter morale by such talk. The Centre must be exceedingly vigilant and must take all action allowed by the law against the Communists. It must also endeavour to meet Bengal's legitimate desire to have a person in whom the Bengalis can rightfully take pride in a senior Ministership at the Centre."

"The State Government too must make up its mind to govern. Having decided, after careful consideration, on policy, it must carry it out determinedly, not allowing every stress that appears to influence it into changing direction. Dealing firmly with the Communists, it must create confidence in its ability to protect and to punish. In consultation with the Centre, it must take such measures as will reduce the strain upon the middle and poorer classes and give them a feeling of hope. It must attempt to remedy their grievances of its own accord, not wait until they have become so deep-seated as to cause an explosion. By its behaviour, it must make clear to the people that integrity inspires its every decision and action. Then only will it be enabled to meet the dangers that threaten not only it but the values it should cherish and the organized society that it is its duty to guard."

This is correct so far as it goes. But the most important factor is the rehabilitation of the children of the soil. They are being deprived of all means of

livelihood even today. Land and jobs are going to the refugees and contracts and trade passing to the non-Bengali in unfair competition. This must stop.

Student Unrest in Lucknow

Disturbance of peace and upsetting of civic life by student demonstrators has become a common occurrence in Calcutta. But this lawlessness and lack of discipline is evidently contagious; particularly when unprincipled politicians and inane journalists can fan the flames with impunity. In Lucknow, we see the outlines of the all too familiar pattern. Let us hope the U. P. Government will handle the situation with firmness and tact.

Lucknow, Oct. 24.—Over 2,000 students of Lucknow University this afternoon raided the union building closed by the authorities and after a slogan-shouting ritual burst open the doors and took possession of it.

The students' action committee sent out squads to the University asking the students to participate in what was described as the "grand festival of lock-breaking."

Earlier in the day, representatives of the agitating students met the Vice-Chancellor and asked him for the union building or some other suitable place for two fasting students.

Soon after occupation, the students set about cleaning the building and then shifted the hunger-strikers into it.

Tonight the union building was again functioning as the HQ of the students.

In an interview the Vice-Chancellor, Acharya Jugal Kishore, described the students' action as a serious example of indiscipline but he would consult his colleagues before taking any steps.

The Vice-Chancellor expressed regret at the impatience shown by the students whose demands were under examination by the relevant authorities. He said the expulsion of 14 students could be reviewed if the students concerned individually expressed regret for their past behaviour.

He indicated that the correspondence which had passed between him and Mr. K. M. Munshi, the Governor and the Chancellor, would soon be published.

Linguistic States

In the October 17 issue of the *People*, Sri S. N. Agarwal has written an article on the matter of agitation for Linguistic States. As the subject is of interest to a great many of our readers, indeed, to all thoughtful men, we adjoin *infra* extracts from it, with our comments. Sri Agarwal writes:

"There appears to prevail a wrong notion that the new State of Andhra has been constituted because of enormous pressure on the Central Government through fasts and civil disorders that followed a sad demise. This is, however, an erroneous impression which must be removed from the public mind in the interests of

Andhra and the creation of other States in course of time.

The announcement by the Prime Minister about Andhra a few days after the violent and unruly demonstrations might have been, at best, unfortunate coincidence. But anybody who thinks that the Government of India was coerced into this announcement owing to threats of any kind does not know our Prime Minister. We have no doubt in our minds that if the unseemly disorders had not taken place in Andhra, the new State would have been brought into existence at least a few weeks earlier."

We have no doubt that Sri Agarwal sincerely believes in what he has written. We only wish we could believe it to be true.

"The latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee makes it abundantly clear that the Government of India is determined to redraw the map of India on more rational foundations after receiving the report of the proposed High-powered Commission. But all those who still seem to think that threats of fasts or violent upheavals would succeed in hustling the Government into hasty action will be doing a great disservice to the cause of the Reorganisation of States in India."

We do not believe in violent upheavals either. But we confess we have lost faith in these twopence-ha'penny High-powered Commissions.

In this context he writes about the Andhra State as follows :

"Will this new State be just an imitation, and perhaps a poor imitation of the other existing States? Or will it be modelled on a different pattern so that it might serve as a good example to other States? It is on the satisfactory answer to this crucial question that the success of the Andhra State would ultimately depend. If Andhra tries to copy the ways of the existing bigger States in the country and take pride in the magnificence of its buildings and the 'dignity' of its Ministers and other high officials, we do not feel very enthusiastic about the future of this new State.

On the basis of the fashionable model, the Andhra State would be a deficit unit of administration to the tune of about five crores of rupees every year. It is, therefore, being suggested by the 'experts' of Public Finance and Administration that the policy of Prohibition should be abandoned in the Andhra State in order to balance its Budget. This is very short-sighted and even mischievous proposal.

By scrapping Prohibition, the new State may be able to balance its Budget in terms of rupees, annas and pies; it will, however, lose the balance of its social and moral structure which is as important, if not more, as the economic and financial stability of an administration."

We are in complete agreement with Sri Agarwal on these points.

The main editorial of the *Harijan* for October 17, is devoted to the same subject. It says :

"The question of redistribution of States in the Indian Union is fast getting prominence all over India. It has therefore compelled both the Government as well as the political parties to pay heed to it, whether they like it or not. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru spoke on it during his last tour in South India at Madras. Mr. Rajagopalachari inviting Mr. Nehru to speak, said that they were glad the Congress President and Prime Minister was going to tell them a few things which they would keep as 'wise and permanent advice.' The speech is summarized below from *The Hindu*, October 3, 1953:

"I shall confess to you," Mr. Nehru said, "that I did not wish to hurry it. I wanted to delay—I am not talking about Andhra, I am talking about general problems—till the other processes of consolidation in India had taken place. We are consolidating our country in many ways and we are, I think, a strong national unit in the world. Nevertheless, there is much to be done if we are to bring about what I would call the full emotional integration of India and her people."

"I would have preferred," Mr. Nehru went on, "that this process of re-fashioning the provinces and States of India was postponed or delayed till we had built the country with a solid foundation. I had no doubt that it was necessary to some extent to re-fashion the map of India, but I cannot say to what extent. There is no reason why we should accept everything that came down from the British as a permanent institution in India. The process has begun and let us do it well and thoroughly. Let us not be afraid of it or sorry about it. It is certain it is a historic development which is taking place or is going to take place all over India, in various shapes and forms."

In a way Pandit Nehru has thus contradicted Sri Agarwal's primary assumption that pressure tactics were not needed.

"The Prime Minister, in this connection, referred to the talk about linguistic provinces and observed that while there might be something in it he did not like this particular phraseology, 'linguistic provinces.' Language was no doubt important and represented a major element in the culture of a people. They wanted to preserve the variety of culture in India which was represented among others by language and to give the languages, whether Tamil, Telugu or any other tongue, full opportunity of growth and cultural expression. 'But when we talk about linguistic provinces, while we lay stress on an important aspect of the question, the trouble is that we somehow ignore many other important questions. The question has to be considered in its entirety in all its aspects, linguistic, cultural, administrative, financial, security, defence and so many other things. Then, you are in a position to look at the picture as a whole. Also, you cannot isolate the

problem of any one State, because one State adjoins two, three or four States. As soon as you touch one State, it affects other States. People do not seem to realize it. The formation of the Andhra State is relatively the simplest problem and yet it was by no means simple. All kinds of difficulties arose and will arise, no doubt."

But what should be done when one State tries to suppress by foul means the very mother tongue of a minority group within its boundaries, as is being done in parts of Bihar and Assam?

"Mr. Nehru said that there were demands for *linguistic States in South India and in Western India*. They could not be treated in isolation. Let them, for instance, take the demand for a Maharashtra State. The Maharashtrians were a fine and virile community among the people of India. There was nothing wrong in their desire for a Maharashtra Province. But, as soon as they began to consider this problem, they could see how many questions arose. The first naturally was that the Bombay State would have to be broken up with other consequences.

That applied to Karnataka also. The Kannadigas wanted a State. He sympathized with them and there was no reason why they should not have it. There was more reason on their side than on the side of many others. But Karnataka by itself was not a simple issue. If they took up the problem, Mysore came into the picture. Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Berar also came into it. They could not just say: 'You can have Karnataka province and there it is.' The whole of Central and South India would be shaken up. Therefore, they had to consider the picture in its entirety.

The biggest problem, Mr. Nehru pointed out, was economic. They talked a great deal and rightly about the economic problem. The principal question was the economic issue of raising the standard of people and getting rid of unemployment and poverty. 'If this is the biggest problem,' he asked, 'should we do something which comes in the way of a solution of it or delay it? It is an important consideration. That is why I say, language, though an important factor, is not the overriding factor. The other factors have to be considered'."

'It is for this reason,' Mr. Nehru said, 'that we are going to appoint a High Power Commission to go into these matters.' He had always thought of the appointment of such a Commission because he did not think that they should accept everything as it was in India today. But certainly he had hoped that the appointment of such a Commission would be delayed for at least ten years till independent India settled down and that they could take up the cutting up of States in a slightly different way.

Mr. Nehru said that they came to the conclusion that it was better they did not delay the matter. 'If by delay one merely keeps the people's mind in

ferment, it is not worthwhile. So, we have decided to go ahead with this Commission'."

We are glad that Pandit Nehru has at last realised that it does not pay to ignore the factors that agitate the people's mind. But does it always pay to ignore some people's demands? He has very carefully omitted the case for the inclusion of contiguous Bengali-speaking areas in West Bengal.

"The Congress President hoped that the Commission would be appointed in the course of this year and that it would go ahead with its work quietly and dispassionately. How far the Commission would be able to do its work in such a manner depended upon other people. Anyhow, it was his intention that the Commission should work in that way and take into consideration the picture of India as a whole.

'I am not prepared,' Mr. Nehru said, 'to consider linguistic provinces singly. But I am prepared to consider here and now the whole of India, how the reorganization of States could be carried out keeping in mind all factors and keeping in view linguistic, cultural and other matters, so that the Commission can put before India a full picture.'

'This business of linguistic provinces,' Mr. Nehru declared, 'narrows our outlook and makes us less conscious of India and more conscious of our State or province. If this is the result, it is a bad result. The overriding consciousness of the people must be of the country as a whole. It is what is called national consciousness. Otherwise, you become narrow and provincial.' If in each State, people become narrow or had an awareness only of their own State, it was bad. They had to guard against it."

If Pandit Nehru could enforce full rights for all people in all parts of India then he would be justified in making such a statement. As he is unable to do so, we cannot attach the slightest importance to it.

Subject to what we have written above, we are in agreement with what Sri Maganbhai P. Desai has written on the same subject in the October 31 issue of the *Harijan*, from which we append an extract below. But we wish he had also given his opinion on the complicated issue of Hindi "imperialism," in all its aspects, with particular emphasis on Manbhum.

"The demand for the formation of linguistic provinces has recently grown increasingly insistent and may soon become an irrational clamour. It is high time that we got it clear in our minds what it is exactly that we want in this matter. Else there is reason for the fear that in our zeal for an otherwise admirable objective, we may lose our bearings and drift away into directions that we least expected. For the forces of pride and prejudice which the controversy round this issue is fast unleashing, are a growing danger to the unity of India.

There are in India several major languages, each of which is spoken by lakhs and crores of people. It is therefore natural as also desirable that the administration,

including the administration of justice and education in a particular area, should be carried on in the language of the area concerned. This alone will enable the mass of our people to have the real taste of Swaraj and create the necessary atmosphere for their intellectual and civic development. In fact, Swaraj loses much of its meaning if this is not done.

This was the simple truth which came to be formulated in the shape of the demand for the refashioning of India's map on the basis of linguistic areas. However, the need behind the demand was as stated above. And that need remains as true today when we have attained Swaraj as it was in the past. That is why the people continue to cry for it.

The Congress appreciated this need and organized its work on that basis from as early as 1920-21. This arrangement suited the convenience of the people and was greatly instrumental in creating and educating public opinion in favour of this idea. Indeed its hold on the mind of the people soon became firmly established. Not only that, to some who were too intensely attached to it, it almost acquired the virtue of a fetish.

But the formation of provinces on a linguistic basis in the Constitution of the Congress did not mean constituting the entire area in which a particular language is spoken into one single separate State. It was not based on the slogan—'One language—one State'. It is very necessary today to get this fact clear in our minds. For example, the Congress recognized several provinces, such as Bihar, U.P., Delhi, Punjab, etc., in the large Hindi-speaking area in the North. In the same way, the Marathi-speaking area comprised Maharashtra, Vidarbha, and Central Provinces (Marathi). On the other hand, the C.P. which were one administrative unit, comprised of these Congress provinces—Mahakoshal, Vidarbha, C.P. (Marathi). The Bombay City constituted one separate province by itself; and there were three other Congress provinces in the Bombay Province. Congress Gujarat included Kutch and Saurashtra. This shows, though the Congress provinces were said to be based on language, it did not mean that the entire area of a language was to be brought under one administrative unit and constituted into a separate province. The essence of the principle in this regard was, as indicated above, the adoption and use of the language of the common people for all work, administrative, educational, judicial and otherwise.

To this end, in some cases, as in the then Central Provinces, where it was felt necessary to demarcate an existing province linguistically, it did so. But in others where the said purpose could be achieved without any formal division, it did not do so, though it followed the principle in practice. The Congress did not countenance the view, which some are wrongly advocating today, that the entire area of a language should be brought within a separate administrative unit."

Sri Prakasam and the P. S. P.

Sri Prakasam's resignation from the P.S.P. has caused a very considerable stir in that political body. The whole question is very ably discussed by Shri Dinkar Sakrikar in the October 17 issue of the *Vigil*. Sri Sakrikar writes :

"The successful execution of a manœuvre by which Sri Prakasam's exit from the P.S.P. was secured is a matter of grave concern for everyone who is pledged to building a democratic society in this country. That instead of an honest, principled and conscientious attempt to follow well-defined traditions of democracy, a deliberate, calculated and, it must be confessed, a successful attempt was made to by-pass the demands of a democratic system in order to ensure 'power' for the ruling party, raises a problem in the practice of democracy which should exercise the minds of all irrespective of party affiliations. The discomfiture which the PSP has suffered in Andhra is nothing compared to the serious repercussions that this may have on the political life of the country. The question is not of the PSP's ability to enforce discipline among its ranks but of the democratic system preserving its basic code of political morality without which it will inevitably collapse.

'Power' is the motivation behind all politics. At least that was the accepted belief until Mahatma Gandhi outlined a new orientation of politics. The 'real politik' was not confined to Germany. In every country politicians resorted to it to further their personal or group ambitions or the parochial interests of their nation as against the wider interest of an international community. 'Real Politik' was not even the product of the capitalist society, for long before laissez faire economy was born the Prince of Machiavelli had become the Bible for all statesmen. Even in India the accepted mode of conducting politics was outlined in Chanakya-niti, which is the Indian version of Machiavelli. In modern times, Lokamanya Tilak advocated the policy of *Sadam Prathi Sadyam*. Gandhiji differed from this approach radically. His whole being revolted against it for he believed in 'conversion' of an enemy not his defeat, much less his destruction. He stood for conquest by love and evolved a new terminology for his programme of mass action. He called it Satyagraha in which the victory would be not of this or that party but of Truth, leaving behind no trail of bitterness. All suffering and sacrifice in his movement were to be undergone by Satyagrahis, and not by those whom the Satyagrahis sought to win by their soul force. As against the slogan of *Sadam Prathi Sadyam*, Gandhiji raised the slogan of *Sadam Prathi Sakyam*. He had accepted the Sermon on the Mount which ordained : "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you." He never countenanced any

thought and action which violated this indictment. In every situation Gandhiji always considered what was right, what was consistent with what he regarded as his religion. He never tolerated the water-tight division of religion and politics and could not bear the idea of judging any issue on purely 'political' considerations. He was accused of introducing religion in politics. He explained to a correspondent: "I do not conceive religion as one of the many activities of mankind. The same activity may be either governed by the spirit of religion or irreligion. For me, every, the tiniest, activity is governed by what I consider to be my religion." By his refusal to let politics be divorced from 'religion,' he changed the fundamental conception of politics. He rejected categorically the power-motivation of politics and substituted instead the service-motive.

The most saddening feature of the public life in post-freedom India is the return to real-politik and the rejection of Gandhiji's conception of ethical politics. No doubt India still talks in international assemblies with a high moral tone and proclaims moral purpose as the basis of all her politics. India believes that she has a right to preach to the world, and when the world remains unimpressed, Indian spokesmen lose their temper and revert to the political theme of Asian resurgence. Beneath the polite pleasantries that are addressed as a matter of course is a lurking suspicion that we are either moral cowards or the less harmful type, the insufferable sanctimonious humbug."

We agree with Sri Sakrikar in his analysis of the present-day trends in the Indian political fields. But in levelling all his accusations against the Congress, does he not assume that the P.S.P. is above all these? If so, we beg to differ. Here, in West Bengal, we have just had a visual and forceful demonstration of real-politik, led and organised by the P.S.P. leaders. We say this with sorrow.

Democracy and Real-Politic

The editor of the weekly *Star* of Lahore has written an open letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, in the October 23 issue. Much of what he has written could be said with a good deal of force, about our own Prime Minister. We do not for a moment hope that this excellent attempt on the part of the editor of the *Star* will meet with any response, unless his Prime Minister is less of a *khushamad* addict than ours. We append an extract below:

"Incidentally, it is highly insulting and humiliating to believe that save the Prime Minister, our nation cannot produce a single man—or woman—who is fit to mount the League horse as President. The fact is that if any leading public man, outside the Government, becomes the League Chief, he is sure to provide a powerful and popular check on the misdeeds of the Government, his own Muslim League Government. Since our present rulers seem determined to continue in power as long as they can, the

situation I have tried to imagine would mean that either they shall have to commit political *hara kiri* or they would be democratically murdered in course of time. If it is said that no set of rulers can ever be expected to work for their own liquidation, my only answer is that ultimately, all attempts to dodge democracy result in the liquidation of democracy. Are we prepared for it?

"Dear Prime Minister, I really wonder whether you were cajoled or coerced into accepting the Presidentship of the Muslim League. I cannot imagine, sir, a more undemocratic act on the part of those who gave you such an advice. I assure you that they are not your friends, but flatterers. Probably you know that Quaid-i-Azam was given a similar offer but he declined it. And, then, sir, can you really work as Prime Minister, Defence Minister and League Chief? I believe that you should not even hold any portfolio, for you can best act as a co-ordinating factor, a supreme supervisory agent, a vital link between the various ministries, a sort of hyphen that joins the different departments of the Government. Think it over: it is not only a matter of your personal prestige and popularity; it is a question of your success as Pakistan's third Prime Minister.

"In the circumstances I have depicted above, am I not entitled to ask: Is Pakistan a Democracy?"

North-East India Tribals

There is considerable disaffection amongst the tribal peoples in North-East India, as was prominently shown during Pandit Nehru's visit. The forces behind this disaffection are complex, and there is no want of instigation. News like the following make sad reading particularly the shocking news of the attack on the goodwill mission, made by the Tagin tribe in the unadministered zone.

Jorhat, Oct. 26.—Four leaders of the Revolutionary Nationalist Party of Manipur have been sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the Sub-divisional Magistrate of Imphal, Mr. O. Chaoba Singh, according to news reaching here today. They will be placed in "A" Class.

They were arrested on April 24 under Sections 120B, 124A, and 153A IPC for holding a meeting on April 19 in the Polo Ground, at which they were alleged to have delivered provocative speeches demanding an "independent buffer State of Manipur," and threatening to launch the Satyagraha movement on the 15th day from the date of the meeting.

The Revolutionary Nationalist Party of Manipur was formed by amalgamation of the All-Manipuri National Union and the Gandhi Sevak Sabha.

Jorhat, Oct. 29.—Twenty-five Government officials including some military personnel were killed by hillmen in the interior area of Abor Hills in Nefa recently, it is reported.

A party of Government of officials touring Abor Hills

in a goodwill mission was attacked and killed wholesale by about 500 hillmen when the officials were distributing sweets among children. An operational force was rushed to the spot. Further details are lacking at present.

The Etawah Project

The Weekly Magazine Supplement of the *Hindu* of October 18 contains a very succinct and informative account of the Etawah Pilot Project, by Taya Zinkin. What is written therein is worthy of note by all the ministries of agriculture and food. For the Etawah experiment is a series of practical demonstrations of what is likely to benefit the country and what is pure waste—such as, the Krishikar Pandit competitions. We append extracts below:

The main object of the Etawah Pilot Project is the improvement of agriculture.

Improvements meet with response strictly according to the benefits they bestow. Improved seed increases yields by 30 per cent. Improved seed plus green manure increase yields by 68-70 per cent. Improved seed plus green manure, plus complete manuring (ammonium sulphate and superphosphates) increase yields by 100 per cent and sometimes even bring yields up to 22 maunds per acre. Now to the economics of it. Improved seeds cost nothing. One maund of green manure seed—needed for one acre—costs Rs. 12 and the cost of ploughing it under is another Rs. 10, extra water may be Rs. 8 per acre. Total cost to improve yields by 68-70 per cent equals Rs. 30 in order to get Rs. 150 worth of extra wheat. Well worth it. Fertilisers will cost Rs. 20 more and require another Rs. 8-10 worth of water, the extra wheat thus obtained will fetch another Rs. 42 for a capital outlay of Rs. 28. When one takes the work involved into account, it is not worth it. Therefore the oft-taken of "almonia" as the villagers call it, has dropped so sharply that it has drained the scanty resources of the co-operatives which are still carrying last year's damaged stocks—bought at Rs. 350 against the present price of Rs. 275.

Indeed this costing brings one to a critical and dispassionate analysis of the results achieved by the Krishikar Pandits. One such Pandit who had topped all jawar records, give the recipe of his success in the *Indian Farmer*. Curiosity drove someone to calculate his costs and found that, having paid for all his activators and the labour, he was Rs. 3 out of pocket per acre. But back to Etawah.

The same demand which exists for improved wheat exists for improved peas. The new 163 strain produces 26 maunds instead of 15. The only cost is Rs. 20 for the additional water per acre and the return is Rs. 140. The villager needs no persuasion, the Project needs more seeds. There has also been a great response to the Patna Potato—a small brand—which grows quickly in between seasons and for which the seed, being small, costs only Rs. 28 per acre against Rs. 40 for the usual large size. The Patna variety brings the

usual 100 maund per acre yield up to 236, a net gain of Rs. 540 per acre for an outlay of Rs. 180 (manure, fertiliser, water, etc.). Three years ago there were 50 acres under potatoes in the Project areas, there are now over 500; the villagers eat them and sell them in the Etawah market; the co-operatives have so far failed to plan for marketing.

The Kosi Project

The Kosi has been rightly termed the River of Sorrows in North Bihar. Vast tracts of arable land are laid waste every year and hundreds of thousands rendered homeless by this erratic and turbulent river. We are glad that decisions have been taken to attempt to curb the destructive power of the Kosi at last as the following report shows:

Patna, Oct. 27: The Government of India have decided to start the work of Kosi Project in the coming winter, it is learnt here.

The first stage envisages the construction of a barrage at Terhi Bazar with embankments on both sides of the Kosi river and a canal system on its right as well as its left bank.

With the completion of the project the river is expected to be confined between its two embankments which may be as wide as six miles and people on both sides of the sixty mile long embankment will have security they have not enjoyed for ages.

Later news, emanating from New Delhi, where a discussion was held at a meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation, give a more detailed account of the problem:

"Mr. Kunwar Sain, who summed up the discussion, stated that no single measure was likely to be adequate in meeting the challenge of the Kosi. The problem required a combination of all the known solutions—a dam, a barrage, and embankments. He stressed the uniqueness of the Kosi problem. It was so difficult that it could only be solved by people who gave it full thought and were so steeped in it that they remembered it even when asleep. He appealed to the engineers to think about the Kosi, India's biggest engineering problem, and send him suggestions which he promised would be fully examined.

"In a sense, the Kosi presented three problems. The first was the problem of floods. The peak discharge of the river varied from 200,000 to 700,000 cusecs. As in all flood problems, the solution lay in reducing the discharge to manageable proportions. This could only be done by building a storage dam so that the water could be released more gradually. The dam had to be of adequate capacity. Any such dam would necessarily be expensive. That is why one had to think in terms of a temporary but cheaper solution.

"Secondly, the Kosi brought down coarse sand which it spread over a wide area, rendering it barren.

Evidence of it was unmistakable. People were trying to reclaim the land which the Kosi had spoilt. Intrinsically, the land was extremely fertile.

"Thirdly, the Kosi was shifting its course westwards. Some thought it would eventually swing back. But the land on its right bank was precious. It was necessary to check the damage the Kosi was causing.

"Referring to remedies he said he was not thinking in terms of a storage dam in the immediate future. The other two problems of sand and meandering were inter-connected. The PWD was studying the relevant factors of silt discharge, gradient, etc. A great deal of data had now been collected. He hoped to announce certain conclusions by the middle of November."

D.V.C. Power Supply

We append below a curious bit of news which appeared recently in the daily press. We call it curious because the "decision" taken seems to be out-of-date by about three and a half years. Have the decisions on flood-control and irrigation been taken or do they await the completion of the dams?

New Delhi, Oct. 27: A decision to extend the power transmission system of the Damodar Valley Corporation to Calcutta, Patna and Gaya was taken at the Inter-State Conference which reassembled in New Delhi today under the presidency of Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister of Irrigation and Power and Planning, Government of India.

The extension of the power supply to Calcutta will necessitate additional generating equipment for housing which provision has already been made in the Bokaro Power House structure. The programme in this connection will be reviewed after a year, depending on the growth in demand for power in the DVC and Calcutta areas.

The C.P.I. and the Forward Bloc

In the July disturbances in Calcutta, which were the planned preparation for the South-East Calcutta Parliamentary bye-election, the "Lefist" groups co-operated with each other in making the life of the common citizen miserable and in increasing the circulation of certain Calcutta dailies, which boosted the movement. Now they have fallen out as evinced by the following report:

"Pandit Sheelbhadra Yajee, Secretary-General of the All-India Forward Bloc, has issued a statement describing the decision of the West Bengal Communist Party to set up Mr. Sadhan Gupta as its nominee in the bye-election to Parliament from South-East Calcutta Constituency as a 'betrayal' of its agreement with the Forward Bloc.

"Pandit Yajee said that after prolonged negotiations among the leaders of the Forward Bloc, the Praja Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Socialist

Party, the Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party and others it had been decided by all Left parties that Dr. Bhupal Bose, the Forward Bloc nominee, should contest the seat, which had fallen vacant following the death of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, against Dr. Radha Binode Pal, the Congress candidate.

"The West Bengal Communist leaders, including Mr. Jyoti Basu, had assured him, Pandit Yajee said, that if the CPI was not driven out from the United Famine Resistance Committee they would not set up any CPI candidate but support the Forward Bloc nominee. The Forward Bloc and other Left parties had fulfilled the conditions. The CPI had set up Mr. Sadhan Gupta as its candidate."

Bhoodan and the Churches

The fragrance of Bhoodan Yagna has been wafted abroad by the action of the Bishops of the Southern Christian churches. We find the following report in the September 18 issue of the *Worldover Press*. We add our felicitations to these dignitaries of the Churches mentioned for their very appropriate action.

Kottayam, India.—Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoodan Yagna" (Land Gift Sacrifice) Movement has received support from the heads of the indigenous churches located in the southeast coastal strip of India, commonly known as the Kerala region. In a joint statement to the Protestant and Syrian Christians in this part of the country the bishops urge them to counter the violence of the Communists with the love and non-violence basic to the Land Gift Movement.

Nearly a million and a half acres of land have now been distributed through the appeals of Vinoba Bhave for voluntary gifts. This is in contrast to some 30,000 acres distributed by Indian Communists in places where they have sufficient political power.

The signatories to the statement endorsing Vinoba Bhave were the bishops of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, the Malankara Jacobite Syrian Church, the Knana Syrian Church and the Kottayam diocese of the Church of South India. Among them they reckon nearly a fourth of the entire non-Catholic Christian population of the country.

Considerable importance attaches to this open move on the part of the bishops because no other church prelates have so far come out thus in support of the Land Gift Movement on their own initiative. Besides, the Christian elements in this part of India, which comprises Malabar and Travancore-Cochin states, are among the wealthiest in the nation. The ancient churches count among their members many influential proprietors of large land areas.

Railway Ills

Our railways, which are all nationalized, are suffering from many evils, which emanate from many

different sources. Some of them are due to faulty or ill-planned administration, some originate from the travelling or using public, and others are due to purely nefarious activities of criminals. Recently public attention has been drawn to some of them as the following news shows :

"New Delhi, Oct. 28.—The National Railway Users' Consultative Council, which concluded a two-day meeting here today, urged the Railway Ministry to take suitable steps to eradicate ticketless travel and beggar nuisance from the Railways.

The Council "viewed with concern the national loss that was taking place owing to ticketless travel" and recommended that the Ministry should take steps not only to improve the efficiency, calibre and integrity of the ticket-checking officials but also to secure public co-operation in the eradication of this evil and "enthusiastic opinion generally against it.

The Council suggested that its members and members of the Zonal Committees should be enabled to call upon the ticket-checking staff to make checks in their presence.

With regard to elimination of the beggar nuisance, while the Council recognized the difficulties of the problem, which were often aggravated by misplaced sympathies, it considered that "tangible results can only be achieved by adequate and effective action by police in dealing with beggars at stations or on trains."

The Council urged the State Governments to pay particular and immediate attention to the removal of this nuisance and take effective legislative and other action."

Theft on trains and pilfering from goods wagons have become rife. Certain stations, like Khargpur, have become notorious. The *modus operandi* of the thieves is well-illustrated in the following news that appeared on October 30. It is difficult to believe that such bold attempts could be made without the connivance of some of the railway staff:

"Shortly after midnight of Wednesday-Thursday, the police surprised a gang of about 25 men and arrested 10 of them while, it is alleged, they were removing buckets from a railway wagon which they had broken open near the outer signal on the Sealdah South Section. The wagon was immediately behind the engine of a train that was coming from Canning and was due at Sealdah at 12.30 a.m.

Over 100 buckets, which had been thrown out of the wagon, were seized. A knife, about 15 inches long, was found on one of the men arrested. A near-by bustee was searched later in the night and nine more arrests made.

It is stated that the signaller at Sealdah noticed that although he had given the green signal to the train, the red signal continued to show. This made him suspect that the mechanism had been put out of order by pilferers to stop the train.

He immediately communicated his suspicions to the

Railway Police, a party of whom and of the Railway Protection Police went to the place. Seeing them, the thieves began to run, but 10 of them were caught. Later, the Railway Police searched a bustee in the direction of which the men had fled."

Industrial Finance Corporation

The annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation for the year ended 30th June 1953, indicates that industrial concerns in India appear not to have taken full advantage of the long-term credit facilities provided by the Corporation. Although the number of applications increased from 54 to 74 and the amount of loan sought from Rs. 7.3 crores to Rs. 8.25 crores, the actual number of applications sanctioned and the loans granted thereon declined from 33 and Rs. 4.45 crores to 14 and Rs. 1.43 crores respectively. The number of rejections, too, was high at 30, as against 19 in the preceding year. Moreover, the number of applications under consideration at the end of the year, too, remained very high at 41 for loans amounting to Rs. 5.22 crores, as compared with 17 applications for Rs. 2.02 crores during the last year. The report explains this state of affairs as follows:

"Though the number of applications was larger than in the previous years, the proposals were often not well-thought-out, and some of the applicants did not show keenness in pursuing their applications. For this reason, more time had to be devoted on the consideration of the applications."

The types of industries and the amount of accommodation sanctioned to each of them during the year, as compared with those of the previous year, are stated below :

(In lakhs of rupees)

	Amount sanctioned during year ended 30. 6. 53	Amount sanctioned up to year ended 30. 6. 52	Total
Textile machinery	...	64.00	64.00
Mechanical engineering	5.00	68.00	73.00
Electrical engineering	12.00	114.50	126.50
Cotton textiles	65.00	204.75	269.75
Woollen textiles	...	35.00	35.00
Rayon industry	...	50.00	50.00
Chemicals	11.75	186.00	197.75
Cement	...	90.00	90.00
Ceramics and glass	...	119.00	119.00
Oil mills	3.50	2.50	6.00
Electric power	25.00	17.50	42.50
Metallurgical industry (non-ferrous metals)	...	35.00	35.00
Iron and steel (light engineering)	17.50	50.50	68.00
Aluminium	...	50.00	50.00
Sugar industry	...	115.00	115.00
Mining	...	30.00	30.00
Paper industry	...	74.00	74.00
Automobile and tractor industry	...	50.00	50.00
Unclassified	3.50	47.70	51.20
Total	143.25	1,403.45	1,546.70

The above table indicates that the textile industry stands foremost amongst the borrowers of the Corporation, accounting for nearly a fifth of the total amounts sanctioned. The chemical industry continues to hold the second place, while electric and ceramic and glass industries have stolen a march over that of sugar, which has come down from the third to the fifth place.

The total amount of bonds outstanding at the end of the year under review remained at Rs. 5.80 crores. The Corporation will soon sell further bonds of the face value of Rs. 2 crores. The Directors observe that, with the rising cost of borrowing, the Corporation was compelled to raise its rate of interest on its loans to 6½ per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent for prompt payment of interest and instalments of principal on the due dates.

The following table will show the State-wise distribution of the loans and the total amount sanctioned as at the end of June, 1953 :

<i>(Rupees in lakhs)</i>			
Up to 30th June 1953		Up to 30th June 1952	
No. of Units	Amount	No. of Units	Amount
Assam	27	29	415.00
Bombay	5	7	83.00
Bihar	3	4	29.75
Madhya Pradesh	4	4	20.00
Punjab	6	6	121.50
Madras	2	2	59.00
Orissa	7	9	54.70
U. P.	17	16	250.00
West Bengal	2	3	50.00
Rajasthan	3	4	140.00
Saurashtra	1	1	3.50
Madhya Bharat	3	3	65.50
Travancore-Cochin	7	5	71.00
Mysore	2	1	40.00
Hyderabad			
98	1,546.70	94	1,403.45

For the first time since its inception, the accounts of the Corporation show a profit which is large enough to pay the whole of the guaranteed dividend of 2½ per cent on its paid-up capital of Rs. 5 crores without assistance from the Government by way of subvention. The profit before taxation for the year ended 30th June, 1953, aggregated Rs. 23.17 lakhs as against Rs. 9.26 lakhs in the preceding year. It may be mentioned here that in the preceding four years, the Corporation had received an aggregate amount of Rs. 26.9 lakhs, as subvention from the Government of India.

Estate Duty Act

The Estate Duty Bill which was passed by the House of the People on 15th September 1953, has come into force with effect from October 15, 1953. The objects of the Government in introducing the measure are two-fold—to rectify, to some extent, the existing inequality in the distribution of wealth and to assist the States towards financing their development schemes.

It may be noted that one of the directive principles of State policy calls for prevention of the excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and this measure will go a long way in fulfilling an objective of that directive.

Although the Indian Estate Duty Act is modelled on the British Act, it differs in two important respects from the latter. In the United Kingdom, the step system is in force, whereas in India the slab system has been adopted. Under the slab system, the incidence will be much smaller, particularly on upper income levels. Secondly, the rates in India are much lower than Britain's. For example, in Britain exemption is given to estates not exceeding £2,000; in this country, exemption is given to estates not exceeding Rs. 50,000 in the Mitakshara families and Rs. 1 lakh in case of others.

The Indian maximum rate is 40% on property exceeding Rs. 20 lakhs; whereas the British maximum rate of estate duty is 80 per cent. In that country, estate duty at the rate of 40 per cent is payable on the whole of a property the value of which exceeds £60,000 (Rs. 8 lakhs) and does not exceed £75,000. Further, in Britain there are succession and legacy duties in addition to the estate duty. Estate duty is a mutation duty, succession and legacy duties are acquisition duties. The Indian rates are so low, that they will in no way act as a deterrent to capital formation. The incidence on the first four slabs has been kept at a rather high figure. It is also clear that the rates of levy on the higher slabs are well below the worst expectations entertained in the market. Because of the slab system, even the big estates will get the advantage of lower rates on the initial slabs and the rate applicable on the total value of the estate will be less than 40 per cent.

The following figures will support the contention that the incidence of the Estate Duty will be much lighter in this country than in many other countries having a similar legislation :

<i>Value of Estate</i>	India	U.K.	Australia	Ceylon	Pakistan
	%	%	%	%	%
Rs. 1.5 lakhs	2.5	6.0	3.9	5.0	6.0
Rs. 2.0 lakhs	4.38	8.0	5.2	7.0	6.0
Rs. 3.0 lakhs	7.08	15.0	7.1	8.0	8.0
Rs. 5.0 lakhs	10.25	24.0	10.3	10.0	12.0
Rs. 20.0 lakhs	20.0	50.0	26.1	16.0	30.0

An issue which figured prominently during the passage of the Bill in the House of the People, was the question of setting up an independent appellate authority to which an appeal could be preferred, if a party was dissatisfied with the decision of the taxing authority. The position now is that an appeal can be made to the Court when a question of law is involved. But, if there is a difference of opinion on matters relating to the facts of the case, the decision of the Central Board of Revenue is final. The objection to this arrangement springs from the fear that the Central Board of Revenue will not interfere with and that the Board might even actively support

and confirm the decision taken by its subordinate officers. In this respect, the Government's defence of the existing position was not very convincing. It is true that from the purely administrative point of view, there is a great deal to be said for avoiding the delays inevitable in references to law-courts. But that is not so important as the necessity for ensuring that justice will be done. So long as the prosecutor and the judge belong to the same interest, apprehension there will always be in the minds of the people about the justice of their case.

Mr. Deshmukh was afraid that if appeals were allowed to an outside authority, it might lead to confusion and lack of uniformity. It is admitted by all that the language of the Bill is very complicated and verbose.

As regards the justification of death duties, Gladstone observed, "The carrying of properties in perfect security over the great barrier which death places between man and man is perhaps the very highest achievement, the most signal proof of the power of the civilised institutions and an instance so capital of the great benefit conferred by law and civil institutions upon mankind, and of the immense enlargement that comes to natural liberty through the medium of the law, that I conceive nothing more rational than that, if taxes are to be raised at all, the States shall be at liberty to step in and take from him who is thenceforward to enjoy the whole in security that portion which may be *bona fide* necessary for the public purpose."

All rights are created, recognised and protected by the law. The right to property is fundamentally a creature of law and nature has not given any right of ownership over property after death. The right to transmit property by will is created by law and there is nothing objectionable if the State steps in after death of a person to take a share of his estate. Death duties are a sort of final settlement of taxation liability on the unearned accretion in wealth arising from the non-taxability of capital gains and appreciation in value of property. Though death duties are assessed on capital, they destroy no existing capital; at most they absorb potential capital by diverting to the payment of the duties income which would otherwise have gone into new savings. In this way they do not differ from income tax or any other tax of comparable magnitude. Even where estates are sold to meet the duties, capital is only transferred, not destroyed. The property sold must eventually be bought by someone who has free income seeking an investment, and the only effect is to divert this income from the creation of a new, to the purchase of an existing, investment. There is no reduction of actual capital. From the collective point of view, there will be no loss of existing capital, for ultimately the source of payment will be somebody's income.

Unemployment

The Planning Commission has recently addressed the State Governments on the question of urban unemployment. The Commission, which has been

engaged during the past few weeks on a study of the unemployment position, observes that on account of the inadequacy of the available data it is difficult to say whether there has been any absolute decline in the total volume of urban employment. But it appears that the growth of fresh employment opportunities, especially in the private sector, has not kept pace with the numbers seeking work. This declining trend in employment position, while the Five-Year Plan is in operation, has naturally agitated the public mind and the view has been expressed that if through the implementation of the Plan employment position does not improve, the Plan be revised in directions needed for providing additional employment. The existence of this public apprehension finds due recognition in the Planning Commission's communication to the States.

It is pointed out that the Plan, in recommending the fullest use of the available man-power resources by operating labour-intensive methods of production, had kept the employment problem in the forefront. It had also suggested certain special steps to be taken with a view to laying the foundations of proper employment policy. These recommendations included maximum utilisation of the unemployed manpower in the implementation of development projects, minimum expansion of money incomes, speeding up of capital formation, safeguards against excessive unemployment arising out of technological change and proper distribution of capital in new investments with a view to keeping employment opportunities to the maximum.

While the employment aspect was thus kept fully in view in the Plan, in the actual implementation of the programme, the Commission observes, a gap has arisen between the rate of development contemplated in the Plan and the rate actually achieved. This is mainly because many of the development schemes included in the Five-Year Plan were started before the Plan was formulated and some of the important social and economic policies recommended in it have not yet been implemented sufficiently to cause an impact on the employment situation.

The gap should be reduced, the Commission observes, and necessary adjustments made both by the Central and the State Governments. So far as the Central projects are concerned, these adjustments are being examined by the Planning Commission in consultation with the concerned Ministries of the Government of India.

In view of the above, the Commission does not feel it necessary to change the fundamental approach of the Five-Year Plan or its broad pattern of priorities or allocation of resources. On the other hand, fuller implementation of the programme laid down in the Plan and strengthening it at points where it is weak, will achieve useful results.

The Commission's recommendations in their communication to the State Governments are confined to urban unemployment. In regard to the rural sector, the Commission points out that there are large schemes in the Plan which have added considerably to employment opportunities.

The following programme, which is expected to relieve educated unemployment to some extent, has been suggested. The communication points out that in regard to most of the suggestions, necessary action has already been initiated by the Central Government or will be taken shortly. The suggestions are :

(1) Special assistance to individuals of small groups of people for establishment of small industries and business under the State aid to industries or other similar legislation and in other ways;

(2) Expansion of training facilities in those lines in which manpower shortage at present exists. There are several directions in which shortages of personnel exist which impede the progress of schemes under the Five-Year Plan. Expanded training facilities will do away with these shortages, at the same time opening up new employment opportunities for semi-skilled workers;

(3) Active encouragement to be given to the products of cottage and small-scale industries through the purchase of stores required by State Governments and public authorities;

(4) Municipal authorities, private educational institutions and voluntary organisations should be assisted in establishing adult education centres in urban areas. In rural areas, one-teacher schools should be encouraged to be opened;

(5) The proposed National Extension Service should be handled with courage, for its own sake inasmuch as it is fundamental to the growth of rural economy in India as well as for the immediate contribution it can make towards the solution of the problem of educated unemployment;

(6) Development of road transport. The existing licensing policies should be re-examined with a view to stepping up road transport development, particularly through private agencies;

(7) Implementation of slum clearance schemes and programmes for the construction of houses for low income groups in urban areas;

(8) Encouragement of private building activities;

(9) Planned assistance to refugee townships, which suffer from a somewhat chronic unemployment, with a view to developing a sound economic base for their continued existence;

(10) Encouragement of schemes for development of power sponsored by private capital. At present in several growing towns there is shortage of power which impedes the maintenance of employment and development of industry. The State Governments may review the power position in different areas and to the extent that schemes for meeting power shortage have not been included in the Five-Year Plan send up further proposals indicating the extent to which private capital might be available;

(11) The last suggestion of the Commission, which is somewhat novel, is for the establishment of work and training camps at places where mainly, through action taken by the Government, work opportunities exist, for example, in projects for

slum clearance, housing for low income groups, irrigation and power projects, road construction programmes, afforestation and soil conservation and co-operative land resettlement projects, etc.

The Commission has urged on all the State Governments to consider this idea which has been tried in other countries. It may be possible for the Central Government to give some assistance to suitable schemes for work and training camps which State Governments may propose as a specific measure for relief from the present deterioration in the employment situation.

The Commission's communication to the State Governments is based on a comprehensive analysis of the existing unemployment situation. It examines the various factors at work which might have accentuated unemployment. Some of these factors are seasonal and temporary in character, some specific to particular areas or regions or to particular trades or industries, and some arise out of frictional adjustments in the labour market. The Commission has asked the State Governments to examine the employment situation in their States and to indicate the factors at work and the extent to which they can take action to influence them.

World Monetary Trends

The latest Annual Report of the International Monetary Fund notes an improvement in the world payments position. Substantial progress is stated to have been made in the direction of general payments balance; indeed, the improvements in the world's balance of payments with the dollar area during the year 1952-53 appears to have certain elements of permanence which were lacking in 1950. The Fund's analysis of the world payments situation during the year under review may be summarised as follows :

(1) Despite the downward trend in the world trade that became evident early in 1952, the world payments position for the year as a whole showed a much better balance than in 1951.

(2) The widespread payments crisis at the beginning of 1952 affected particularly the raw material exporting countries.

(3) The most significant statistical evidence of the improvement in the world payments position in 1952 is the balance of payments of the rest of the world with the United States.

(4) The supply position outside the dollar areas has also improved on the whole, a result, in part, of the abatement of inflationary pressures.

(5) It would be rash to take it for granted that the battle against inflation has now been won. It is significant that, in many parts of Europe, the inflationary impact of rising defence expenditures was kept in check throughout 1952.

(6) In 1952, as in 1951, the overall inflationary tendencies were, as a rule, stronger in the raw material-producing countries than in the industrial nations.

World Trade with the USA: The Fund refers in particular to what is called the "residual dollar problem" and points out that the US balance of payments surplus disappeared in the second half of 1952 when the country had a small deficit with the rest of the world. Such a welcome change was brought about by an effective control of inflation, although it must be admitted that even today inflation has by no means ceased to be a problem. The Fund observes that in order to prevent any deterioration in the present position, it is of the utmost importance that a high level of employment is maintained in the US and that proper monetary and fiscal policies are enforced in Europe.

The Fund is cautiously optimistic about the attainment and maintenance of a rough balance of payments between the US and the rest of the world. But it warns against its precarious character. The Fund observes: "For many countries, the balance would be disturbed by any considerable weakening of the prices of their staple exports. The possibility of a decline in the United States' activity has also caused concern. It should not be assumed that an easing of political tensions, which permitted a substantial reduction of defence expenditure, would necessarily be followed by any serious contraction of economic activity as a whole in the United States. The US economy has shown a degree of adaptability sufficient to take full advantage of the opportunities for the higher real levels of production and consumption that relaxation of rearmament pressures would permit. The maintenance of high levels of production and employment is a major objective of public policy in the United States. The greater the success of US policy in maintaining domestic stability, the better the prospects for continued progress towards the establishment of a stable multilateral international trading system."

Convertibility Aims: In the considered opinion of the Fund, the improvement in the general payments position in recent months has been in a large measure, the result of the return to "active monetary policies." It commends the renewed efforts of several countries to achieve convertibility of currencies, but stresses the fact that convertibility is not an end in itself. The view that convertibility is an attractive ideal which cannot, however, be realised in a remote and indefinite future, has increasingly given way to the conclusion that progress towards the establishment of convertibility and progress towards the elimination of the dollar shortage should proceed side by side. However, convertibility is not an end in itself. It is only desirable, because it makes possible greater flexibility in international payments, and the benefits of the international division of labour, based on unhindered multilateral trading. It would be valueless if progress towards convertibility by any country was achieved at the cost of imposing new restrictions on trade. The renewed determination with which many countries are endeavouring to move towards convertibility is a most encouraging development. The IMF itself must do everything to support the efforts that are being made,

and to take advantage of the recent progress which has occurred towards a better balance of payments of the rest of the world with the dollar area.

The Fund lays special emphasis in this connection on two important factors. First, the determined efforts of some countries to achieve convertibility of currencies deserve the utmost encouragement. Secondly, the uncertainty of the timing of decisive steps does not mean that countries cannot, in the meantime, take less far-reaching measures which have immediate value. These include, among others, (a) domestic financial and economic stability, (b) larger dollar earnings, (c) education and ultimate elimination of exchange restrictions and discriminatory trade restrictions, and (d) restoration of international capital markets. The Fund wants serious attention to be paid to the last-mentioned measure. For, according to it, capital imports may be a necessary condition for the elimination of inflationary pressures in the underdeveloped countries. At the same time, many underdeveloped countries are recognising that they have a responsibility for ensuring their maintenance of conditions which will make foreign investors feel assured of reasonable security for their investments and the earnings expected to flow from them.

To the extent that an increased flow of capital—particularly long-term capital—from the USA to the rest of the world can be developed, the USA should have a corresponding current account surplus. If the US current account were balanced, the existing disparity between the rate of capital accumulation in the US and in other countries would be accentuated. Any further widening of the gap between the productive capacity in the USA and in the rest of the world would place severe strains on many other countries in their efforts to maintain international equilibrium. Rapid development through diversified industrialisation has come to be accepted as an important objective of economic policy in many of the less developed raw material-producing countries, chiefly because it seems to be the most satisfactory way of increasing real incomes.

British and American Asian Policy

The difference between British and American approaches to the problems of the Far East is not the creation of fanatics, but of geography and history. In the eighteenth century, trade with China was carried on by the East India Companies of European nations. The British, who became predominant in the trade at Canton, regarded it as an extension of their commerce with India, and in so far as the East India Company did not itself directly do business in China, the market was left to the so-called "country" ships sailing under licenses from India. Politically, India with her sea approaches became the pivot of Britain's policy as an oceanic and imperial Power. In so far as Britain looked beyond Europe in diplomacy and strategy, India and the Indian ocean occupied the foreground of the picture; China, Japan and the Pacific belonged to the remote background.

By the beginning of the twentieth century Britain had acquired a very substantial economic stake in the Far East and for a few years Far Eastern affairs became of cardinal importance for British foreign policy. The Russian penetration of Manchuria after 1895 aroused fears in London that China was about to fall under Russian domination, and Britain made her first definite departure from "splendid isolation" in world politics by concluding an alliance with Japan to check Russia's Far Eastern expansion. But it has to be remembered that Anglo-Russian rivalry in the Far East at this time was only an extension of a conflict of policies which already involved Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, and the alarm about China was primarily due to the British sense of weakness in that region of the world. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was intended to redress the regional balance of power, otherwise strongly in favour of Russia, by giving support to a nation able and willing to act locally against Russia.

The pattern of British Far Eastern policy between 1905 and 1918 has since been twice repeated, first in relation to Japan between 1931 and 1941, and again in relation to Communist China since 1949. Its basic principle is to avoid, even at the cost of great sacrifices of interest and prestige, any involvement in a Far Eastern conflict which would require diversion of British power from regions of more vital importance.

British foreign policy and strategy are ultimately based on a scale of priorities which sets Europe and the Mediterranean first, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean second, and the Far East by a long way third. If in a time of crisis certain interests have to be thrown overboard to lighten the load, those which are located beyond Singapore must be the first for sacrifice, and those from Suez eastward must be next; but the needs of security in Europe can never be sacrificed because the very existence of Britain as a nation depends on it. The fall of Singapore in the last war did not finish Britain; even Rommel's entry into Cairo would not have been a mortal blow; but had Hitler's army been able to cross the Channel in 1940, that might have been the end of everything for the British people.

The American scale of priorities is necessarily different. Situated between two broad oceans, the United States has never had to face the same kind of problem of strategic security as that which has been a condition of British foreign policy, and until very recently most Americans thought that isolation was a safe and profitable course for America to follow in world affairs. But in so far as America has emerged from isolation and become involved in the course of history beyond the oceans, the involvement has been as much trans-Pacific as trans-Atlantic. Indeed, it has been, even more, for, although the Pacific is wider than the Atlantic, the American acquisition of Hawaii and Alaska and four decades of sovereignty in the Philippines have brought America closer to Asia than to Europe. If there is one part of the world in which Americans, generally speaking, took

little or no interest, it was that region comprising the Middle East, India and the Indian Ocean, which to the British was, and is, so much more important than the countries bordering the Pacific.

The experience of the last war simply confirmed and accentuated the divergence between the two angles of vision. For the British, the war against Japan was a sideshow as compared with the struggle in Europe. For the Americans, the two wars were approximately equal in scale and significance if the Chiefs of Staff always maintained the strategic priority of the European fronts, American popular emotions were more deeply committed in Guadalcanal and Okinawa than in Sicily. Indeed, the circumstances of the conclusion of the second world war, which left the United States participating with Britain, France and Russia in the control of Germany and Austria, but with virtually sole responsibility in Japan, meant that America was more profoundly involved as a nation in East Asia than in Europe.

Another difference separating British and American policies in Asia and closely connected with the basic difference of geographical approach was the focus of view on India and on China respectively. Even though American action at the end of 1945 had the effect of depriving the National Government of its only chance of victory, the final outcome of the civil war appeared to both Chinese and Americans as a Communist triumph: not only over the Kuomintang but also over the United States, and the cup of defeat has been all the more bitter for Americans to swallow because of the traditional special friendship between the two countries. The fact that for the last two and a half years a Chinese army has been killing American soldiers has hurt the American nation as a whole less than the outrageous misrepresentation of the American record in the Far East and the denunciation of past generosity in medicine and education to a backward China as "cultural aggression." The Chinese Communists are not merely a Marxist-Leninist party which has gained power in yet another country; they are, above all, an anti-American faction which has alienated the affections of the Chinese people from China's best friend. For this reason, America is basically unwilling to accept what happened in China as an irreversible decision or to admit that the "People's Republic" represents China as a nation. The British, on the other hand, do not share this attitude, and an account of their different relation to China in recent years have great difficulty even in understanding it. The British have viewed China since 1945 with the matter of fact detachment of a spectator who feels himself quite outside the game. They have no sense of failure because they have not tried to achieve anything; they are not greatly disappointed because they never expected postwar China to be stable; they do not like the new regime, but they think it has come to stay and hold that it must be accepted as an accomplished fact.

This difference of attitudes is primarily a matter

of feeling, but it corresponds to a contrast of strategic preoccupations more definable in terms of national interest. As a result of the "Pacific," America has acquired a strategic "frontier" in the Western Pacific, running down from Alaska through the Aleutians, Japan and Okinawa to the Philippines, over against the Russo-Chinese power bloc on the mainland of Asia. This defensive system is the Pacific counterpart of the Atlantic-European system, with its frontier from Norway to Turkey, in which America participates as a member of NATO. In the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the NATO Powers there would inevitably be from the outset a fighting front in the northern Pacific as well as in Europe and the Atlantic. The situation now is quite different from what it was in World War II. There was then ultimately a Pacific as well as a European war, but they were geographically separate spheres of conflict; Germany had no territorial base in the Far East; and Japan, though engaged in hostilities in China, remained neutral in relation to the European war for more than two years after its outbreak. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, straddles Europe and Asia, so that any crisis which involved the USA in an armed conflict in Europe would mean also a Russo-American war on the other side of the world.

More specifically, there are three dangers against which American strategic planning has to provide. In the first place, Siberia is less than a hundred miles from Alaska at the nearest point, and this is the only area in which it would be practicable for Russia to attempt an incursion into the North American continent; such a move might have but little real military importance, but the psychological effect of "carrying the war into America" would be so great that it would be essential to meet the attack successfully. Secondly, even though Russia lacks sea power comparable to that of Japan in 1941, the Pacific would probably be infested with Russian submarines from Siberian bases, and long-range missile-bearing aircraft might strike from Kamchatka at Hawaii and Seattle. Thirdly, Russia would probably attempt an invasion of Japan in order to gain control of her industrial capacity and skilled labour for war purposes. The entire burden of defence against all these possible strategic threats (which are implied in a hypothetical war with Russia, whether China is a belligerent or not) must be borne out by the USA. On the Atlantic side, in contrast, Britain and France are in the first line for any conflict with Russia, and there is no Russian territorial base close to North America.

Ever since India became independent there has been an effort on the side of Britain to adjust British policies in Asia to Indian views whenever possible and to avoid giving Delhi any ground for suspicion

that India was not being regarded as fully sovereign entity in the field of foreign affairs. But India's ostentatious neutralism in the cold war, the sympathetic attitude of India towards Communist China, and the Indian leadership of the so-called bloc of Asian and Arab States in the United States, all tend to produce tensions between India and the USA and these react on British-American relations because of the constant British desire to conciliate India and give full consideration to the Indian point of view. The history of the last five years shows that increases of Communist pressure in Europe tend to bring Britain and America closer together, while increases in the Far East tend to drive them apart.

Indian Troops in Korea

India has been placed in a most unhappy and anomalous position by Pandit Nehru's decision to send troops to guard prisoners who are unwilling to be repatriated. In trying to maintain a strict neutrality, India is being accused of partisanship by interested parties, the most bitter accusation emanating from South Korea.

Placed as he is we would sympathise with Mr. Rhee, if his remarks were not so rabid and outrageous. And we regret to see that a good bit of American opinion, which is strongly biassed and unfair, seems to be on his side.

We have no doubt that our soldiers will carry out their duties in a true and forthright fashion, but we do think that Pandit Nehru should have considered all possibilities before placing them in this unenviable position. The British Press has, on the whole, taken a fair view of the case.

The *Spectator* (October 9), discussing the position in Korea under the heading "Indian Village," writes: "How does the President of South Korea come to be a major threat to peace? Partly because of the decision, taken 18 months ago by the United Nations Command, to replace the American troops fighting in Korea by South Korean troops, and to train and equip 15 South Korean divisions to that end.

"In 1952, when there was no end in sight to the Korean war, this may have been inevitable. But in October 1953, when there is an armistice in Korea but no peace conference in sight, and when Mr. Rhee does not want to observe the armistice, it is a source of danger.

"For the latest from South Korea has been a statement to the effect that he will either throw the Indians, who are supervising the armistice, out of force, or organize another mass escape by prisoners under Indian supervision.

"To permit him to do either or both would be to tear up the armistice. Now it is possible that Mr. Rhee will not—or will not find the means to—carry out these threats. It is also possible that China, which

signed the armistice presumably because it wanted peace, may not choose to exploit a breach of the truce by South Korea as a pretext for starting the war again.

"But neither of these possibilities is certain enough to justify the United Nations taking the smallest risk with Mr. Rhee; if war were to start again, there is no knowing where or how it would end. This is the background to the week's events in Indian village.

"The Indians complain that the 23,000 prisoners in their charge, waiting to have their brains 'washed' by propagandists who hope to persuade them to return to their Communist homes, are infiltrated by Kuomintang and South Korean agents and are resisting the whole operation in a highly organized way; they have also warned the United Nations that they are not prepared to use the necessary force to repel a mass escape.

"The United Nations, through General Clark and a number of other less official American spokesmen, has merely replied with the complaint that the Indians are organizing the operation to the Communists' advantage. Yet there is only one thing in all this that really matters; the armistice must not be broken by South Korea.

"This means that the United Nations, which is in the context the United States, must leave President Rhee in no doubt whatever that his troops will get no supplies and his Government will be disowned if he reaches out a hand against the Indians or to release the prisoners."

India and Pakistan

The relations between these two neighbours can never improve until the spirit of give and take is correctly established both ways. So far it has been "give" on India's side and "take" on the other's.

"In recent weeks there has been several minor setbacks in the relations of India and Pakistan. India has decided not to extend the life of the Indo-Pakistan trade agreement, which expired on September 30, for the sound reason that the present import policy of Pakistan does not provide for the issue of licences for the import of certain important items scheduled for import into Pakistan from India.

"The Prime Minister of India has written to Karachi refuting the accusations made against India for the virtual failure of the Indo-Pakistan conference on exchange of enclaves, held recently in Calcutta, and the continued deadlock over the evacuee property issue. Karachi is being urged to rescue at an early date negotiations on the evacuee property question, as this is holding up payment of compensation to displaced persons, Pakistan is yet to ratify the limited agreement of last August on evacuee property."

British Coup in Guiana

On August 9, Sir Alfred Savage, Governor of British Guiana, declared a state of emergency, suspended the six-month-old constitution and dismissed the first popularly elected Government headed by Dr. Chedi Jagan, with a view "to prevent Communist subversion of the Government and a dangerous crisis both in public order and in economic affairs." The Governor declared that he would himself run the administration with the help of advisers. A commission of enquiry would be appointed to recommend on a new constitution, he said.

A Colonial Office statement issued simultaneously in London and Georgetown, said that Her Majesty's Government was quite satisfied that the elected Ministers and the Party (People's Progressive Party) were completely under the control of a Communist clique. It was clear from the actions and public statements of the leaders of the People's Progressive Party, the statement continued, "that their objective was to turn Guiana into a totalitarian State-subordinate to Moscow and a dangerous platform for extending Communist influences in the Western Hemisphere." The statement charged the leaders with having tried to undermine the loyalty and discipline of the Police force and of persistently intruding into the sphere of the Public Service.

"We have yet to see an unbiased report on the British Guiana affair. Dr. Jagan and his associates have denied that there was any move by them in concert with world Communism. Mr. Attlee, on the other hand, has stated, after a long interview with Dr. Jagan that there were undoubted signs of Communism in the methods and moves of the Jagan Ministry, and Mr. Attlee's statement cannot be brushed aside lightly. Of British Press reactions seen by us, that of the *Spectator* seems to be the most clearly formulated.

Writing under the heading "Destination Georgetown," the *Spectator* (October 9) says: "What precise contingency has led the Governor of British Guiana to call for British warships is not known. But Sir Alfred Savage is not the man to use big battalions unless he is forced to, and trouble, including bloodshed, is threatening the colony.

"It is a tragedy that good rule cannot always be its own reward. In theory, there is everything to be said for the gradual transfer of responsibility to native peoples; in practice, whether that transfer succeeds, as it appears to be succeeding in the Gold Coast and Jamaica, or whether it is abused, as it has been in British Guiana, depends on a number of factors which are beyond the control of the British Government or its administrators.

"It is a risk which has to be taken; and when it does not come off, it is no triumph for the reaction-

aries, but one of the inevitable facts of political life that reformers have to face."

The *Spectator* goes on: "The new British Guiana constitution gave, for the first time, a responsible voice in their government to the people of the colony. It was based on full adult suffrage, and on the principle of Cabinet responsibility for the majority party."

"It so happened that the majority (and virtually only) party was led by an Indian, who is now Prime Minister, and his wife, a lady from Chicago with a chip on her shoulder and a powerful character."

"From the first, this pair were opposed to the new constitution because it contained certain safeguards, such as reserve powers for the Governor, a second House appointed on a non-elective basis, and three (out of a total of nine) official members on the executive, all of them minimum safeguards against an abuse of democracy by people who were not accustomed to it."

"The Jagans were also under the influence of Moscow, and had for some years been at work on the primitive but susceptible minds of the workers on the sugar plantations and bauxite mines who live and work in the crowded, arid, narrow plain between the sea and the swamps. The Jagans and their People's Progressive Party were then, under the new constitution, elected to power; and they proceeded—it can only be assumed—with the intention of boycotting the constitution itself, to disregard those conventions without which democracy cannot work."

"The Prime Minister takes his cues from Moscow; the Minister of Labour retains his trade-union post and organizes a Government strike in sympathy with the sugar workers; and now a petition is being organized by the Prime Minister's wife to demand the removal of the remaining checks built into the constitution."

"There is no reason," says the *Spectator*, "why the first attempt to breathe new life into the colonial body should be allowed to be stifled by people with foreign interests at heart. If the ships, whose destinations have been so extraordinarily mobile, are to assist a liberal-minded Governor to restore order and, if possible, to save a democratic experiment, then one must reluctantly wish them a good voyage."

Trieste

The chances of a flare-up on the Italo-Yugoslavian frontier seem to be less likely now than it was about a fortnight ago. The position then was highly critical, thanks to the hasty and ill-advised decisions of the British and U. S. Governments. The following British Press reports give a clear picture of the affair:

The *Spectator* (October 16) says: "The question of Trieste is one of the most knotted and tangled questions in Europe, but there still might be a hope of settling it if one of the many parties to the present

dispute were following a wise and coherent policy. But not one is."

"The British and U.S. Governments, in their announcement of October 8 that their troops would be withdrawn as soon as possible from Zone A of the Free Territory and the administration of the zone handed over to Italy, displayed a crudity, an impatience and a complacency which seemed quite misplaced from the start and have, in fact, led to nothing but trouble."

"President Tito, by making speeches which were unpleasantly reminiscent of some of the outbursts of the pre-war dictators and by threatening to move Yugoslav troops into Zone A if the Italians tried to take it over, went far beyond any right he possesses."

"The Italian Government, by accepting the Anglo-American invitation to take over in Zone A while refusing to modify their claim to Zone B as well, and even refusing to have anything to do with the one reasonable suggestion that President Tito made—the suggestion that there should be an immediate four-Power meeting to discuss the Trieste question—also helped to push the question into the realm of bombast and intransigence. The Soviet Government, while rushing in to underline all the difficulties and dangers of the situation, made no attempt whatever to remove any of them."

"For Trieste is, of course, the port for Austria and Czechoslovakia, as well as being a largely Italian city surrounded by a mainly Slovene countryside. And so long as the natural traffic between Central Europe and the Adriatic is subject to incalculable political interference, no stable solution to the problem is available."

"It is not merely a matter of relations between Italy and Yugoslavia. It is also a matter of time. And even to pretend that during the long period before the affairs of Trieste eventually settle down the Western Powers can wash their hands of the matter is nonsensical."

Time and Tide (October 17) writes: "It is most unlikely that the Trieste affair will push Marshal Tito back into the arms of the Russians, but that does not mean that in planning such a move the British and American Governments should not have taken into consideration the nature of the country and people whom Marshal Tito has led into friendly relations with the West."

"It may well be that the authorities who give the orders for the anti-British and anti-American demonstrations in Belgrade and other cities are the same as those who later hasten to apologize for the excesses committed. That should not obscure the fact, however, that the present rulers of Yugoslavia are forced to make such protests in deference to those, both on the Right and on the Moscow-inclined Left, who wish to discredit and weaken the regime."

Palestine Affairs

Tension has risen considerably in the Arab-Israeli relations due to the armed raid on a helpless Arab-

village in the Jordan area inflicting death and destruction on innocent Arab villagers. The State of Israel has denied responsibility and accusations and counter-accusations are going on. But there can be no denying of the incident.

Referring to the Security Council's discussing the Qibya incident on the Israeli-Jordan frontier, *The Times* says: "This brutal action was promptly, and rightly, condemned by the British Government in the strongest terms, as it was the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission on the spot. Now fears of the likely consequences seem already justified by the mounting excitement and indignation in all the Arab capitals.

"So long as the armistice lines separate the Arab villagers from the land they were accustomed to cultivate; so long as semi-starving refugees look across the arbitrary political boundary at the houses, wells and groves which they once owned, so long will the lives and property of the Israelis as well as the Arabs, of women and children as well as men, remain insecure and hazardous in the border districts. Life is hard for the people on both sides; raids provoke reprisals; murders lead the bereaved either to take the law into their own hands or to clamour urgently for punitive action by their own security forces."

The Times ends by suggesting that the frontier could be patrolled in much the same way as the Kashmir cease-fire line has been kept intact. "United Nations observers there are on the spot when things begin to happen," says *The Times*.

Anti-Communism in Chile

We, in India, are as a rule oblivious of the existence of that part of the Americas that is known as "Latin," in so far as world-politics are concerned. Occasionally we get glimpses of the situation as in the following report from the *Worldover Press*, which shows that that part of the world is sharing stresses in World-Politics equally with the rest. The report given below shows a change, however slight, in the situation:

"Santiago, Chile.—As a reaction against the recent Congress of Culture held in Chile by Communists and fellow-travelers of Latin American countries, a new, non-Communist Congress for the Freedom of Culture has been organized under the chairmanship of Dr. George Nicolai, world-famous scientist, and Roberto Aldunate, outstanding writer and social worker."

In its manifesto, the new movement asserts: "We proclaim the evident truth, that freedom of opinion is an inalienable right of the human being. And this means that one is free to express this opinion especially when one disagrees with those who exercise authority. The man who has no right to say 'No' is a slave.

"In the totalitarian states, the fetters on freedom are not presented to the people as sacrifices. On the contrary,

they are exalted as the triumph of 'progress' and as 'the climax of a new civilization.' We consider that the theory and practice of the totalitarian states constitute the greatest threat that humanity has had to face in the course of history."

The Communist Party, founded in 1918 by Luis Emilio Recabarren, was able, for some 20 years, to exert a strong influence over the workers. However, the lack of insight and good judgment shown by the leaders who followed Recabarren was so tragic that most strikes organized by the workers to secure better wages and living conditions ended in disastrous defeats. As a reaction to this brutal type of leadership, a number of intellectuals and moderate labor leaders organized the Socialist Party in 1933. Its democratic ideals attracted the sympathy of laborers, students and intellectuals in such strong numbers that the Communist control over the workers was completely overthrown by the new party.

Internal battles, however, caused by Communist "fifth columns" and widespread infiltration, produced a series of splits, which all but destroyed the great influence this party had in Chilean administrations from 1938 to 1948. The weakening of the Socialists offered another opportunity to the Communists to regain lost ground, but nevertheless the tactics of the Communists have served to lower their influence to a very small potential.

To make things worse for the Communists, two prominent former members of the party, Senator Guillermo Guevara, loyal spokesman for the poor and a former representative, and Marcos Chamudes, cultured orator and newspaperman, have made known publicly their repudiation of Communism. Senator Guevara in a written statement declared: "After 30 years' membership in the Communist Party, I have arrived at the conclusion that this Party is not managed by Chileans. Rather, it is governed by foreign elements who have nothing to do with Chile. Every move of the Party is made on orders received from foreign bosses who labor in the shadows. Many times, public opinion has been surprised to observe the contradictory steps of the Communist Party. For this there is only one explanation: the bosses give those orders, and the local servants have to obey."

Elections in West Germany

The Adenauer victory in the West German Elections have been boosted up in the Press of the Western democracies as being a vindication of their claims and principles. The Press in India has also supported that view, though in a luke-warm fashion. But here we have a slightly different picture from the *Worldover Press*. It shows that democracy has yet to go a good bit further before it can claim West Germany as being a convert.

"If you are one of those who are kicking up their heels in sheer elation because of Chancellor Adenauer's smashing victory in the West German elections, it may be worth suggesting that you might, if you care anything

about realistic facts, take it just a bit less enthusiastically. There are a number of good things about that election, but there are bad things also. The latter will be obscured for a time, but will gradually come to the fore.

The best thing, obviously, is the stunning witness given by the balloting to the bankruptcy of the Kremlin's program towards the German people. Perhaps the biggest single thing contributing to the Adenauer vote was the series of revolts last June in the Soviet Zone. Russian prestige took a nose-dive, just as, in the votes, did West German Communism. The Soviet Union, whatever else, will now have to reconsider its German policy drastically.

Another good thing was the heavy vote, which shows a desire of Germans to participate in national decisions. In a country that has had scant experience of democracy, and before the end of the war only one brief period under the ill-fated Weimar Republic, this is certainly encouraging.

Perhaps most important of all, however, is a pronouncement made by Adenauer in a post-election speech. Do you remember back to the beginning of World War II, and the role of Danzig and the Polish corridor? Many observers, this one among them, have felt that the greatest threat of war in Europe might well come from the determination of a remilitarized Germany to get back its eastern territories, now largely in the hands of Poland, by force. It is something, at any rate, to have the Chancellor on record as saying a solution could be worked out with a free Poland, and "in any case, this problem must on no account become the cause of a war."

It is natural for Westerners to want their policies vindicated, but have we come to the point where anything goes to get our desires? Adenauer's influence over the electorate cannot be separated from his methods in setting up the machinery in a way to favor his coalition. It is tied up, too, in his huge campaign slush fund, his wild accusations (almost unforgivable in view of his past tenderness to former Nazis and to the less spectacular totalitarians) that the Social Democrats had accepted financing from East German Communists. If anything, the Social Democrats are stronger anti-Communists, and they do not qualify their detestation of all totalitarians, Fascists and semi-Nazis included.

The Adenauer vote, of course, is being interpreted as primarily one for German rearmament and participation in the European Defense Community. That it must be so regarded to some degree is apparent; but the extraordinary economic revival under Adenauer will take first place in the minds of balanced commentators, as it surely did in the thinking of the Germans. The curious fact to be noted at this point is that one reason for the amazing prosperity of West Germany is its lack of expenditures on huge armies—the very armament the new Adenauer vote is supposed to have endorsed.

The relatively low vote achieved by the organized neo-Nazis is widely hailed as evidence that Nazi ideas

are dead. One could wish that this were true; but the most dangerous pro-Nazis are not in the openly neo-Nazi party. They are, instead, among those who backed Adenauer. If neo-Nazism is to wield influence, these people realize, it can happen best, and perhaps only, through the setting up of new German armies. Many of the old Nazi leaders "want in," and former General Herbert Gille has gone so far to curry favour that he contends the whole idea of a united Europe originated in the ranks of Hitler's SS forces! There are at least 150,000, and possibly 200,000, former members of the Elite Guard available for military service, and they know that to get in a new army, their best bet is Adenauer.

It may work out, as Adenauer believes, that his wide support assures the creation of the European Defense Community, but on that subject the French still have a lot to say. They are probably correct in foreseeing a stronger German intransigence over the Saar, their sorest point. They are not going to relish being faced with the alternative of signing up or losing help with their own arms contribution, while Washington goes on building up the Germans with thousands of tanks and the similar types of armament. American leaders were saying only a short time ago would not be given to the Germans for many years to come."

Newspaper Circulations

The following bit of news from the *Worldover Press* is of interest. It shows that newsmindedness does not merely depend on the literacy index or on the standard of living, both of which are the highest in the world in Sweden. It cannot be denied, however, that they are prime factors, as the figures for Asian countries outside of Japan would show:

Dublin.—Studies made of the press in Eire on Southern Ireland during 1950, and recently released, indicate that the total circulation of daily newspapers is 600,000. This is about 200 for each 1,000 inhabitants. The figure is regarded as low compared to many other countries, but is higher than that for Spain or Italy. Figures for the United Kingdom, per 1,000 inhabitants, are 598, for Australia 440, for Denmark 414, for Norway 410, and for Sweden 416.

Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee

We regret to learn of the death of Rai Bahadur Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, the eminent bacteriologist, on the 16th October last at his Calcutta residence at the age of 84. He was a frequent contributor to the Scientific Medical Journals, and a great public worker. As founder of the Central Anti-Malarial Co-operative Society he was responsible for the establishment of several thousand village anti-malarial societies throughout Bengal. He also established the Home Crafter's Association at his native village at Sukehar. He also published several booklets for the improvement of fisheries, and on fish-culture; and on the decay of the Bengal rivers. We hope to publish some day a short sketch of his life with a list of his important scientific articles.

DECENTRALISED ECONOMY

An English View

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE talk about decentralised economy is not a new one so far as India is concerned. Of late, this question was very forcefully raised by Gandhiji, for he felt—and rightly so—that there cannot be any real democracy without a decentralised economic structure. The classical pattern of industrial development and capitalist growth always leads to concentration, even on the world scale. In fact, Lenin successfully argued that Imperialism was the highest state of finance-capital where concentration attains its highest degree. In fact, in the heyday of capitalism, London was not only the capital of the biggest empire in the world, but it was also the hub round which world trade, commerce and finance revolved. A completely decentralised economy is obviously one answer to this evil of capitalism, the other answer being a still more concentrated economy after abolishing all individual ownership. India, however, never had a tradition of over-centralised economy. For one thing, there was never a strong Central Government controlling the whole of India before the British rule. The little village republics—so much idealised by Rabindranath in his *Swadeshi Samaj* and so much condemned by Marx in his *Letters on India* as so many seats of autocracy and conservatism—had been our usual pattern. For another, it is doubtful if our administrative machinery is still strong enough to bear the strain that an over-centralised and rigidly controlled economic system on the Soviet model will put on it. Finally, there is the question of individual liberty and the efflorescence of individual genius. Whether we accept all these arguments or not, it cannot be denied that there are very strong practical reasons in favour of a decentralised economy for India.

It is interesting to examine in this background the developments that are taking place in some other countries, specially in Great Britain, the biggest centre of concentration. It should be, however, remembered that the changes that are taking place there are due to reasons mainly different from ours. Naturally their policies must be related to their past, to the world situation as it affects them and to the factors that are changing their economic structure. These would be naturally different from our own. Still there are some fundamental questions of universal interest. Moreover, we sometimes supplement the economy of Great Britain and other advanced countries of the world; the existence of an advanced type of economy as Britain had depends on the existence of underdeveloped countries like India. Industrialisation and development of backward countries correspondingly modify the economic pattern of the advanced countries and set up a new world pattern

as well. In a way, the two groups of countries present two sides of one picture.

PLANNING FOR DECENTRALISATION

England started planning her future policies even before the second World War. Changes during and after the war led to some changes, but the basic direction remains the same. Two major reports which discussed and shaped these policies are the Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial Population, 1940 (Barlow Commission)* and the Report of the Committee on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas, 1942 (Scott Committee)†. These two reports cover almost the entire area and indicate the policies regarding urban and rural areas. Various Acts have also been passed in accordance with the suggestions made in these reports and various organisations and authorities have started functioning under those Acts. On the present occasion we would confine ourselves to the first report, though the way in which Great Britain has been handling her land utilisation has also important lessons.

The terms of reference for the Barlow Commission fall into three parts. They were asked to find out, first, the causes of the present distribution of the industrial population and the probable direction of any change in that distribution in the future. Secondly, they were asked to examine the social, economic or strategical disadvantages of concentration. Thirdly, they were asked to suggest remedial measures, if any to be taken in the national interest. We shall describe the important findings of the Commission under each of the above sections separately.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

At the beginning the Commission very aptly points out that two outstanding features of population growth have marked the last couple of centuries. The first has been the "astonishing expansion of the nations of the Western civilisation." The second remarkable feature of population growth has been "the even more rapid proportional rate at which the great urban centres of Western civilisation have spread, overflowing their boundaries and forming sprawling agglomerations of humanity, many of dimensions without precedent in world's history." This change is mainly due to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. In Great Britain this development had certain distinctive features. First, the acreage of Great Britain in comparison with other Western countries is exceedingly limited in proportion to the size of its population. For England alone the

* Cmd. 6153 H.M.S.O., London.

† Cmd. 6378 H.M.S.O., London.

density per square mile was 766 in 1939 (West Bengal has however a higher density now). The second distinctive feature, comments the Report, is "the vast—and many would add alarming—growth of population in London and South-Eastern England, largely at the expense of the rest of the country." We shall have occasion to compare this overgrowth of London with the overgrowth of Calcutta.

CAUSES OF PRESENT POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

It is well-known that by the middle of the nineteenth century Great Britain had become the workshop of the world, and for the rest of the century the exports of the products of British mines, factories, shipyards increased while the imports of agricultural products and raw materials also increased. Great Britain also became a great exporter of capital. But all this has undergone very profound changes in the present century. The Commission notes several important changes and comments as follows:

"In all these respects the industrial structure of Great Britain has profoundly changed. In the first place the railways have lost their monopoly of inland transport and are faced with the keen and ever-growing competition of road transport. Secondly, steam has lost its place as practically the sole source of power. It was the discovery of the internal-combustion engine that destroyed the monopoly of railways. . . . Electricity and oil are being increasingly used as sources of power in factories and other large establishments. . . . In the third place the growth of international special-

isation in the sphere of industry has been checked, largely on account of a widespread protectionism generally termed economic nationalism. But as far as Great Britain is concerned that is not the only factor in the situation. The growing use of electricity and oil as sources of power and the growth of invention have reduced the advantages enjoyed by this country during the steam age and tended to foster the process of industrialisation in other countries. Moreover, the element of monopoly enjoyed by British trade though being the first in the field has disappeared through the industrial growth of other countries possessing similar natural resources and therefore reproducing the industrial structure of this country. Finally, the growth of new industries has been accelerated, to a marked extent, by specific inventions, such as the radio."

All these factors have fundamentally changed the industrial structure of Great Britain. The most important change is the growing importance of light industries in the place of heavy 'basic' industries. The Report points out that hitherto the principal 'basic' industries constituted the foundation of the industrial economy of the chief industrial areas in the North and the West. Now this is all changed. In fact, this is one of the reasons for the growth of London where certain new factors, such as the proximity to the market, availability of electricity and so on, are influencing the location of the new light industries in that area. •

What was the distribution of the industrial population? The following tables would make the position clear:

TABLE I
Distribution of the Total Population

Area	Population in thousands				Proportionate population			
	1801	1901	1931	1937	1801	1901	1931	1937
1. London and the Home countries	1892	8655	11123	11843	18.0	23.4	24.8	24.8
2. Lancashire	673	4387	5039	5013	6.4	11.9	11.2	10.9
3. West Riding, Noths, and Derby	891	3953	4915	4964	8.5	10.7	11.0	10.8
4. Staffs, Warwick, Worcs, Liecs and Northants	851	3404	4298	4482	8.1	9.2	9.6	9.7
5. Northumberland and Durham	318	1791	2248	2207	3.0	4.8	5.0	4.8
6. Mid Scotland	387	2277	2645	2738	3.7	6.2	5.9	6.0
7. Glamorgan and Monmouth	116	1158	1663	1568	1.1	3.1	3.7	4.4
8. Rest of Great Britain	5373	11375	12900	13193	51.2	30.7	28.8	28.7
Total	10501	37000	44831	46008	100	100	100	100

TABLE II
Distribution of the 'Occupied' Population

Area	Gainfully occupied population (thousands)				Proportionate number of gainfully occupied persons			
	1801	1901	1921	1931	1801	1901	1921	1931
1. London and the Home countries	519	3838	4614	5417	12.3	23.5	23.8	25.7
2. Lancashire	321	2090	2448	2591	7.6	12.8	12.6	12.3
3. West Riding, Noths, and Derby	356	1794	2153	2351	8.4	11.0	11.1	11.2
4. Staffs, Warwick, Worcs, Liecs and Northants	439	1522	1864	2104	10.4	9.3	9.6	10.0
5. Northumberland and Durham	92	705	897	928	2.2	4.3	4.6	4.4
6. Mid Scotland	130	1021	1197	1212	3.1	6.3	6.2	5.8
7. Glamorgan and Monmouth	43	473	692	682	1.0	2.9	3.6	3.2
8. Rest of Great Britain	2316	4869	5557	5770	55.0	29.9	28.5	27.4
Total	4216	16312	19442	21055	100	100	100	100

Several features are noticeable. (1) There is heavy concentration of population—general as well as industrial—in certain regions. The seven specified areas constitute only 27 per cent of the total area of Great Britain, but their population in 1931 was 73 per cent of the occupied population and 71.3 per cent of total population. (2) London has been growing immensely. As the Report says:

"Over the period 1923-27 all the specified areas, except London and the Home countries and the Midland countries, lost position relatively to the country as a whole. . . . On the other hand, between 1932 and 1937 the insured population of London and the Home countries increased by more than 4,20,000 persons. . . . The rate of increase in the number of insured persons was nearly twice as high in London and the Home countries as in the whole country."

The main reasons are not far to seek. They are to be found in the changed economic conditions and altered industrial structure. In the words of the Commission :

"While the relative increase in the insured population in London and the Home countries is mainly due to the importance of the expanding industries in the economy of that area, it is partly due to the fact that the area has offered greater attraction than others to such industries as the distributive trades, general engineering, dress-making and millinery, miscellaneous metal goods industries, motor vehicles, cycles and aircraft, and chemicals. . . . After the war the decline of the 'basic' industries removed a population restriction upon the expanding industries, and this took place at a time when a spate of new inventions brought new light, or relatively light, industries into being."

The Commission therefore concludes that

"It would not seem unreasonable to anticipate that the importance of pre-war 'basic' industries may decline, and that that of other industries may increase, and in that event the industrial areas containing the former will only be able to keep up with the national rate of general industrial progress, if they are able to stimulate within themselves a growth of the miscellaneous light industries in excess of the rate of growth of such industries in the country as a whole." (Italics mine).

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND STRATEGICAL DISADVANTAGES

This is the picture of population distribution. Now what social, economic and strategical disadvantages? The Commission enumerates many, while not forgetting to mention the advantages as well. Its main conclusions are as follows:

Social : The main social problem is obviously the problem of health. On this point, however, expert opinion does not support the view that large towns must suffer higher mortality rates than the country. In fact, the gap between urban and rural mortality has already been narrowing. The adverse effects upon health of the defects of present urban life can be minimised by planning. The next problem relates to housing. At the time of the survey of overcrowding

made in England and Wales in 1936 in pursuance of Section I of the Housing Act, 1935, 342,000 dwellings were overcrowded. The number of houses still required to remedy slum and overcrowding is estimated by the Commission to be 430,000. Central re-development is enormously costly; land-values too are extremely high. Then there are other problems, such as lack of open spaces, smoke and noise and so on. The immense size of Greater London and its continued growth over a wide radius constitute a special problem from the social point of view. Considering all the social advantages and disadvantages the Commission advocates the following lines of policy, viz., (1) Continued and further re-development of congested urban areas, where necessary, due regard being paid to the retention of such advantages as a well-planned town can provide, and the addition, as far as possible, of the cultural and physical attributes of the country; (2) *Decentralisation and dispersal of both industries and industrial population from such congested areas* (italics mine); (3) Provision of checks, as far as possible, to the further growth of London.

Economic : We have already mentioned some of the economic factors involved. Besides these, the Commission further considers the advantages and disadvantages of localisation and specialisation, proximity to large markets, variety of occupations in large towns, street traffic congestion in large towns, separation of homes of work-people from places of work and effects of long daily journeys, increased land values, public burdens arising from the establishment of industries in undeveloped areas and, above all, the effects on agriculture. Having discussed all these points, the Commission concludes that

"Concentration of industry and the industrial population undoubtedly possesses definite economic advantages. . . . They may be briefly summed up as consisting of (a) proximity to market, (b) reduction of transport costs, (c) availability of a supply of suitable labour. . . . Great, however, as the advantages may be, they are accompanied by disadvantages, chief amongst which are (a) heavy charges on account mainly of high site values, (b) loss of time through street traffic congestion. . . . (c) the risk of adverse effects on efficiency and output on account of the fatigue incurred by work-people through having to make long daily journeys."

Strategical : We need not discuss this point. The conclusion is obvious. The Commission remarks that

"A policy of decentralisation or dispersal of industry from over-crowded areas is definitely to be recommended on strategical grounds."

THE FUTURE

Having discussed all these points, the Commission goes on to make its recommendations. These recommendations cover a very wide range which includes the creation of a central planning authority, setting up of garden cities, control of population and population distribution, development of the special

and depressed areas in relation to the balance of industry throughout the country, the special problems of London, transport and traffic, regionalism and the distribution of industry and so on. The main recommendations of the Commission have been summarised as follows in the Report itself:

1. A Central Authority, national in scope and character, is required.
2. The activities of this Authority should be distinct from and should extend beyond those within the powers of any existing Government Department.
3. The objectives of national action should be:
 - (a) Continued and further re-development of congested urban areas, where necessary.
 - (b) Decentralisation or dispersal, both of industries and industrial population, from such areas.
 - (c) Encouragement of a reasonable balance of industrial development, so far as possible, throughout the various divisions or regions of Great Britain, coupled with appropriate diversification of industry in each division or region throughout the country.
4. The continued drift of the industrial population to London and the Home countries constitutes a social, economic and strategical problem that demands immediate attention.

The recommendations of the Commission are now given effect to through suitable legislation. The most important piece of legislation is the Distribution of Industry Act, 1945.

CONCLUSION

Several interesting facts emerge out of the above analysis. For long England has been the centre of world capitalism and she had reached a very advanced state of capitalistic development. Now that situation has completely changed. As Stalin recently pointed out, there has emerged a very big bloc of socialist countries and the capitalist system consequently no longer covers the whole world. Moreover, there has been an acute crisis within capitalism itself. As a result, capitalism has been trying to keep itself also through all possible adjustments. Emergence of light industries and the demand for decentralisation are only symptoms of that change. It is being increasingly realised that the concentration on 'basic' heavy industries, also concentration all along the line would be totally unworkable in the changed situation. Hence these changes.

Obviously, these factors do not operate in India. There has never been any proper development of the classical pattern of capitalism in India and there can never be. This does not however mean that there has been no development of capitalism in India. But from the very beginning there has been distorted growth. The only solution in this situation is a straighter and quicker transition to socialism without going through the whole gamut of capitalism.

It is from this angle that the British experiment has some important lessons for West Bengal. The

situation in Great Britain and the situation in West Bengal do not, of course, have the slightest similarity. Nevertheless, West Bengal has, in comparison with the other States in India, progressed more along the lines of distorted capitalism and has consequently reached a much deeper crisis than most of the other Indian States. The index of industrialisation is higher; so also the index of commerce and trade. There is a giant city and a big industrial region and this area is growing fast. But as we have tried to point out elsewhere, all these signs are not really signs of growth. In fact, all statistical data point towards rapid decay and disintegration and the deepening of the crisis. There is a regression towards agriculture; degree of dependence is increasing in every sector; there is growing concentration of wealth in every direction; there is consequential disintegration and that at a very fast rate—at the lower level—in all sectors, particularly in the agricultural sector. Owner-tenants are losing their land and becoming share-croppers; even fairly substantial peasants have been involved in loans for meeting the expenditure on food. The giant city of Calcutta and a few other cities are growing at the cost of the countryside and the other towns. There is, of course, a continuous drift from the country to the town,—but that is not always because there is any scope of more and better employment in the town, but because there is absolutely no possibility of even scratching a living from land for the surplus population. This situation calls for bold and fundamental changes. West Bengal falls into four natural regions, viz., (1) Roughly, the Burdwan Division excluding the sea-coast, this area being served by the DVC and Mor Projects; (2) The North Bengal region with their seasonal streams which can be dammed on the Swiss model; (3) Decadent Central Bengal consisting mainly of Malda, Murshidabad, Nadia and parts of 24 Parganas; and (4) The areas bordering on the sea, particularly the Sundarbans. These regions have different problems and each demands solution on lines peculiar to them. For these reasons it is not unreasonable to suggest that four semi-autonomous Development Boards should be formed for developing these four regions. Moreover, it is necessary to remember that there must be integrated development everywhere leading to a fundamental change in the structural economy. The Community Project scheme talks of integrated development, but for various reasons discussed elsewhere, the Community Projects are not expected to effect that widespread fundamental change which must be the first pre-requisite in any scheme of real development. Decentralised economy and regionalism, combined with integrated development of the entire area within the framework of an expansionist economy—this seems to be our only solution. In that matter the British experiment has interesting lessons for us.

THE POPULATION PROBLEM IN INDIA

By PROF. J. C. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D.

THE population problem lies at the root of mass movements of population from one country to another, not merely for political or religious reasons but "for fresh fields and pastures new." So far as our country is concerned, the population of the Indian Union in 1951, reached 357 millions, excluding the population of Jammu, Kashmir and some tribal areas, as compared with 315 millions, the population for the same territory in 1941. In other words, there was an increase of 42 million in ten years, i.e., a percentage increase of 1.25 per annum.

2. THE POPULATION PROBLEM, A WORLD-WIDE PROBLEM

From the economic point of view, the population problem is a world-wide problem, according to what Keynes said more than a generation ago.

"The time has already come," he said, "when each country needs a considered national policy about what size of population, whether larger or smaller, is most expedient and having settled the problem, we must take steps to carry it into operation."

3. CONCEPT OF OPTIMUM POPULATION

The first question which we have to decide is whether the existing population of 357 millions is the most desirable size for us at the present time. Optimum population means the most desirable size of the population of a country at any point of time, other things (e.g., capital, scientific and technical knowledge and natural resources) remaining constant. This optimum is, therefore, not constant in different periods of time. In the economic sense, the optimum is usually defined as the size of the population which is such as to produce maximum economic welfare. But the expression 'maximum economic welfare' cannot be precisely defined. It is not therefore possible to calculate accurately what constitutes the optimum population of the Indian Union at the present time. All that we can try to ascertain is whether there are symptoms of over-population or under-population in our country.

4. OFFICIAL VIEW, PAST AND PRESENT

More than a generation ago, the official view of our British rulers was that the undoubted poverty of the Indian masses at the time was due to over-population in the country. Our nationalist political leaders opposed this contention. In their opinion, India was then under-populated and the poverty of our country was due to the exploitation and mal-

administration of the British people. Mahatma Gandhi supported this latter view in the *Young India* of April 2, 1925, where he observed that with a proper land system, better agriculture and supplementary industries, India could then support twice her existing population.

It is interesting to note here that the present official view of our national government is that India is at present very much over-populated. As the *Draft Outline of the First Five-Year Plan* points out, during the 50 years from 1901 to 1951, the population of the present Indian Union has increased by about 52 per cent. According to this Report, while the sown area per person has steadily declined, the productivity of agriculture has remained almost stationary and industrial development giving employment to only 2.4 million workers, has so far failed to offset the pressure of population on land. As a broad outline, this is substantially true.

5. POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY

But how far is this official view supported by indisputable economic facts and theory? Let us first consider whether our existing food supply, not merely what we actually grow but also the excess of import over export of food-stuffs, indicates over-population. Mr. Kidwai, the present Food Minister at the Centre, expects that India will be able to do without any import of food-grains in the near future. But this appears to be too optimistic. With regard to the question of our food supply, the following points may be noted. First, our food production figures are usually, though not always, under-estimates. Secondly, we have to take an average of good and bad years in making our estimate of food position. Thirdly, we have to make an allowance for wastage after the crops have been harvested and stored. Such allowance for wastage has also to be made for imported stuffs after they have been stored.

But the most difficult of all problems is to ascertain with a fair degree of accuracy the per capita food requirements in our country. Thus Prof. K. T. Shah and Khambata, in their *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, came to the conclusion that for the average production of 1900-1922, there was a deficit of 40 per cent in our food-supply. Prof. Brij Narain, on the other hand, came to the opposite conclusion that there was no lack of food in the country during the twenties of the present century.

6. QUANTITATIVE FOOD REQUIREMENTS BY THE F.A.O.

Quantitative food requirements are now usually estimated in terms of heat units called calories, obtained from food products. According to the F.A.O. experts, a normal male of 25 years of age, living in the temperate zone of 50° F.H., and working 8 hours a day in light industries or agriculture, would require 3200 calories a day, while women, children and older people would require less. Climate is also an important factor. People of warmer regions would require a smaller number of calorific units. But the *physiological minimum*, as reported by the U. N. R. R.A. is 1400 calories per day for an average human being all over the world. The F.A.O. further estimated that the food supply of India provided on an average for 1601 calories *per capita* per day in 1951-52, a figure which is only 200 units more than the physiological minimum. Further, the protein content of average diet in India is lower than that in similar countries like Pakistan, Ceylon, the Philippines, China and Japan, etc. This will be clear from the Table¹ given below :

*Estimated Energy and Protein Content 'Per Capita'
of Daily Average Food Supply*

Countries	Calories			
	Pre-war	1949-50	1950-51	1951-52 as % of 1950-51
Ceylon	2140	2010	2060	100
China (a)	2230	2030	2120	102
India (b)	1970	1620	1570	102
Indonesia	2040	1880	1950	101
Japan	2180	2000	2100	102
Pakistan	....	2240	2160	100
Philippines	1920	1860	2050	99
	Total Protein (Grams)			
Ceylon	48	46	48	101
China (a)	71	62	65	101
India (b)	56	42	42	102
Indonesia	46	42	44	100
Japan	64	52	53	100
Pakistan	..	60	58	100
Philippines	45	44	47	99

Further, the average Indian diet is very ill-balanced and is responsible for the prevalence of deficiency diseases. It seems therefore that India has more mouths than it can properly feed, thus showing signs of over-population.

7. TWO TESTS OF OVER-POPULATION

Is there no precise test for over-population? Two tests have been suggested by economic theory:

- Changes in the average expectation of life at different ages; and
- Variation in *per capita* real income, assuming that the distribution of income has remained substantially the same.

The first test was suggested by Dr. Drysdale in the World Population Conference, held at Geneva in 1927. This is also called the *longevity optimum*. It

means that if the average expectation of life increases, there is a definite increase in economic welfare and consequently little sign of over-population. The latest figures of an authoritative character for changes in the average expectation of life in this country are found in the *Actuarial Report*, attached to the *Indian Census Report for 1931*. It appears from this *Actuarial Report* that the average expectation of life for males of all ages up to 80 years, was higher in 1931 than in 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. (There is no Table giving average expectation of life in 1921 Census Report). But the *Actuarial Report for 1931* reveals the contradictory fact that females of ages 10, 20, 30 and 40 showed a decline in the average expectation of life in 1931 as compared with 1911 and females constitute about half of the total population.

In the subsequent Census Reports of 1941 and 1951, there is no table giving comparative figures for changes in the average expectation of life. We cannot therefore apply the first test in determining how far India is over-populated or under-populated at the present time.

Does the other test, *viz.*, variation in *per capita* real income offer a more satisfactory answer to the question of over-population? Carr-Saunders, an authority on population problems, holds the view that when the *per capita* income is increasing, there is little sign of over-population, but on the other hand, when the average real income per head is declining, we have good reason to suspect over-population. Has our *per capita* real income been increasing or declining? Prof. Findlay Shirras in his article on the "Population Problem in India" in the *Economic Journal* (Lond.), March, 1933, estimated that the *per capita* real income in India, was gradually increasing from 1901 to 1929-30, though there was a fall in real income in 1921 as compared with the figures for 1911. He therefore concludes that India was under-populated up to 1931.

The *Eastern Economist*, on the other hand, in its Annual Number, 1948, came to the conclusion that during the period of the second World War and immediately after its close, the *per capita* money income of British India, as adjusted by the Bombay Cost of Living Index Number, declined from Rs. 67 in 1939-40 to Rs. 59 in 1946-47. In other words, by 1946-47, British India was over-populated.

For the next few years, no comparable statistics of *per capita* national income is available. The Ministry of Commerce, Government of India, gives the following estimates of average money income per head for the Indian Union before the integration of States, in 1945-46 and 1946-47, *viz.*, Rs. 204 and Rs. 228 per annum. The Mahalanobis Committee's estimate for the Indian Provinces and the States in 1948-49 is Rs. 255. These figures refer to different areas and have not been converted into real income by an appropriate index number.

But it may be said that for years after 1946-47, there has been no material change in our economic condition; on the other hand, population was increasing, as revealed by the last Census. Thus our available statistics does not enable us to give a precise answer as to the *degree* of over-population in India at the present time. All that we can say is that our country is somewhat over-populated.

8. LONG PERIOD TREND OF OUR POPULATION

Is our present population going to double itself during the next 50 or 60 years, as recently prophesied by a member of the Central Ministry? The Planning Commission also observe :

"It has been assumed, as a first approximation, that population will continue to grow over the next generation at the rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum."³

In other words, the population of the Indian Union would reach 500 millions at the end of 25 years. But in finding out the long-period trend of our population, neither the existing excess of births over deaths nor the annual percentage increase of population during the last decade, alone is adequate. We should try to ascertain the *net production rate*, as suggested by Prof. Kuczynski in his *Measurement of Population Growth*. The pertinent question here is this : Are fertility (*i.e.*, actual number of children born) and mortality such that 1,000 newly-born girls during the span of their lives, give birth to 1,000 girls or more or less ?

Prof. D. Ghosh in his *Pressure of Population and Economic Efficiency in India* assumed the fertility rate of Cochin to be the fertility rate of India and applied it to the all-India Life Table for female population in 1931. He came to the conclusion that the net reproduction rate for India at the time was 1.10, *i.e.*, under the influence of current fertility and mortality conditions, (these rates remain substantially the same for long periods of time unless major political, economic and social changes intervene) the population of India had a tendency to increase at the rate of 10 per cent per generation of 25 years. Subsequent Census Reports do not give accurate data for the calculation of the net reproduction rate in India. It should be remembered in this connection that in a more recent study by Prof. Kingsley Davis the net reproduction rate for undivided India in 1930-31 is calculated to be higher, *viz.*, 1.26.⁴ This is all the more surprising, for the basic fertility rate is the same in either case, *viz.*, that of Cochin.

Prof. Davis has, however, used the Chilean rate in his detailed calculation, because of its similarity with the Cochin rate. But such coincidence should not blind us to the many discrepancies in political, economic, social, religious, psychological and racial conditions of the two countries, on which the fertility rate ultimately depends. To sum up, it is difficult to estimate the net reproduction rate of the Indian

Union at present, unless necessary data become available. All that we can say at present with confidence is that we have an increasing population, but until we arrive at 1.40 as the net reproduction rate, we cannot conclude that the population would increase by 40 per cent, *i.e.*, would reach 500 millions in a generation. *A priori* arguments, such as declining mortality urged by the Planning Commission, point to an increasing population but do not estimate future population accurately. It is out of the question to make any forecast worth the name as to what our future population would be after two generations in the present state of our statistical information on the subject.

THE REMEDY FOR OUR GROWING POPULATION

Even if we avoid all exaggerated statements, we have to face the problem of growing population fairly and squarely. There is no specific remedy but there are several remedial measures which may be broadly classified under three heads: (a) moral restraint, late marriage and birth control in the first place; (b) increased productivity, both of industry and agriculture for raising the standard of living of the masses in the second place; (c) and in the third place, fiscal and other measures, *i.e.*, attempt through taxation and other means, *e.g.*, social security schemes, a better distribution of wealth within the framework of the present capitalistic order. Further, elementary education must be more broad-based than at present. If adequate funds are not available for this purpose, there may be, if necessary, conscription of college students as temporary teachers during their long vacations, supplemented by a smaller number of regular teachers. And above all, there must be real emancipation of women.

Moral restraint is undoubtedly the best remedy, but it is confined to a limited number of people in whom the sense of responsibility is sufficiently developed. The age of marriage of both sexes, has already been raised among the middle classes but it is yet to come among the masses. Birth control also is still a far cry, specially among our uneducated classes and illiterate agriculturists. It may, however, be hoped that with the spread of education specially among women, such measures would be more widely used in our country, to make the planning of family possible. The limited number of birth control clinics which have been started, have already done something to relieve the misery of middle-class mothers, suffering from repeated child-bearing. More clinics of this type should be established with State aid by responsible persons who should take sufficient care to impart this knowledge only to married people as far as practicable. Moralists who object, should note that the lack of birth control measures has not infrequently brought about utter demoralisation, famished children and dying mothers in the poorer ranks of our society.

Mainly on eugenic grounds, there should be compulsory sterilisation by the State of the leper and the lunatic as far as feasible.

It should, however, be recognised that, birth control measures alone cannot solve our population problem. We have therefore to concentrate on the second kind of remedies, viz., increased productivity, both of our industries and agriculture. The word 'productivity' is deliberately used, for greater *production* at a higher cost, might lead to further inflation, if the consumer can be coerced to buy at higher prices. In other words, we should aim at a larger output, both in industry and agriculture, with greater efficiency than at present. Let us hope this will be achieved, even partially, under the Five-Year Plan. Moreover, if the system of taxation becomes more equitable and there is a better distribution of wealth in the country, if there are wider social security measures and greater spread of knowledge among the masses, their standard of living is bound to rise and with such a rise in the standard of living, birth rate, is likely to decline, as has been the experience of many advanced countries in the West. As Prof. Brentano rightly observed long ago:

"With increasing prosperity, mankind generally rises above the state of blindly giving way to its animal instincts, and so parents become more and more conscious of their responsibility both for the character and number of human beings whom they bring into the world."¹

So far as character is concerned, we have some leeway to make up, for unfortunately, we are still in

the days of Walpole in British history when almost every man had his price. But if democracy in our country becomes genuine, if "from log cabin to the White House" becomes a reality in this land, the hope and ambition of rising in life might induce many an able man of limited means with no great social connection, to reduce the size of his family, as has happened in England where within a few generations the average size of a family has declined from 5.5 to 2.2.

There is thus no panacea for our population problem. All that may be urged is that we should not take any alarmist view of the problem and indulge in wild statements. We should apply all the remedies suggested above, with patience, courage and faith in ourselves.

REFERENCE

1. Source: F.A.O. The table is taken from the *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, 1952, p. 69.
(a) Excluding North-east (Manchuria) and Taiwan.
(b) Pre-war related to undivided India.
2. By Sri K. D. Malaviya, Deputy Minister, as reported in the *Hindustan Times* on October 28, 1952.
3. *The First Five-Year Plan* (1952), Vol. I, Part I, Chap. I, p. 31 (cyclostyle copy).
4. Kingsley Davis: *The Population of India and Pakistan*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1951), p. 246. See also p. 87 of the same book where the net reproduction rate of undivided India is said to be 1.25 in 1931 and 1.30 in 1941.
5. *Economic Journal* (London), 1910, p. 387.

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By Prof. B. K. SINGH, M.A., B.Com.,
Benares Hindu University

GENERALLY speaking, agriculture is the mainstay of Indian prosperity. The people depend upon the primary industries for a living, with little development in the secondary industries of manufacturing. Whereas in 1931, among the gainfully employed population, agriculture claimed 67.1 per cent, only 10 per cent were employed in the field of manufacture.¹ While the advanced countries have passed from the stage of primary occupations to that of secondary or tertiary occupations, primary occupations predominate in India, and even secondary and tertiary occupations are embedded in the former. The following figures elucidate the position. The Table² shows the distribution of occupations in four countries:

Countries	Primary (Agr., Forestry and Fishing)	Secondary (Mining, Building and Industries)	Tertiary (Commerce, Transport & Services)
1. U. S. A.	19.3%	31.1%	49.6%
2. Canada	34.5%	23.2%	42.3%
3. U. K.	6.4%	43.9%	49.7%
4. India	62.4%	14.4%	23.2%

"It is evident that the key to the Indian economic problem lies even more in improving agricultural standards and productive power than in the creation of large-scale industries apart from such improvements. Only a rise in the standards of peasant consumption can provide a secure basis for intensive industrial development."³

The significance of agriculture in India's economy and its inter-relation with the expansion of industrialisation needs to be appreciated. Improved agriculture

1. *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, 1948, ECAFE (U.N.O.), p. 110.

2. Colin Clark: *The Condition of Economic Progress*, p. 179.

3. G. D. H. Cole: *An Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World*, p. 815.

ensures the supply of raw materials to the industries which, in their turn, create a demand for agricultural products and increase the income of the farmers.

"One might consider industrialisation as one chapter of agricultural reconstruction, or might treat the improvement of agrarian production as one chapter of industrialisation. What matters (in regard to underdeveloped agrarian economics) is to remember that the two are interconnected parts of one problem."⁴

The Famine Commission (1877-78) emphasized the development of industries, other than agriculture, to solve the unemployment problem in India. But the success of a well-co-ordinated and balanced programme of industrialisation must necessarily depend upon the proper development of the agricultural resources of the country, for the foundation of our prosperity is essentially agricultural. The fate of cotton and jute industries depends directly upon the production of these two commodities. To have a balance between rural and urban economics, agriculture must be the base and industry the apex and not vice versa.

Agriculture is the fundamental basis of the national economic structure of India. It provides the source of livelihood to about four-fifths of the population and furnishes 75 per cent of the annual income of the country; it supplies 90 per cent of the products for the internal trade. The important role of agriculture in our economy cannot be over-emphasized. Our economic progress is inextricably linked up with the development of agriculture.

Why is it, then, that Indian agriculture, judged by the test of productivity, has remained unprofitable, backward, and unprogressive and fails to obtain increased yields?

Why is agriculture in India "only 86 per cent as efficient as the average production in the important countries of the world; but compared with most of the European countries, scarcely more than 50 per cent as efficient?"⁵

It is of paramount importance to analyse the causes of agricultural inefficiency and adopt measures to eradicate them. We cannot raise the standard of living of the masses unless we restore agriculture—the soul and barometer of our economic order—to a position consistent with the accepted modern standards of market economy.

India is not deficient in the natural resources or physical factors which influence the development plans of a country—it needs only to fully utilise them in a sound pattern of economic reconstruction by sustained and concerted efforts.

An increase in population and decline in output resulted in a lower standard of living. Thirty-five per cent of the population is unable to secure adequate food even under normal conditions. The intensive pressure upon land due to the problem of "too many people and too little capital," to quote Sir E. John Russell, gives rise to severe agrarian poverty and increasing deterioration of agricultural lands. High pressure agriculture would naturally be unprofitable. It is imperative to reduce "the incidence of the density of population through adjustment of regional resources to the regional dynamics of population," through a "programme of economic administration so as to increase the propensity to consume of the rural population and to maintain a reconstituted structure of occupational distribution."⁶

Productive efficiency can only be enhanced if technical improvements are effected. There is no gainsaying the fact that the crux of the agricultural problem is the inability of the rural machinery of adjustment to effect technical improvements due to a rigid cost-price structure and extreme poverty.

To hold that "the central problem is psychological, not technical"⁷ forces us to a blind alley and compels us to leave the 'intractable' problem by proclaiming that our economic difficulties are possibly insoluble.⁸ However strong-willed the cultivator might be he cannot improve his methods of cultivation while the present technical and institutional defects in Indian agriculture persist. It was idle on the part of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, to blame the outlook of the peasant and to state that he lacks the will to achieve a better standard of life when they admitted that

"In a country with such a long history little surprise need be felt that a system of tillage based on experience should have reached a stage beyond which further progress was bound to await scientific discovery,"

and when they confessed that

"The cultivation of rice in the deltas has reached a marked degree of perfection and the wisdom of many agricultural proverbs remains unchallenged by research."⁹

It is from no lack of knowledge or skill, but from the inexorable conditions under which he lives, that the Indian peasant suffers.¹⁰ It has been aptly remarked that

6. Sir E. John Russell: *Agrarian Problems from the Baltic to the Aegean*, p. 10.

7. T. N. Ramaswamy: *Economic Stabilisation of Indian Agriculture*, p. 11.

8. *Report of Fiscal Commission*, 1949-50, Vol. I, p. 89.

9. Thompson and Garratt: *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 647.

10. *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, 1928, p. 14.

11. Reginald Reynolds: *White Sahibs in India*, p. 100.

4. P. N. Rosenstein-Rodén: *Problems of Industrialisation of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, p. 202.

5. Rajanikanta Das: *Industrial Efficiency of India*, p. 29.

"The troubles of Indian agriculturists are due to the presence of objective disabilities than to the existence of subjective deficiencies."¹²

On the technical side, Indian agriculture suffers on account of its inability to adapt itself to the dynamics of a competitive world economy. The farmer produces commodities irrespective of market conditions, profits or prospects of future demand; he sells at the harvest time when prices are lowest and accepts prices which the intermediaries are willing to pay. This reduces his occupation to a level of mere subsistence. In fact, as was revealed by the inquiry into the costs of production of crops conducted by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the margin of profit calculated on an accounting basis, is often negative and the producer is only able to eke out a meagre existence.¹³

The microscopic scale of farming caused by subdivision and fragmentation of holdings should yield place to economic holdings, "which will provide an average family the minimum standard of life considered satisfactory."¹⁴ The process of sub-infeudation and morselment of land, scattered holdings, and seasonal unemployment* should be stopped by the laws of inheritance.

"Unless and until, therefore, land owning or holding is wholly nationalised and reconditioned as a public enterprise, eliminating the profit motive—under a system of co-operative farming—there is little hope of this great problem being solved."¹⁵

An integral scheme of land reclamation, rehabilitation of credit, reduction of rural indebtedness, provision of manures and implements, a regenerated cattle economy, adequate transport and marketing facilities, establishment of a parity between agricultural and industrial prices, would alone be able to redeem Indian agriculture from the vicious circles of subsistence economy.

The system of farming must be flexible enough to adjust itself to the changes in the quantity and quality of food that the consuming public requires. It requires the transition of agriculture from a way of life to a form of business by breaking down the shackles of subsistence economy and the establishment of medium-scale agriculture.

12. T. N. Ramaswamy : *The Economic Problem of India*, p. 164.

13. *Report of the Prices Sub-committee of the Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries*, 1946, p. 8.

14. Dr. H. H. Mann : *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*, Vol. I, p. 43.

* There are 80 workers per hundred acres of cultivated area in India, as against only 6 workers per hundred acres in U.K., who in spite of primitive methods of cultivation, remain unemployed and unemployed for four to six months in a year.

15. K. T. Shah : *Land Policy, Agricultural Labour and Insurance*, (N.P.C.), p. 24.

"The farmers," says A. G. Street, "are watching their capital shrink steadily year after year, in a hurt and bewildered frame of mind."¹⁶

This sort of muddled fatalism must surrender to constructive optimism. The marriage of agriculture with the latest improvements in the technique of farming provides the initial premise of a sound agricultural policy and gives us a clue to solve our complex problems.

"The nation has a right to ensure that all land is put to the best use and that it is adequately equipped for its purpose."¹⁷

"This objective can be achieved only if our schemes of agricultural improvements are projected into a proper system of land tenure. Land tenure is of basic importance and is an essential prerequisite for other agrarian reforms."¹⁸

The remarks of R. H. Tawney are illuminating in this context:

"Improvement of agricultural methods is, no doubt, indispensable; but it is idle to preach that doctrine to cultivators so impoverished by the exactions of parasitic interests that they do not possess the resources needed to apply it. In the Europe of the 19th century, the reconstruction of the legal fabric of the land system preceded the modernisation both of productive technique and of the business side of farming; nor, in the absence of the first, would the last two have been possible."¹⁹

All the schemes to renovate agriculture, however, founder on the rock of irrigation. Indian agriculture depends upon the vagaries of the weather. Insufficiency, irregularity or uncertainty of water supply is the crux of the problem.

"Agriculture in India has been a gamble in the monsoon, to the vagaries of which irrigation is the only effective solution."²⁰

Irrigation is the most essential requirement of cultivation and a regular and adequate water supply is the main problem on the solution of which depends, *inter alia*, the success of any blueprint on agriculture. It is an inevitable factor for the increase of agricultural production.

"Among the measures that may be adopted for increasing the area under cultivation, the first plan must be assigned to works for the supply and conservation of water."²¹

The scarcity and uncertainty of the main source of water supply, the annual rainfall, is the principal source of worry and a constant headache to the Indian peasants.

16. F. W. Bateson : *Towards a Socialist Agriculture*, p. 42.

17. *Ibid*: *Tory Reform Committee of England*, p. 6.

18. H. Belshaw : "Foundation of Rural Welfare," *International Labour Review*, March, 1945, p. 296, footnote 2.

19. R. H. Tawney : *Agrarian China*, p. xviii.

20. Speech of Shri R. V. Swaminathan at the International Federation of Agricultural Producers' Convention, Stockholm, June 10, 1950. Vide *The Modern Review*, July, 1950, p. 13.

21. Dr. Vera Anstey : *Economic Development of India*, p. 1.

No substantial improvement in agriculture can be effected, security in future against calamitous failures in the food supply cannot be obtained unless we follow the classical example of river culture that has been tried in Germany and America.

"Irrigation is everything in India," observes Sir Charles Trevelyan and adds, "water is more valuable than land because when water is applied to land it increases its productivity at least six-fold, and generally makes a great extent of land productive which otherwise would produce nothing or next to nothing."²²

This aspect becomes more striking when we realize that the whole country is dependent upon the timely arrival of the monsoon, because all major agricultural operations are regulated by this phenomenon. The great advantage of irrigation was that it lessened the threat of famines, danger from the vagaries of the seasons was mitigated and agricultural improvement was encouraged.

Irrigation helps commercialization of agriculture by stimulating cultivators to produce for the market, and not only for home-consumption. Agriculture, which is today vitiated by the features of subsistence economy, would cease to remain impoverished and sapped. It would become a flourishing occupation and a national industry. It would also ensure the full employment of the natural and human resources associated with the land.

Real and enduring agricultural progress cannot be visualized without consolidation. Any programme that aims at the economic amelioration of the rural areas must give the problem of consolidation of agricultural holdings the first priority. This can be achieved only when the planning authority is prepared to strike at the root of the evil and effect a fundamental change in the customs and laws of inheritance which allows 'each heir to take a share of each field wherever situated' thus subjecting land to a continuous series of 'economic earthquakes' due to subdivisions.²³

Apart from the social consequences, the evil of subdivision gives rise to a number of economic problems. Defective agricultural operations, inadequate supervision and little interest in far-away fields, waste of time in moving bullocks, ploughs and implements from one field to another, loss of valuable space on account of hedges, mud-walls and demarcation boun-

daries which gives rise to boundary-disputes, affrays and quarrels on account of cattle trespasses and litigation (which means enormous waste of money and increased indebtedness), congested living and unhealthy surroundings—all these defects arise due to subdivision and fragmentations of holdings. No improvement measures can be carried out on a piece of land measuring two to four acres. It means uneconomic and wasteful agriculture.

"It is calculated that expenditure for cultivation of land increases by 5.3 per cent for every 500 metres of distance for manual labour and ploughing, 20 to 35 per cent for transport of manure and 15 to 32 per cent for transport of crops. It has been further observed that on compact holdings the income from farming would be increased by at least 20 per cent without any modification in the methods of cultivation."²⁴

The restoration of agriculture on a sounder footing requires the increase of a reduced output to a more normal volume and the 'regeneration of a historical trend towards technological advancement'. Reconstruction of the rural framework has to embrace both functional and institutional reform if we are to be successful in giving to the plough its original glory as the symbol of our prosperity.

India is pre-eminently suited to intensive farming if only the inherent natural and economic advantages are properly exploited in a well-co-ordinated scheme of economic conservation along indigenous lines that do not prove alien to the genius of the peasants dwelling in the area. It is futile to import foreign methods and put up pockets of apparent economic plenty with the rest of the state submerged in the old pattern of subsistence farming. It is high time that we implemented a well-knit plan of rural conservation throughout the State. 'Glass-house' planning and laboratory research should yield place to constructive field work.

We must realize that our agriculture has been caught in the vortex of inefficient production and competitive exchange. We are no longer in the area of economic isolation. The economic backwardness of the rural population can be removed by a decentralized industrial structure and by providing opportunities for industrial employment close to the home of the rural population. This would stop what Prof. Lionel Robins calls 'the drift of the land' and the virility of the village as a social unit would be restored.

22. R. Dutt: *The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age*, p. 361.

23. B. P. Jain: *Agricultural Holdings in the U.P.* (1937), pp. 26-27.

24. Karl Brandt: *The Reconstruction of World Agriculture*, p. 405.



WHAT IS THE TRUE PROPORTION OF THE HINDUS IN BENGAL?

By J. M. DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.)

Mr. PORTER, the Census Superintendent of Bengal for 1931, speaking of the accuracy of the Census, says:

"In 1921, the Census Superintendent estimated that the figures returned were not likely to be wrong by more than one per mille of the whole population and that the accuracy was considerably greater for rural areas. A similar claim can confidently be made also on the present occasion." (See page 2 of the *Bengal Census Report, 1931*, paragraph 4).

Mr. W. H. Thompson, the Census Superintendent of Bengal for 1921, writes thus:

"The census of a stay-at-home rural population through the agency of local people under the careful supervision which was exercised over them, is an operation which, even in a country where education is not far advanced, may be one of great accuracy. Almost every rural enumerator had lived all his life among the people he was to enumerate and was personally known to nearly all of them. The urban population is no more than $\frac{1}{10}$ per cent of the whole. . . . It may be considered very unlikely that the census total is out by as much as one per mille and it is probable that it is very much more accurate." (Vide *Bengal Census Report, 1921*).

The same Mr. Porter speaking of the accuracy of the census figures for Calcutta, says:

"It is difficult to give a confident estimate of the accuracy of the figures recorded. It is customary for a great outcry to be raised as soon as the Census of Calcutta had been taken and allegations are freely made that there has been a wholesale omission of persons who should have been recorded. . . . On the whole, it is unlikely that the enumeration on the present occasion was less accurate than in 1921 and as then it is possible now also to claim that the inaccuracy does not amount to as much as 2 per mille and is probably nearer 1 per mille." (See page 2, paragraph 4 of the *Calcutta Census Report, 1931*).

Although the claim for accuracy within 1 per mille has been made the basis of this assertion has nowhere been discussed in the Reports. We have had our doubts; and we tried to show in the *Science and Culture* for February, 1941, that this claim is untenable.

The *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* says:

"The accuracy of a Census is ordinarily judged by the accuracy with which the population has been counted, and that under American conditions is, according to the expert opinion of Francis Walker and Carrol Wright, probably within one per cent of the truth. (Italics ours). . . . Negroes are enumerated less accurately than Whites and the probable error of that count may be as high as two per cent." (See Vol. II, p. 300).

If in civilised America with a very high percentage of literacy and paid enumerators, the inaccuracy of

the census count is of the order of 1 or 2 per cent, in India it is expected to be higher.

The 1951 Census was acclaimed throughout the country as the "First Census of Free India"; and therefore succeeded in securing public co-operation in much more abundant measure than on any previous occasion. This has been admitted by the Registrar-General of India. In particular the press was exceedingly helpful. In the 1941 Census, as is generally known, there was competition between the communities in parts of Bengal and the Punjab with the result that numbers were inflated. The Muhammadans of East Bengal, mostly rural areas, inflated their numbers by some 26 lakhs; i.e., by some 10 per cent. The Pakistan Government in their *Census Pamphlet No. 2* admits that there has been inflation of the number of Muslims. Over-enumeration of this wilful and anti-social character, motivated by communal politics, was fortunately absent this time. Further both in 1921 and in 1931, the Hindus boycotted or neglected the census operations on account of the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience movements of the Indian National Congress.

It would be reasonable in these circumstances to conclude that the 1951 Census is a better and more accurate enumeration than the previous ones. But how good is this enumeration? It cannot be claimed that it presents the exact truth, and there are no errors or omissions. Let us remember that even in truncated India, i.e., Bharat, there are six crores and forty-four lakhs of houses to be visited; and there were 59 lakh enumerators, mostly unpaid workers. It cannot be claimed that they made no mistakes; that every occupied house, without any exception, was numbered; that every numbered house, without any exception, was visited; and that every person in every house was enumerated without any exception.

The Registrar-General admits that

"Omissions were not merely probable, they must have occurred. This is true as much of the Census in India as in all other countries. Again, as the count has necessarily to be taken over an extended period, and the people move about during the period, one cannot be absolutely sure that the same person was not counted in two different places by two different enumerators, even though every precaution had been taken in advance in order to guard against this contingency. Over-enumeration is, therefore, possible though far less likely than under-enumeration."

The United Nations in one of its publications speak about the accuracy of census enumeration thus:

"The completeness of enumeration can be estimated by a well-planned verification carried

out immediately after the original enumeration in a scientifically selected sample of the areas. Where this has not been done, the extent of under-enumeration or over-enumeration can sometimes be estimated afterwards by comparing the census figures with data from other sources, such as nominally-complete population registers. Tests of completeness can also be made by examining the consistency of the return for certain population groups, such as males and females in various age classes, or by comparing the results of successive Censuses for individual localities or population categories. However, a scientific appraisal of the accuracy of census results has been avoided by the official statistical agencies of some countries. The result is an unfounded impression in the minds of uncritical users of the figures that they are perfectly reliable. In some countries there is a progressive tendency to discuss frankly the defects in census statistics, but until this practice becomes general it will be difficult to determine with any precision the degree of reliability of the figures for most areas of the world."

A precise estimate of the extent of error present in the Census count in India has never been made before. That it is possible to make such an estimate through verification organised on a random sample basis is a recent idea. Sri Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis' investigations have made it possible and made it a practical proposition. When this possibility was brought to the notice of the Government of India, they approved the proposal that a sample verification of the 1951 Census count should be carried out.

This verification has established that the 1951 Census count contains a net under-enumeration of error. For the country as a whole, the nature of this under-enumeration may be thus described in the words of the Registrar-General, India:

"For every thousand persons included in the Census count, eleven other persons were probably omitted. It is a reasonably safe conclusion that the number of persons omitted (per thousand counted) could not have exceeded 12 or fallen short of 10."

The estimate of error present in the 1951 Census count varies from State to State, zone to zone; and from rural to urban areas. We give below the relevant figures for India and East India only:

	Verified household population per 1,000 persons enumerated in 1951 Census	Reasonably safe limits for actual household population per 1,000 persons enumerated in household	
		Lower limit	Upper limit
India—			
General	1,011	1,010	1,012
Rural	1,010	1,009	1,011
Urban	1,014	1,012	1,016
East India—			
General	1,018	1,016	1,020
Rural	1,015	1,013	1,017
Urban	1,049	1,038	1,060

As is to be expected the under-enumeration is greater in urban areas than in rural areas. The above difference represents the *net* inaccuracy of enumeration, the resultant of both *under-enumeration* and

over-enumeration. Compared to the rural the urban under-enumeration is 3.4 per cent more.

Although there are good reasons to suppose that the census enumerations in 1921 and in 1931 are more inaccurate than in 1951, let us *assume* that the order of inaccuracy is the same.

We shall now discuss the effect of inaccurate count in the earlier censuses in calculating the proportion of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal. In all subsequent discussions we take the Hindus to be synonymous with the non-Muhammadans.

The percentage of the Muhammadans in Bengal has shown to be 53.55 in 1921, and 54.44 in 1931 in the Census Reports. Even if the census count be correct to 1 per mille, the calculation of percentages to second place of decimal is unjustified.

The religious distribution between rural and urban areas has been shown to be as follows:

Number living in towns per mille of the total

	population of each religion		
	Hindus (pure)	Non-Muhammadans including Hindus	Muhammadans
1921	107	107	35
1931	115	115	37

As more Hindus both absolutely and relatively in urban areas than Muhammadans the chances of Hindus being under-enumerated is greater. The amount of under-enumeration in the case of Hindus is $3.4 \times 115 / 100$ or 4.91 per cent and that for the Muhammadans is $3.4 \times 37 / 100$ or 1.26 per cent. The resultant disadvantage in the case of the Hindus is 4.91—1.26 or 3.65 per cent. In 1931, 73 per mille of the total population lived in towns or urban areas, the disadvantage of the Hindus in the total population is .27 per cent.

Thus their real percentage in the population is 45.83 and not 45.56 as recorded in the Census.

This we have calculated on the assumption that under-enumeration in both cities and towns are of the same order. It is common knowledge that greater the urbanization greater are the chances of escaping census enumeration. Mr. Porter is inclined to admit that the census of Calcutta is twice more inaccurate than that of Bengal. Our experience as the Secretary of the All-Bengal Census Board in 1941 tends to confirm us in the belief. There may have been an inflation of the Hindus; but my own brother-in-law residing in the 4th flat of B block of Jatindra Mansions escaped enumeration. And this in spite of the fact that the local Charge Superintendent of Census being a member of our Board, and a councillor of the Calcutta Corporation.

If one person escapes enumeration in an ordinary town, three or four persons escape enumeration in cities like Calcutta.

The population of all cities in Bengal in 1931, was 16,24,100. Of the number of Muhammadans was 4,29,683. The disadvantage of under-enumeration in the case of Hindus, numbering 11,94,417, is $(11.94-4.30) \times 34 \times 3 = 78,000$. The effect of such under-enumeration on their communal percentage is $78/232.77 \times 100 =$ the population of Hindus 0.34 per cent. Their percentage is more likely to be $45.83 + 0.34 = 46.17$ than what is recorded in the Census. But our estimate is bordering almost on speculation.

Throughout the above discussions we have proceeded on two assumptions, viz., (1) the order of inaccuracy in 1931 is the same as in 1951; and (2) in the rural areas the inaccuracy of count is the same for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, irrespective of their mobility.

In the 1921 Census Report and Tables, occupations by religion were given. Of the Muhammadans 77.3 per cent were "ordinary cultivators"; the corresponding percentage amongst the Hindus being 48.9. Of the persons engaged in trade more than three-fourths were Hindus; of the persons engaged in transport, a little over one-third were Muhammadans. The ordinary cultivators are from the very

nature of their calling immobile, and are likely to be correctly enumerated at the census. Not so those who are engaged in trade and transport even in rural areas.

The total under-enumeration in East India is found to be 1.5 per cent. If we assume the enumeration in the case of ordinary cultivators to be correct, then the under enumeration in the case of the rest of the rural population would be 3×1.5 per cent as nearly two-thirds are engaged in such cultivation. If we take the under enumeration of non-cultivators to be midway between the averages of rural and urban under-enumeration, it would be $(1.5+4.9)/2 = 3.2$ per cent.

Let us take 4 per cent to be the order of under-enumeration in the latter case. The communal disadvantage of the Hindus would be

$[(51.1-22.7) \times 4]/4$ or 1.1 per cent of the rural population. As 93 per cent of the total population is rural the communal disadvantage of the Hindus would be more than 1 per cent.

Thus their total disadvantage is 0.27 per cent for urban population, plus 1.02 per cent for the rural population = 1.29 per cent. Thus their communal ratio may be as high as 46.9 per cent.

—:O:—

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI

THE cultural revolution which took place in Bengal shortly after the introduction of English education marked the opening chapter of the history of the Indian struggle for freedom under British rule. The renaissance movement with its keen consciousness of rich cultural heritage, its profound emotional emphasis on nationalism and lofty challenge to the Britisher's moral right to rule India, which started in Bengal in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a result of this cultural revolution, gradually crossed provincial boundaries and embraced the whole of India. "Young Bengal" of the 'thirties and 'forties was the father of Young India, still lying in the womb of time. Mahatma Gandhi writes in his *Indian Home Rule* :

"What you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. . . The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the north to the Punjab, in the south, to the Cape Comorin."

It is proposed to show by means of contemporary documents that though it took the rest of India as late as 1905 to feel the full effect of the awakening in Bengal, the awakening really began half a century earlier.

Before we proceed to trace the progress of the renaissance movement in Bengal a brief outline of the

historical and political background of this movement without which the picture that we wish to draw will be incomplete, may be given here.

The first of the several movements which formed the background of the renaissance movement, was anti-British in its origin and started among Indian Moslems. It is known as the Wahabi movement. It began as early as 1823-24. Its basis was religious assertiveness and the principal object was re-establishment of Moslem supremacy in India which had been lost to infidels. Its secondary object was religious and social reform, that is to say, restoration of Islam in India to its original purity by doing away with un-Islamic excrescence which had crept into it due to long contact with infidels.

Though anti-British in its origin the first target of the Wahabis was the Khalsa State. In Bengal, there was a Wahabi insurrection in 24 Parganas under Titoo Mir in 1826 and the target was the Hindus. The story of the Wahabi plots leading to the Mulka and Sittana campaigns in 1863, arrests in Bengal and Bihar in 1868, assassination of Lt. Omaney and subsequent assassinations of Mr. Justice Norman and Lord Mayo is well known. Wahabism spread to East Bengal and the activities of the sect, known as Farazi, are reported from time to time from 1872 to 1910.

Referring to the spread of Wahabism in India, Hunter wrote in the third quarter of the nineteenth century :

"Fifty years ago the Moslems were simply a recognised caste. Through the preachings of the Maulvis a change was brought about. They have ceased to be merely a separate caste in the rural organisation and have become a *distinct community*."

This means that within seventy years of the establishment of British rule in India the bonds of Hindu-Moslem unity cemented through several centuries of efforts in the religious, social, literary and political spheres were undone. English historians have euphemistically described the fact as Moslem revival.

Though anti-British in its origin the Wahabi movement has nothing to do with the Indian nationalist struggle in its aims, character and methods. Though the primary object of the movement failed, the seed of separatism which it sowed was of great significance in the Indian political agitation.

Reference may be made next to the greatest event of the nineteenth century in India, namely, the mutiny of a large section of the Indian army. The great rebellion of 1857 was the third mutiny of the Sepoy army; the first broke out at Vellore during the regime of Sir John Shore and the second at Barrackpore under Lord Amherst.

Vir Savarkar has described the great mutiny of 1857 as the first war of Indian independence; but in this war, the religious and emotional aspects were more prominent than the political aspect. It was a remarkable phenomenon in the sense that it was a combined blow of the Hindus and Moslems against the alien rulers of the country, but they combined not for the same purpose. The Moslem sepoys joined the mutiny with the hope of re-establishing Moslem supremacy in the country while the Hindu sepoys rose in revolt deeply stirred by the fear of clandestine attack on their religion and suspicions about the motives of the educational and social reforms of the alien Government. They joined hands with the Moslems without any clear conception of the political effect of their action; probably they did not see anything objectionable in the prospect of re-establishment of Moslem supremacy. All those who joined the mutiny undoubtedly had in common the desire to drive away the hated alien usurpers but their political programme did not go beyond restoration of the *status quo*. The British had created large vested interests in the country and there were innumerable active and passive supporters of the English in every stratum of

society. They had under them plenty of loyal Hindusthani sepoys to fight and kill the mutinous Hindusthani sepoys.

There is little doubt, however, that if the sepoys had succeeded the united India which the British had built up through a century of efforts would have broken into pieces and the awakening of Indian nationalism would have been delayed, no one knows how long.

We come next to the Indigo rising (1860-61) in Bengal. The Indigo rising was the first example of organised non-co-operation or passive resistance in this country and the authors of the movement were the ryots of Bengal. The basis of this non-co-operation movement was purely economic, no lofty spiritual or emotional inspiration was needed to prop it up.

The Indigo Commission wrote in their report :

The ryots unitedly refused to sow indigo. "The circumstances were favourable to this revolt, and the ryots showed firmness and zeal for resistance and for combined action."

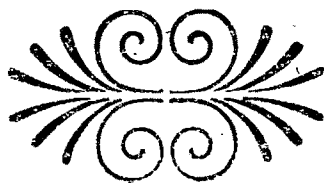
Referring to a few acts of violence committed by them the Commission wrote : "There was great excitement among the ryots. When an excitable but intelligent mass is roused up and prepares to think and act independently it is not unexpected that there would be some excesses." The Government of Sir Peter Grant, L. G. of Bengal, was all along sympathetic to the disaffected ryots.

When a few years later (1868-69) the indigo ryots of Champaran in North Bihar unitedly refused to sow indigo and sowed winter crops in indigo lands the planters grew furious. The Government rebuked them so severely that they lost heart.

The large-hearted sympathy and generosity which the Government showed in their dealings with the Santal rebels (1854-55) characterised also their dealings with the intransigent indigo ryots.

In the background of the new movement which the English-educated middle-class Bengalis started in the second half of the nineteenth century there were three different trends of the movements noted above, the trend of Moslem separatism arising out of the Wahabi movement, the trend of armed rebellion deeply tinged by religious zeal and racial hatred, but without a clear and politically conscious objective of the Sepoy Mutiny and lastly, the trend of organised non-co-operation or passive resistance of the Indigo rising.

The progress of the new movement will have to be studied against this historical and political background.



INDIA AND CHINA

BY PROF. S. N. ACARWAL.

EVERYBODY talks of China these days. There is no harm in talking about a neighbouring and friendly country which is bound to India by cultural ties through the ages. But it is certainly wrong to under-rate our own achievements and lull ourselves into the delusion that China has found a panacea for all the ills from which India suffers. We have full admiration for what China has been able to achieve during the last three years in various phases of national life. She has been able to fight successfully the twelve-year-old inflation; nation-wide agrarian reforms have liberated the peasants from feudal tyranny; vast river projects have been instituted to change the face of nature and supply power and irrigation; new factories have been built and new mines opened. The new Chinese Government has also succeeded considerably in checking corruption and inefficiency in administration and in increasing agricultural and industrial production to an appreciable degree. But we cannot afford to forget that China has adopted the path of dictatorship and totalitarianism. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has coined a new term for such a political organisation and calls it the "People's democratic dictatorship." It is, however, quite clear that this new administrative pattern will be almost the same as the well-known "dictatorship of the proletariat" which, while solving certain problems, has given rise to a host of other problems through the regimentation of mind, men and machines. While India won her political freedom against an alien rule through peaceful and non-violent methods and established a broad-based democratic state, China suffered a prolonged agony of Civil War and founded a 'one-party' dictatorship through blood and violence.

It is true that India's Independence was less spectacular; it was a smooth and peaceful transfer of political power with hardly any changes in the administrative machinery. We were surely spared from a number of hardships and agonies which come in the wake of a violent revolution. But India had also to inherit many ills and shortcomings of the British administrative set-up which still continue to be a source of hindrance in our path of quick progress. Nevertheless, it will be improper to undervalue our own achievements during the last six years of freedom. India had to face the stupendous task of rehabilitating about 75 lakhs of people uprooted from Pakistan. Thanks to our able leadership and administrative planning, our country has been able to solve the problem of displaced persons better than many other nations of the world. We have so far spent about 180 crores of rupees on relief and rehabilitation; about 200,000 refugees have been placed in jobs through the Employment Exchanges; over 80,000 have been absorbed in the Union and State Government offices. The Government has succeeded in settling about 16 lakh and 25 thousand people on land in

different parts of the country. Provision has been made for about 25 lakh displaced persons in evacuee houses or new tenements and there is a proposal to construct 30,000 new tenements during the current financial year. Besides solving the onerous and arduous task of rehabilitation the Government of India integrated 600 and odd feudal States into the Union within a few months after Independence. Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of the late Sardar Patel, this process of consolidation without a fireshot was unprecedented in the history of the world. India was also able to frame and inaugurate a new Constitution within two and a half years of political freedom. This Constitution, based on democracy and adult franchise, is, surely, one of the best among the constitutions of the world. Within two years of the framing of the Constitution, the Government of India could prepare the electoral rolls of about 18 crore adult voters in the country and successfully hold the General Elections on an unprecedented scale in the annals of public administration. During the last six years, India has enjoyed political stability and civic peace which are rare commodities in Asia and even other parts of the globe. Besides political freedom, India has also prepared and launched her First Five-Year Plan for the attainment of social and economic freedom. Although our Plan is not very ambitious, it is the first Plan of its kind under a democratic set-up and occupies a unique place in the history of economic planning in the West as well as in the East. Community Projects covering about 20,000 villages in the country have already been started and the National Extension Service is expected to serve all the 5½ lakh villages within a period of 7 or 8 years. About 800 crores of rupees are being spent on giant Multipurpose River Valley Projects which will irrigate about 17 million acres and generate 1.5 million KW of electric power. A chain of National Laboratories have been set up in India for conducting Research in different fields of modern science. Besides the expansion of Industries in the private sector, the Government has been able to start Key Industries like the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, Indian Telephone Factory, the Hindustan Shipyard, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., the Machine Tool Factory, the National Instruments Factory and the Oil Refineries. A Scheme for the erection of a 100-crore Iron and Steel Plant has also been finalised recently. Far-reaching Land Reforms, abolishing Zamindari and other feudal rights, have been enacted in almost all the States in India. More radical measures in the form of the fixation of ceilings on land holdings are being adopted by different State Governments. Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan* movement has shown a novel way of solving the problem of land redistribution through peaceful and non-violent means. The collection of about 21 lakh acres of land so far through voluntary donations is unique in the annals of

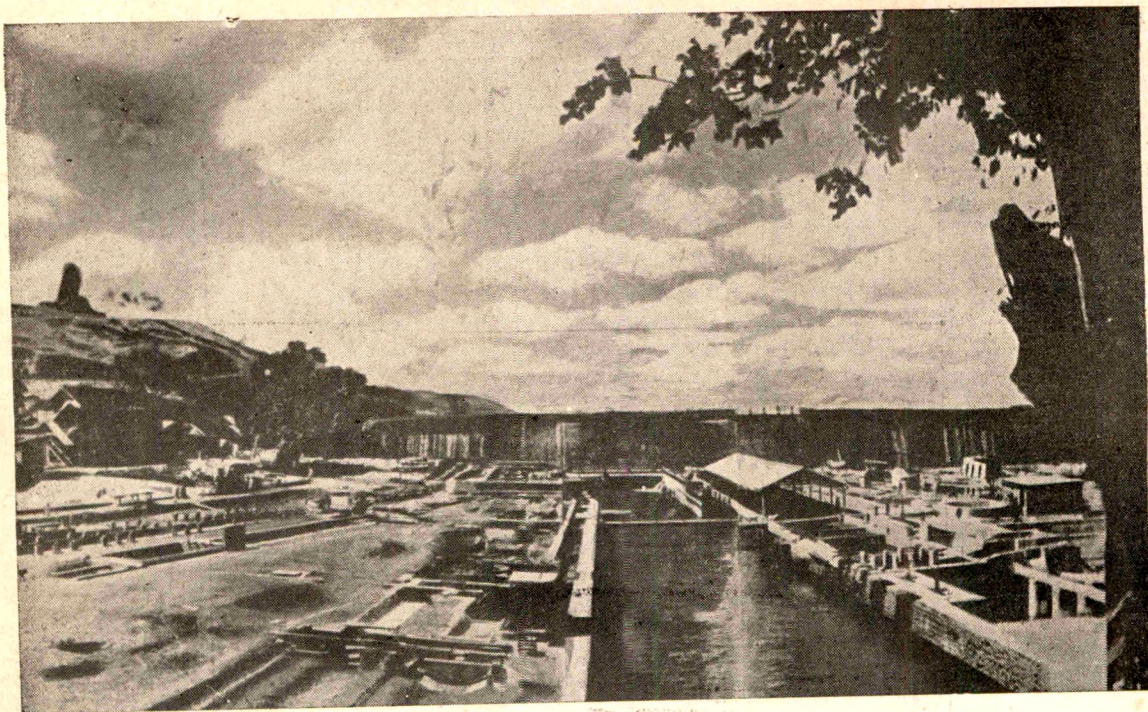
INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION, CALCUTTA



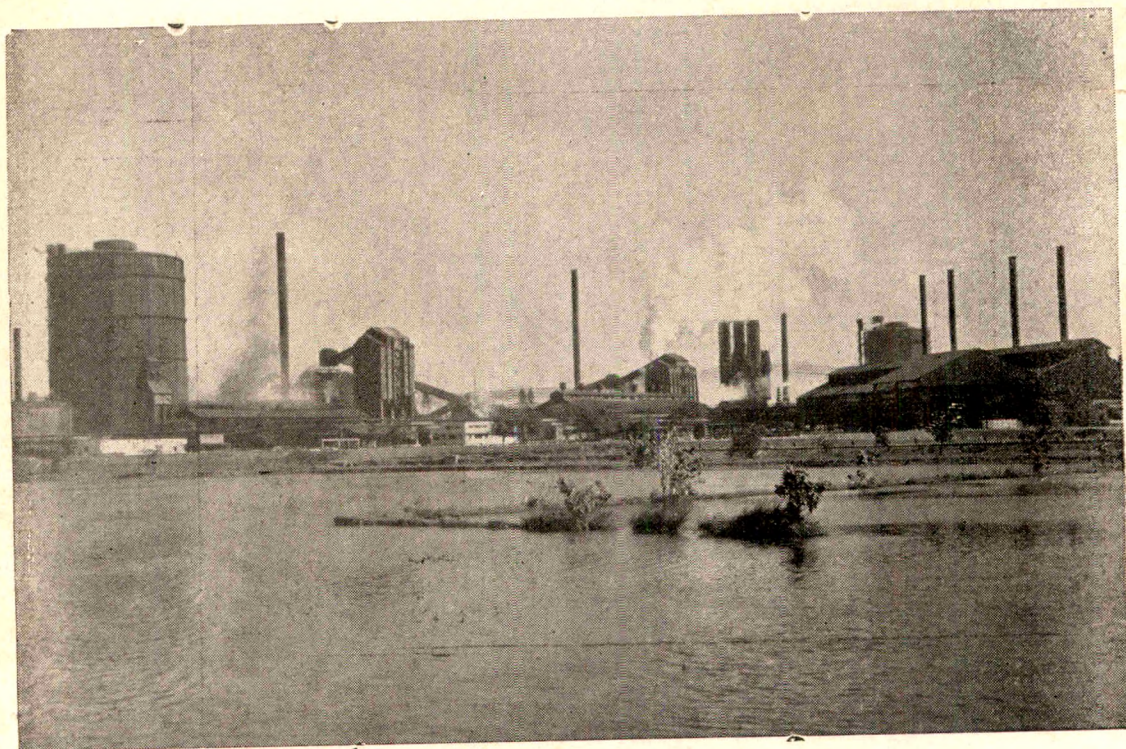
Newspaper Reading (*water colour*)
By Chiang Chao-ho, China



Mother and Daughter (*oil*)
By Yssuo Kuniyoshi, America



Poona Research Station



The Sindri Fertiliser Factory

human relationship in the world. All these are remarkable achievements of Free India for which we should all be legitimately proud. There is, however, no cause for complacency; we must not rest on our laurels and try to subsist on past achievements. We should constantly review our faults and shortcomings and quicken the pace of progress in the social and economic spheres.

We should look at China in a spirit of healthy emulation. We should admire her achievements but should not be blind to the other side of the picture. We hear very much about the land reforms in China. But do we know that there is still the system of individual proprietorship in land and that the new Chinese Government has not yet taken away land owned by "rich peasants" and cultivated by themselves or by "hired labour"? Portions of land rented out by rich peasants have also remained untouched. The *Agrarian Reform Law* provides that "land and other properties of the middle peasants (including well-to-do middle peasants) shall be protected from infringement." In certain respects, therefore, the land reforms in China are even less revolutionary than those of India. In the Industrial sphere, China is still following the system of "mixed economy" in which there is great scope for private enterprises; in fact about 80 per cent of the trade capital in China consists of "private capitalist enterprise." These capitalists in China are, of course, called by a high-sounding name, "national bourgeoisie." As Dr. Gyan Chand recently observed, private enterprise in China was "not merely tolerated, but was assigned an integral part in national development projects." Even enthusiastic Communist workers do not hope that China will be in a position to achieve full Socialism in less than 20 years. A study of Labour laws and regulations in China will indicate that they are not very much more progressive than those in India. So far as Law reforms are concerned, China has scrapped the old legal system and has evolved a new type of People's Courts in which there is not much room for professional lawyers. It cannot, however, be claimed that the Chinese Courts follow any codified laws yet; the personal factor counts for much in the administration of Justice. The Government of India has now announced the introduction of a legislation incorporating far-reaching Law reforms in the country. China and India can both learn from each other in this sphere. The Chinese schools, colleges and universities have, undoubtedly, changed a great deal. But well-known Indian educationists like Dr. Amarnatha Jha and Prof. Mujeeb have not been impressed by the new educational and cultural standards. The Chinese Universities have huge libraries but teach hardly anything except the writings of Lenin, Marx and Mao. There is not much "academic freedom" in these educational institutions; indoctrination and "brain-washing" of the young boys and girls is not very conducive to the growth of balanced and broad-based thinking. The freedom of Press and expression, whatever

may be said to the contrary, is also considerably curtailed. There is, perhaps, some freedom of self-criticism within the Party; but there is not much scope for the freedom of expression in general. Tall claims are made for a great increase of production in the agricultural and industrial sectors. We are told that the production has "doubled" or "trebled." But there are no reliable and scientific statistics yet to indicate the exact position. It is surprising to know that China is now preparing for its *First Census* on a nation-wide scale. The Communist countries have developed a special technique of world-wide publicity through which only the bright side of the picture is made known to the public. We must admit that India has yet to learn the art and science of proper publicity. We should not, of course, indulge in one-sided propaganda; but our achievements should be properly presented to the people to arouse their enthusiasm and to clear certain misconceptions. In India we are averse to the importing of foreign experts. But do we know that, according to figures given by Karanjia himself, there are 60,000 Russian experts in China at present? India has been able to evolve a positive policy of neutrality in International affairs. But has China been able to develop her own personality apart from that of the U.S.S.R.?

Let us, therefore, not lose our sense of proportion. China has, undoubtedly, been able to achieve much during the last three years. India also has many creditable achievements to her credit. In both countries, there is still much that remains to be done. We should, therefore, approach the task of improving the social and economic condition of the masses in a spirit of humility and service. It is no use extolling one country to the skies at the cost of the other. China has chosen the path of totalitarianism although it may be pleasantly termed as the "dictatorship of the masses." India is wedded to the method of democracy and peaceful revolution for the attainment of social and economic ends. It is wrong to think that the totalitarian method is always fast and that the democratic way is necessarily slow. Given the will and the clarity of vision, democracy can be as fast, if not faster, as dictatorship. Democratic functioning of a State is also more sure, steady and lasting. We should, therefore, try to learn the good points of China as also those of other countries of the world. But we should always bear in mind that each country has to pursue her path of salvation according to her own genius and culture and traditions. It is good to be critical of our own achievements. But to decry our own work and unduly praise the work of another country will be, to say the least, unpatriotic! We earnestly believe that India is a land of destiny and has a definite message to give to the world. That message is the message of Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba. It is our sacred duty to keep this message always in our thoughts and to try our utmost to implement that message with humility, faith and determination.

THE EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By BELA BOSE, M.A.,

Professor, Hoogly Women's College

THREE years after the introduction of the Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission has become very much worried at the growing unemployment. Increase in unemployment with the progress of the plan indicates that there has been something radically wrong in the plan itself. The main purpose of the National Economic Plan should be an all-round economic development of the country. No plan will be worth its name unless it can assure full employment or something very near it and a fair standard of life. Our Five-Year Plan seems to have failed here. The primary reason for this failure is our lack of data on the degree and nature of unemployment, both actual and potential. The Chapter on Unemployment in the Five-Year Plan discusses the problem only from the standpoint of public works. This may be a temporary solution. A lasting solution may be found only through perennial sources of employment.

Any data about unemployment that we have in our country relates only to frictional unemployment. No attempt seems to have been made to ascertain the degree of the other two sectors of unemployment, namely, involuntary and disguised. Only people on the frictional sector of unemployment register their names at the Employment Exchange. We have yet no arrangement to record or ascertain the number on the other two sectors of unemployment. An attempt will be made here to determine the degree of unemployment in the second and third sectors.

A study of India's sources of livelihood since 1901 reveals that pressure on land has been steadily on the increase and livelihood from industrial occupation on the decline. For example :

Changes of Population in Livelihood Groups

	(In millions)		
	1901	1911	1921
Primary production	192	227	231
Industry	40	35	33
Commerce	4.2	18	18
Profession, etc.	10	11	10

In 1931, Census dependents are not shown. But the trend is the same. Later censuses are incomplete.

With the growth of population employment on agriculture is increasing. In the industrial field there has been a definite decline in the number of persons since 1901. Industrial advancement has not increased employment. The number of persons employed on industry before and after the first

World War was the same in spite of the fact that a rapid and substantial industrial development had in the meantime taken place. Employment on the secondary sector in 1921 is very much lower than it was in 1901. The only explanation that may be offered is that the lower employment was due to higher mechanisation and gradual elimination of smaller industries. This alone explains why employment fell when industrial production increased. The four-fold increase in the tertiary sector, that is, in commerce, confirms this view.

The following table showing a breakup in the industrial employment further confirms this view :

Total Workers and Dependents in Different

<i>Industries</i> (Figures in 000)			
	1901	1911	1921
Cotton textile	574	459	479
Silk	93	49	14
Earthen & stone wares	357	189	196
Brick and tile	14	35	81
Butter and ghee	1.2	15	57
Cane-work	162	139	137

Here it is found that with increasing mechanisation in textile production, namely, the introduction of spinning jenny and power loom, employment in this field fell from 574,000 in 1901 to 499,000 in 1921. With the appearance of artificial silk, employment on natural silk industry had a drastic fall from 93,000 to 14,000 during the same period. Taking Murshidabad, the home of silk industry we find that employment in it fell from 40,217 in 1901 to 21,338 in 1911 and to 2,912 in 1921. Similarly with the appearance of aluminium and enamel wares, earthen and stone wares declined. A large number of people in this essential industry were driven out of the field. The rise in the standard of living and the increase in the number of the middle class, specially during the war, registered a high increase in brick and tile, and butter and ghee industries. The demand for modern houses encouraged the brick and tile industry while the increase in the purchasing power of a particular section was the cause of expansion in the latter.

The serious condition of involuntary and disguised unemployment has been revealed in the General Report No. 1 on the First Round of the National Sample Survey issued by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India. According to the 1941 Census Reports for the areas which are now included in the Republic of India, the

average size of household in the rural area was 4.99 persons. Since then population has increased. The Sample Survey Report gives the average size of household in 1951 as consisting of 5.21 persons out of which 1.46 persons or 28.1 per cent are earners, 0.87 persons or 16.6 per cent are earning dependents and 2.88 persons or 55.3 per cent are non-earning dependents.

TABLE A

Average number of persons per Household in Rural areas and their economic status in 1950

<i>Economic status</i>	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Earners	1.46	28.1
Earning dependents	0.87	16.6
Non-earning dependents	2.88	55.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>5.21</i>	<i>100</i>

Any employment plan will be unsuccessful unless we start from this base. The problem may be colossal but it is real.

The disguised nature of unemployment is seen even amongst the earners, whose average income is almost half of average expenditure. The following two tables from the *N. S. S. Report* are relevant :

TABLE B

Annual expenditure on consumption in the Rural Areas

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rs. per household</i>
Food	758
Fuel and light	37
House rent	7
Clothing, bedding, tailoring charges	121
Miscellaneous including <i>pan</i> , tobacco and intoxicants	221
<i>Total</i>	<i>1144</i>

The annual expenditure incurred per household is Rs. 1,144.

TABLE C

Value of production in Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rs. per household</i>
Value of agricultural crops	403.32
Value of livestock products produced and consumed at home	47.89
Value of livestock products produced	14.56
<i>Total</i>	<i>465.77</i>

Cost of agriculture and animal husbandry has been assessed at Rs. 107.32. Therefore the real income from agricultural products comes to

Rs. 465.77—Rs. 107.32=Rs. 358.45.

The income from agriculture and animal husbandry comes to Rs. 358.45 per household.

The All-India averages of the value of production and costs per household in industrial production are given in the Table below :

TABLE D

Production and costs in household industrial establishments in Rural areas

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rs. per household</i>
1. Value of production	80.07
2. Costs—	
1. Fuel and power	2.66)
2. Raw materials	52.09)
3. Maintenance and repair	1.25)
4. Other expenses	9.36) 65.36
3. Value added gross of depreciation (1 & 2)	14.71
4. Income from industrial servicing	4.70
5. Total of items 3 & 4	19.41
Income from industry is therefore Rs. 19.41.	

Of the household selected for completing the enterprise schedules in the Sample Survey, only about 7 per cent were found to have any handicrafts or trading activities.* Particulars on industry, crafts and trade, including fixed capital, machinery and tools, fuel, power, raw materials, quantity and value of production, types of labour used, source of finance and income from industrial servicings were included in the *Household Schedules* for detailed information on household enterprise.† The production from enterprises not owned by rural households (i.e., those owned by jointstock companies, local and provincial Governments, Co-operatives, households living in Urban areas, etc.) were excluded from the survey.

All-India averages of values of stocks and turnover per household in trading are given below :

TABLE E

Gross Trading income in Rural Areas
(July 1949 to June 1950)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Rs. per household</i>
1. Value in cost price of opening stock and replenishment	158.99
2. Value in cost price of the closing stock	20.46
3. Cost price of merchandise sold=(1—2)	138.53
4. Value in selling price of merchandise sold	179.10
5. Gross trading income=(4—3)	40.57

The gross trading income per household is thus Rs. 40.57. Here again the trading operations done by non-household enterprises or by households living in Urban areas but operating in Rural areas have been excluded from the scope of this survey.‡

All-India averages of incomes from services of various types are given in the Table below. The particulars in this case were not restricted to employment in household enterprises only but covered employment in non-household enterprises also.

* National Sample Survey Report, p. 59.

† Ibid., p. 44.

‡ Ibid., p. 50.

TABLE F

Gross income from services in Rural Areas
(July 1949 to June 1950)

Items	Rs. per household
1. Agriculture and animal husbandry, forestry, fishing	94.18
2. Exploitation of minerals	2.58
3. Manufacture	14.30
4. Construction of building	13.00
5. Electricity, gas, water supply, and sanitary services	3.25
6. Trade, commerce, real estates, trading, etc.	11.01
7. Transport, storage and communication	30.43
8. Professional services	56.89
9. Others (including services not specified)	4.02
Total	229.66
The total income comes to	
Agriculture	Rs. 358.45
Industry	19.41
Trade	40.57
Services	229.66

Rs. 648.09

In the present study for the calculation of the income per household in rural areas, the income from all the sources of livelihood existing in the village have been taken to constitute the total income. But this is not the actual case. One household does not have all the sources of income. Generally most of the people pursue mainly one type of profession, i.e., they follow either agriculture or industry or trade and so on or at the most, they may have two together. In that case the matter would be all the more worse. The best case, i.e., where one household has all the four sources of income, has been taken as the basis of our calculation and even that reveals the staggering deficit mentioned above.

The extent of the gap is therefore—

Rs. 1144—Rs. 648.09=Rs. 495.91.

Here the income has been calculated on the basis of the income-data of the National Sample Survey Committee. The per capita average income has been assessed by the National Income Committee at Rs. 255. This should give an income of

Rs. $255 \times 5.21 = \text{Rs. } 1328$ per family.

But this figure is a composite average of the incomes of the rich and the poor, Urban and Rural population taken together. The disparity of income and opportunity of employment in Urban and Rural areas in this country are so widely different that any application of the National Income Committee's figure to

the Rural sector will be far from the real state of affairs. Therefore, the calculation of rural income and expenditure made in the *National Sample Survey Report* has been relied upon while assessing unemployment in Rural areas.

Thus, where income is Rs. 648.09 and expenditure Rs. 1144, the only way to fill up the gap is either reduction in standard of life or increase in rural debt. In India, we find both. If we believe that nobody wants to starve or to be in perpetual debt, we must assume that if employment is provided for these people, they will readily accept it, that is, although disguised it is one of involuntary type.

For the present let us make a rough calculation about the numerical extent of actual unemployment. In Table A above, it is found that 28.1 per cent are earners, 16.6 per cent earning dependents, and 55.3 per cent non-earning dependents. In terms of numbers this will be—

Earners—28.1 per cent of 36 crores=10.1 crores.

Earning dependents—16.6 per cent of 36 crores =6 crores.

Non-earning dependents—55.3 per cent of 36 crores =19.9 crores.

Therefore, 19.9 crores are totally unemployed while the earners, that is, 10.1 crores are under-employed because they cannot meet their family budgets. The exact number of involuntary unemployed persons would come to 10 crores if we deduct from it 9.9 crores as children, women unwilling to work, the old and invalid. These people wholly depend on others for their existence. But they are able-bodied men and women who are ready to work at any rate of remuneration if they are given the opportunity. Our society fails to employ them and therefore they are involuntarily unemployed.

The deficit budget of the family thus proves that though employed in some sort of work these people cannot maintain their family properly. Their true nature is however obscure. Apparently they appear to be engaged but in reality they are underemployed. They have, therefore, been rightly described by Mrs. Robinson as disguised unemployed. Ten crores of earners plus 6 crores of earning dependents constitute the total number of disguised unemployed who are definitely not frictional. Approximately the number of disguised and involuntary unemployed persons is, therefore, $10+10+6=26$ crores.

The problem now is one of numerical extent and however colossal it may appear, it must be solved.



SUFFERING HUMANITY AND DECENTRALIZATION

By MANKUMAR SEN

If anything characterises the Gandhian way of life and distinguishes it from the various 'isms' of the world which are nothing but degenerated sectarianisms mostly, it is the ardent advocacy for utmost decentralization of our political and economic administration. In fact the very basis of 'Gandhism' is the conception of a decentralized democracy. Gandhiji adopted Truth as the End and Non-violence as the Means to that End. Naturally, therefore, centralization of power and production which for all practical purposes shields the use and spread of violence and thrive on irreligious behaviour, completely materialistic outlook and utmost mechanization, is repulsive to Gandhism. To Gandhiji, villages were the real portrait of India, her culture and heritage, village republics the basic units of Democracy and village industries the life-blood of economic organisation. 'Industrialism is, I am afraid, going to be a curse for mankind'—this was the warning of that great seer to the machine-mad world.

INDUSTRIALISM AND INDIVIDUALITY

Those that can look ahead and look introspectively have no manner of doubt to-day, that the road to a 'quantitative civilization' that the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century opened up is the road to dehumanization and disaster of the civilized society. Through machine and mechanization a vicious force of de-personalization has been let loose. Man's unique personality has been trampled under giant machines. The 'Democracies' thriving on industrial economy, extremely centralized, have actually lost their balance and fighting one another in the competitive market which can hardly ever contribute to the cause of world peace. Scramble for profits in industries induces, for obvious reasons, the curtailment of the wage-structure to lessen the cost of production and make the marketable goods cheaper. Thus the wage-earners who constitute a large percentage of the consuming public are hit hard and slump shadows the market in absence of adequate purchasing power. In this way, the human beings in factories receive no better deal than other commodities with use-value. Money being the only criterion of valuation, specific human features, vocational trends of individuals are being blotted out conscientiously and there is 'robotism'—or movement of human machines all around. Vocations or pursuits of man are being made to conform to set patterns or standardized institutions and not the vice-versa. Raw materials are dumped on cities or industrial towns thus depriving the village industries their rightful share in the same and the villagers their natural occupations.

The emphasis has thus shifted on to the city-centres, and the villages, despite their natural resources and man-power, are starving and decaying rapidly.

ROLE OF MACHINE

Originally machine was conceived of as a willing slave of man, and now by virtue of its dominant role in factory civilization man is being made to serve the machine—his master. Sacredness of individuality is sacrificed for abundant material possessions, for more and varied production for bringing more money. This tragic devaluation of fundamental human values is noticeable on a vast scale today—in standardized production, in mendacious sale propaganda, and in so-called amenities of life. In every sector, it is the vague and viciously dangerous idea of 'average man,' not the very natural dissimilarities, peculiarities, mental make-up, hereditary habits or the nature of life's yearning, that holds the field. The result is that man himself has been made a mere abstraction. "Truth and beauty of human life bring only disdain for their un-realism or incompatibility with the modern age!" But is not the history of civilization the collective chronology of individual achievements? Teachers, poets, prophets, philosophers, architects, musicians, social workers and a host of others—have not they in their own way developed and enriched what we call civilization today? Is it acceptable even to the meanest intelligence that all such thought-currents can be standardized and made to obey a set pattern, a centralized behaviour, without wanton detriment to humanity or individual personality itself? Unfortunately, the world around provides only a contrary answer. We have so far probed into the deepening ills of centralized capitalist economy and its attendant administration—now, we turn to the land of communism.

COLLECTIVE EGO

Manifestations of a collective ego at the cost of individual enterprise and liberty of expression of one's self in the land of communism depict a still more disappointing picture of standardization and centralization. Here, of course, unlike the Democracies, the concentration of power both political and economic is by the State itself. As Rene Fullop-Miller, a noted pacifist, observes:

"In order to turn individual man into collective man it was imperative to exterminate his individual soul, that is the main spring of his unique personality. There was neither place nor need for individual thought, feeling or judgment. Man was called upon to give up his individuality so that he could more easily be turned into a spare part, an interchangeable

screw in the 'social machine.' The supreme goal was a mechanized and purely quantitative combination of human mass-particles that would obey the laws of collectivity and thus attain collective bliss. Gandhism discards outright this regimentation. Gandhiji believed in the essential oneness of man, yet according to him, 'The individual is the one supreme consideration.' To him goodness or badness of an individual was really a concern of the whole community, nay of the whole world."

A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history—that was Gandhiji's firm conviction. He was not prepared to submit the individual to the tyrannical bogey of collectivism and 'historical inevitability.'

LIFE AND LIVING

Confusion between 'life' and 'living' seems to explain these pitfalls of Industrialism otherwise strewn with many blessings too. Caught up in the whirlpool of material possessions resulting from revolutionary changes in the technique and scale of production we have confused 'living' with life,—have made a tragic equation of bountiful life and bountiful living. Thanks to machine, the standard of living has reached dazzling heights, at least in some countries,—but by no stretch of imagination they can be said to have evolved a proportionately high standard of life. Rather, the craving for material satisfactions has naturally belaboured the soul of man so much so that thoughts of sublimation and expression of the inner self, however respected in academic lessons, no longer determine the way of man's life. We have changed quite naturally, with the change of times; but rejection of the eternal human values and wholeness of man in the frantic search for a materialistic civilization has axed at the very root of human progress. Life's art and beauty are quickly drying up, nobility and nicety of the soul are decaying due to increasing aggressiveness of the outer world. Bereft of the charm of nature, the holy threads of community life, the standardized man of modern democracies makes no different reading from abstractions, statistical metaphors. The flight of the soul is being wrecked at every step and a vain attempt to substitute the emotional urge, the desire for real life with rotten, repulsive and exciting things and theories only precipitates the last days of this machine age.

CITIES AND SMALL COMMUNITIES

Man's love for cities, for superficial living in the centres of attractions away from the abundant blessings of Nature—the villages—has developed either from economic necessity or from a surrender to the necessity of the handful of persons that hold the reins. We now see that the civilization as transformed since the advent of the 'Machine Age' has no more than the remotest connection with good life. Concentration of wealth and power that constitute the attributes of this age have no regard for simple and noble life, no respect for the 'whole man.' In fact, this industrial and centralized

civilization cannot but discard 'man' as the highest creature on earth for its own sinister designs. But in this wild manifestation are revealed the values of small community where human relations, sense of social service and responsibility, and Nature's unbounded influence determine the way of individual and collective life. Nature being the finest teacher of man, individuality and greatness of mind is most pronounced in decentralized small communities. Neighbourliness and simple living instead of complex and utterly mechanistic life of the cities cannot develop in the soul-less, un-social ways that obtain in the din and bustle of the industrial towns. Once we can limit ourselves to the genuine wants, build up self-contained co-operative village units free from drudgery and complexity, exploitation and regimentation, scramble for power and profits, life will become purposive, vital and dynamic. Gandhiji has shown by his words and deeds, the number of institutions and organizations, the pattern of such a society based on village industries and village republics. Spiritual isolation and starvation of the mind that obtain in large populations have no scope whatsoever in decentralized societies where the influence of nature and willing co-operation alone count. Of all the ancient civilizations, India is most noted for her agro-industrial communities with real communism as the propelling force. To those that shout to the housetops in favour of the scientific civilization as an unmixed blessing the following quotation from Prof. A.V. Hill's (President, British Association for the Advancement of Science) speech delivered on 3-9-52 under the title "The Ethical Dilemma of Science" should be an eye-opener :

"Completeness and dignity are brought to man by three main channels, first, by the religious sentiment, and its embodiment in ethical principles, secondly, by the influence of what is beautiful in Nature, human personality or art and thirdly, by the pursuit of scientific truth and its resolute use in improving human life."

Gandhiji conceived of Absolute Truth as the End and Non-violence as the Means; means for individual as well as group practice. Village industries and village republics are the basic steps on this way. They opened up the way to what is called practical non-violence. Non-violent living is attainable only by self-imposed discipline, which alone can produce hardy, diligent, responsible and talented individuals, rich and powerful societies based on moral values. This disciplined behaviour coupled with an intimate knowledge of one's neighbour makes an impregnable defence against the infiltration of narrow ideas, sectarianism, and ignoble imitations. Too many pitfalls have tarnished the long road beginning from the Industrial Revolution. It is high time we take up the ways and means to a better life with much lesser possessions,—which is the Gandhian way. Modern civilization with a faulty edifice is bound to tumble down unless the decentralization of economic and political organization is taken up in all earnestness.

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI AND MAHATMA GANDHI

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

In the history of nations, from time to time, there appear a few individuals who become the incarnate spirit of a nation and, at the same time, become the representative mouthpiece of the entire human family. In such men nationalism and internationalism, patriotism and humanity are not antithetical truths, but one integrative of the other. It is so remarkable that such prophetic minds, idealists to the core, appear in some most critical periods of history of a nation. Providence and fortune conjure up to rain down torrents of new light and life through them.

They finish the job which Heaven has assigned for them and, then, depart from the stage of historical man. But their ideals and influence continue to work far more powerfully after their death than during their life; for, being prophets beyond the common reach of the masses, it takes decades and even centuries to unfold the significance and mission of such men. It is long after they are dead and gone that generations, historians and thinkers begin to appraise them in their real perspective. As Kahlil Gibran says: "It is long since the cedar tree has fallen, but its fragrance endures, and will for ever seek the four corners of the earth."

II

If the history of the Italian *Risorgimento* has so many striking parallels with the Indian Independence movement, Giuseppe Mazzini is the Mahatma Gandhi of India and Gandhiji is the Mazzini of Italy. If, of the triumvirate of the Italian *Resorgimento*, Mazzini were the prophet, Cavour the diplomat and Garibaldi the soldier, then Mahatma Gandhi is the prophet, Jawaharlal Nehru is the statesman and Subhas Chandra Bose is the soldier of Indian Independence movement. These two men, viz., Gandhiji and Mazzini are seers, prophets, ethical revolutionaries, pioneers of freedom of body and soul, heralding the future still unborn.

Mazzini was not merely the representative prophet of Italy, but the image of the classical Latin civilization symbolised in Rome; Rome that ruled over the world for centuries under Caesars; Rome that rules over nations under Popes; Rome that still has the potential power to integrate both Caesar and Pope and spiritually and ethically be the mistress of the western world, not any more through domination, exploitation, imperialism and military prowess, but through the motherly warmth of Latin civilization, the invisible empire of imponderable values and ethical culture. Mazzini himself lived in a state of exultation, being for ever conscious of his vocation to uphold the banner of that Roman civilisation which makes the Eternal City, *caput mundi*, which made him bless with the same idealistic enthusiasm both *urbem et orbem*; Rome and the world. Says Mazzini:

"In me survives the faith in Rome. Within the walls of Rome life has twice unfolded as unity of the world. While other peoples vanished for ever after the completion of a fleeting destiny, and none came twice to the front, life there went on eternal and death was never known . . . Why should there not arise out of a third Rome an Italian people, whose emblem floats before me; why not arise a third and greater unity, which shall set in harmony earth and heaven, right and duty, which not to the individual but to the peoples, to the free and equal, shall speak a luminous, unifying word about their mission in this earthly vale?"

The mainspring of all activities of Gandhiji also was the ever-present consciousness in him that he was the inheritor, propounder and apostle of the faith that is India. India also has risen twice in history and there is no reason why she cannot be the Mother of many nations a third time. During the reign of the *Maurya* Emperors, notably under Asoka, India's borders extended beyond her geographical frontiers. Then came the Buddhist period when Greater India extended to almost all Asian countries. The second rule of India over other nations was not through swords and arms, but through moral force, religious truths and imponderable values, much in the same way Popes rule the world, through Roman Catholicism. Like Mazzini, Gandhiji also believed that political freedom, unity and cultural resurrection of India will prove to be an undeniable blessing to both East and West, because India still remains the classical land of philosophy and religion.

Like Mazzini, Gandhiji's religious psychology was all-inclusive and was opposed to all forms of sectarianism, going to the very rock-bottom of ethics, values and spirituality in religion. For this reason Mazzini had to encounter attacks from Christian orthodoxy and exclusivism and Gandhiji from Hindu orthodoxy and exclusivism. Says Gandhiji: "Just as God is one though His names are different, Religion also is one in spite of its different names; because all the religions have been derived from God."

Both Mazzini and Gandhiji lived by a living faith in the living God. To the Mazzinian maxim: *Dio e popolo*, "God and the people," Gandhiji's axiomatic truth was: "God and Humanity." Belief in God was the dominant feature of the two prophets, a faith so real, so powerful to mould their life and inspire action for the freedom and welfare of their countries and of mankind at large. Says Gandhiji: "I believe in God much more than I believe in the fact that you and I are alive and I am speaking to you."

Ethics of politics and sociology which both Mazzini and Gandhi deduced and expounded so masterly and vividly in their various writings were derived from their hold on God. Both these prophets were essentially and pre-eminently religious souls; all their politics and

fight were but the outward expression of their deep-seated religious quest and inner urge to reach God who is Truth, Truth that is God. Says Gandhiji :

"If I seem to take part in politics, it is only because politics today encircles us like the coils of a snake from which one cannot get out no matter how one tries. I wish to wrestle with the snake. I am trying to introduce religion in politics."

Mazzinian sociology, ethics and political philosophy, as mirrored in his life and writings, notably in his classical *Diritti e doveri dell Uomo* of 1840, are all derived from his intense religious psychology which hungered and thirsted after righteousness, which could not brook injustice, inhumanity and slavery anywhere.

Mazzini (1805-1872) was an elder brother to Gandhiji (1869-1948), and the latter has recognised his debts to the former. Mazzini's *Young Europe* of 1834 and his *Young Italy* inspired Gandhiji to start his *Young India* movement. Mazzini wrote in 1834 that his *La Giovane Europa* was an association of men believing in the future of liberty, equality and fraternity for all mankind. Similarly, Gandhiji proclaimed that his *Young India* movement went beyond the geographical frontiers of India and embraced the entire human family.

Mazzini and Gandhiji were eminently men of action, not arm-chair philosophers and touch-me-not saints. To those who compared Gandhiji to Francis of Assisi and advised him to retire to meditation and prayer in the solitude of the Himalayas, Gandhiji replied : "My Himalayas is right here; in the struggles of the poor, downtrodden and the lost." Mazzini also replied his critics in a similar vein when he wrote in his *Pensiero ed Azione* (Thought and Action) in the year 1859 :

"I am but a voice crying action. But the State of Italy cries for it also. So do the best men and people of her cities. Do you wish to destroy my influence ? Act."

The political dynamism of both Mazzini and Gandhiji were the overflow of a philosophy of life which they were deeply convinced of, and which they intensely lived. There was little or no gulf between their ideals and their practice, their faith and their life, their public and private life. This gave irresistible power and strength to both of them; and cowards, hypocrites and tyrants had to bow before their saintly, prophetic, dynamic and powerful personality. Both of them were one with the people, away from the plutocratic, bureaucratic and aristocratic snobbery and right in the midst of the poor, downtrodden and the lost. Mazzini, after seeing the miserable plight of the refugees from Genoa, was struck at heart, and ever since he wore the simple, austere, poor black mantle. Mahatma Gandhi saw the grinding poverty, social slavery and economic exploitation of the broad peasants and workers of the Indian subcontinent, and he dressed himself in a simple loin cloth and shawl, symbolizing thereby his identification with the broad masses of his country. This mass appeal of the two prophets, their unalloyed idealism and unflinching faith gave them a sway and

control over the masses which helped to fructify their dreams and ideals in no small measure.

Although both Mazzini and Gandhiji stood for the unity of their country, Mazzini, being more a practical political than Gandhiji, envisaged a strong centralised Italy, opposing decentralisation and federalism. Gandhiji, on the other hand, stood for more and more decentralised form of government, often to the point of anarchic liberalism. Mazzini, on the other hand, saw that times are changed and that strong rod was essential for the upkeep of Italian unity and power. Mazzini wrote :

"This young Italy is unitary; for without unity there is no real nation, because without unity there is no power, and Italy, surrounded by unitary nations, which are strong and jealous, must, above all, be powerful. Federalism would reduce it to the powerless condition of Switzerland, and under stress of necessity it would fall under the influence of one or another of the neighbouring nations. Federalism would give new life to the rivalries of different localities which today are quenched, and so lead Italy back to the Middle Ages. . . . Seeking the destruction of the unity of the great Italian family, federalism would render utterly vain the mission that Italy is called to fulfill for humanity."

As Proudhon opposed Mazzini's ideas of a centralised and strongly united Italy, so Subhas Bose opposed Gandhiji's religious mysticism and philosophical anarchism applied to the problem of Indian independence and Indian unity. As Mazzini's dream of a strong Italian Republic was thwarted with the advent of Italian monarchy under Victor Emmanuel II in 1870, so Gandhiji's dream of Indian Unity was defeated when the country was partitioned in 1947, thus giving birth to India and Pakistan. The broad parliamentary and liberal traditions of the Congress are today leading the country to further weakening through the creation of linguistic provinces, freedom of the capitalist class to exploit and for the broad masses to starve and die, which the saintly heart of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Indian Nation, could not have allowed.

Mazzini, after the restoration of Italian Monarchy of Casa di Savoia, wrote :

"The Italian people are led astray by a delusion but monarchy will never number me amongst its stalwarts or followers."

It is known that Gandhiji also had many disillusionments after Indian independence. Gandhiji deplored the lack of revolutionary spirit for sweeping changes, to bring about the much-needed socio-economic regeneration of India, which alone makes political *swaraj* meaningful. Gandhiji, the idealist, was sore wounded seeing the rising tides of self-interest among Congressmen and capitalist class. As Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan said, after the Mahatma was martyred in Delhi on 30th January, 1948 that the misdeeds of many of his erstwhile followers and countrymen had pierced his heart "long before bullet pierced his body." Mazzini died in Pisa on 10th March 1872 greatly disillusioned;

as Gandhiji died in Delhi frustrated, hit by the bullets of one of his own countrymen, crowning his long prophetic life with the blood of martyrdom, like the great Abraham Lincoln in the United States.

III

During the long exile of Mazzini in England, among the various glowing tributes by non-Italians to the prophet, there is one of Thomas Carlyle, who writing to *The Times*, said :

"I have had the honour to know Mr. Mazzini for a series of years, and, whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify that he, if I have ever seen such, is a man of genius and virtue, one of those rare men, numerable unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called

martyr souls; who in silence, piously in their daily life, practise what is meant by that."

The above is an appreciation of an Englishman of high literary and cultural standing. But the appreciation coming from representative Indians on the life and ideals of Mazzini is of far greater significance. Gandhiji has borne momentous testimony to Mazzini. Giuseppe Tucci writes in the *East and West Quarterly* magazine that he found translations of the work of Mazzini into Indian vernaculars. The present writer has come across individuals and groups who consider Mazzini akin to Indian spirit. After all, India and Italy are the two great mothers of very similar civilizations, one in the East and the other in the West, easily recognizable through their representative prophets, notably through types like Mazzini and Gandhiji.

—:O:—



Scenery (water colour) by Ho Tien-chien, China

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION, CALCUTTA

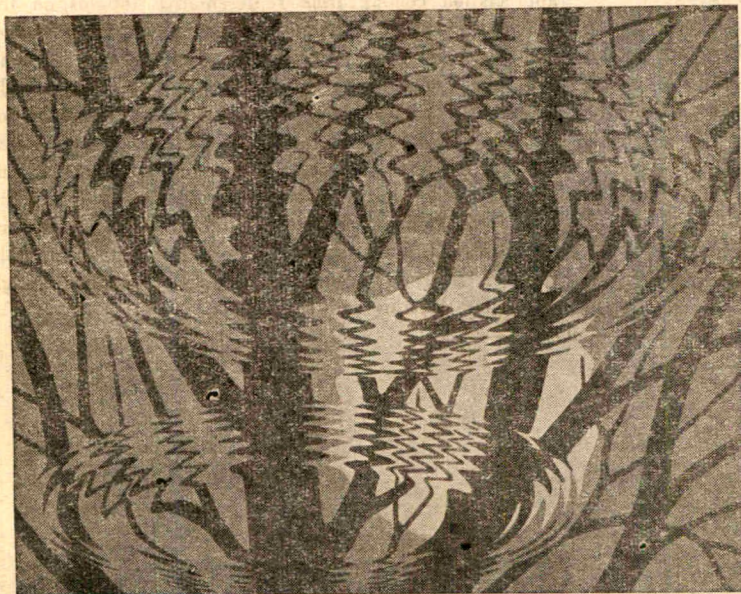
By KAUNDINYA

THIS Exhibition, organized by the All-India Art and Craft Society of New Delhi, was first inaugurated by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, at New Delhi on 5th May, 1953. It has now been brought to Calcutta for a month and will travel to other cities, one after another.

To the ordinary man in the street, with no particular responses to the demands and blandishments of works of beauty, an International Exhibition may spell nothing more than a cheap journalistic stunt, to boost the work of the Delhi Society, which claims the monopoly of presenting and patronizing Indian

Art and Indian artists in a continuous career of selfless labour. In Calcutta, we have a live and very much active Art Society, called the Academy of Fine Art supported by the citizens of Calcutta and of other cities and it is an "All-India" body with a rich programme of exhibitions and patronage of Indian Art. Last year the Calcutta Society was authorized by the Government of India to select and send a representative collection of Indian Art for exhibition in the cities of the United States. The collection has been exhibited already in Washington and a few other cities and will be shown in New York very soon, to be

followed by exhibitions in other cities. The show has already earned appreciation in the local press and aroused interest of American citizens in the productions of Indian contemporary artists. A year before, a world-famous Russian artist, Wassily Kandinsky and of his followers, who attempted to demonstrate the new doctrine of "Spiritual in Art" enunciated in the famous treatise, *Art of Spiritual Harmony* (Munich, 1912).



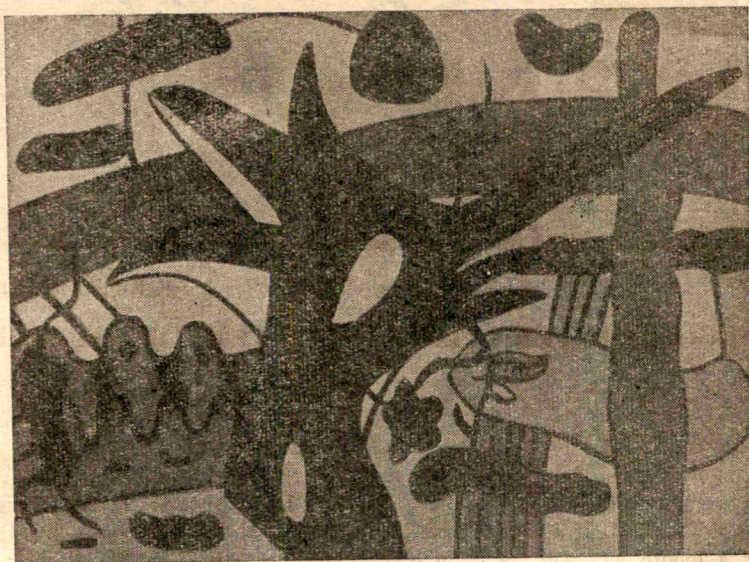
Rippling (lino-cut)
By M. C. Escher, Netherlands

collection of modern Indian paintings was shown at the Haward University in the States at which many pieces were sold. In previous years, other exhibitions had been sent out from Calcutta to travel through all the 52 cities of the States.

As regards Europe, Calcutta in 1914 sent out a remarkable collection of the masterpieces of Abanindranath Tagore and of his pupils, which, praised by all the best art-critics of Europe at Paris, the vortex of Art, created an international sensation placing India on the map of the world's culture. Other Indian exhibitions were sent out from Calcutta and won rich appreciations in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich and other European cities. The paintings that the art-connoisseurs of Calcutta sent out for appreciation in Europe and America were always carefully selected by the best connoisseurs and maintained a high level of standard, unattained by any other appreciation is gradually shifting to New York and exhibitors. So that, as an art-centre, Calcutta can claim unique distinctions in presenting works of Art for international appreciation. Calcutta can also

claim to be the earliest pioneer of an International Exhibition arranged in 1917, exhibiting a group of modernistic paintings representing the works of the famous treatise, *Art of Spiritual Harmony* (Munich, 1912).

Speaking of "International" Exhibitions and their purpose and aims we are reminded of the world-famous International Exhibition held at Venice every alternative year, where the best productions of Art from all the countries are received and selected by a competent jury and then exhibited for open display to invite the criticism of the educated art-public. Venice at this time attracts art-connoisseurs and visitors from all parts of the world, the show being regarded as a great event and opportunity to examine and adjudge the progress of Contemporary Art. Learned reviews of this great event, written by the best art-experts, are published in all the art-journals of Europe and America.



Landscape (oil)
By Fernand Leger, France

As the specific gravity of art studies and art appreciation is gradually shifting to New York and Washington in the United States, following the model of the Venice "International," an analogous annual Forum to adjudge progress in Art has been built up

in New York. They call it the "Multi-national Exhibition," a happier title than "International." The "Multi-national" is regarded as a valuable eye-opener to artists. For it is an exhibition in which one can make discoveries, in which one breathes the fresh atmosphere of freedom, youth and adventure. It helps to introduce new and original artists to the American public and develops the idea, that all art in the world cannot be seen and studied by traversing the beaten track which leads from Paris to New York. Above all, a Multi-national Exhibition is an active agent in promoting international friendship.

The Carnegie International Exhibition has somewhat similar aims and analogous ideals.

Now let us turn to the International Art Exhibition brought to Calcutta by the Delhi Society, accompanied by much fanfare and newspaper publicity. The huge expenses of this travelling show are being met by the Government in parading the show from city to city. The exhibits were not selected or gathered by the Delhi Society or by any expert Committee. They were received by the Society as Government agents through the different Foreign Embassies and it is obvious that the exhibits were not selected by any committee of experts. For many of the sections are filled with mediocre items collected haphazard to represent each country.

In the first place it is an exhibition of *paintings only*, with some specimens of copper-plates, aqua-tints and black and whites, with no specimens of sculpture. So that the proper designation should be that it is an International Exhibition of paintings and drawings.

But whatever may be the limitation or imperfection of the show, it is a creditable assembly of a large body of contemporary paintings from 29 different countries, which offer an opportunity to art-lovers in India, anxious to make intimate and direct contact with the present-day art-products of various countries of the world. When we realize how difficult it is for poor Indian artists and art-connoisseurs, with thirst for Art, to undertake expensive and arduous pilgrimages to all parts of the world to see, to know, and to study the latest expressions of other races and countries in the field of visual arts and to benefit by the new experiments which artists are undertaking for solving artistic and spiritual problems very similar to the problems confronting Indian artists in the new and depressing economic conditions of modern times, we realize, with gratitude, the valuable educational service rendered by the Government in sponsoring this exhibition of paintings brought from 29 different countries. The æsthetic map is extensive enough and those who cannot travel all over the world will gratefully appreciate these rich and varied gifts brought to their very door-steps for direct study and instructive intercourse.

But there is another side to this picture. Many

people think that it is placing the cart before the horse.

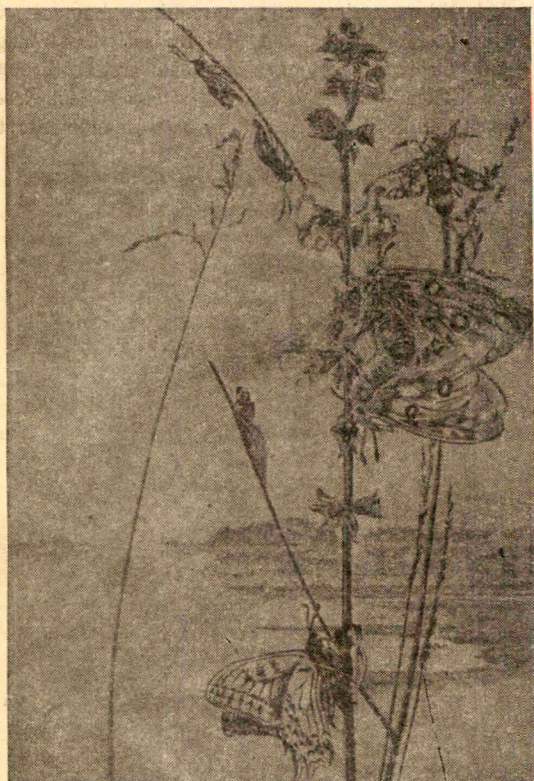
The Government has not yet done anything substantial to render the position of contemporary Indian artists on a sure, safe, and economical footing, not only by providing a large number of scholarships, prizes, and travelling bourses to deserving art-practioners, but also by active patronage by employing a large number of Indian artists, through important Commissions, to execute frescoes and decorations of public buildings and to raise monuments to



The Engine Room (dry point)
By Ture Jorgenson, Sweden

honour our great men and women. It is a mockery to bring International Exhibitions, before the status of practising Indian artists is placed on a sure, economic foundation to relieve the widespread unemployment prevalent amongst the qualified artists, who pour out from our many art-schools in India in large numbers, every year, seeking work and employment and finding none to their utter despair and frustration. If our artists cannot be employed in works of public and civic utilities to decorate our Town Halls, Assembly Buildings and Universities, it is better to close the doors of our Art Schools which are adding to the crowd of the educated unemployed. Several lakhs have been spent and are being spent

to assemble, to transport and to parade this huge show through the principal cities of India. The money could have been better utilized by purchasing a few of the outstanding pieces for permanent exhibition in a wing of our National Galleries.



Love-making butterflies (etching)
By Stig Asberg, Sweden

Turning now to the contents of some of the sections, not all of equal merit, we find that the Chinese section is the most impressive and the most popular one, escaping the modernistic "frightfulness" which dominates most of the other sections. The outstanding piece in this section is a large landscape on paper, depicting weird rocks, clouds, mists and foaming rivers. It has the characteristically Chinese manner of depicting a Chinese landscape. But the more outstanding and vital works are the black and white study of birds, horses and lotuses, which reveal wonderful mastery of brush-work, and impressionistic vision. A very popular piece in this section is a *genre* study of a grandfather with his grandchild reading

newspaper. It is from the brush of Chiang Chao-ho. It has power and simple beauty even if it is cheaply realistic without any great vision.

In the French section, not very representative or strong, with poor examples of Matisse and Picasso, the high-lights are provided by two Abstractionist landscapes, one here reproduced, representing Fernand Leger, one of the great masters of modern painting. The American section is full of many powerful Cubistic essays, disconcerting in their bravura and in the daring distortion of form. In a sober academic

vein of sentimental interest is a study of "Mother and Daughter" by Y. Kuniyoshi, a Japanese, naturalized in America, which gives some relief to the ordinary visitor, unable to sympathize with post-Impressionistic and Cubistic frightfulness. In black and white works the most rich and inspiring sections are those contributed by Sweden and Norway. There are here many original and impressive pieces of an extensive range of vision and treatment. An etching by S. Asberg, representing "Love-making Butterflies," is a conscientious study executed with a wonderful minutiae of details. A very weird design by T. Jorgenson, cryptically labelled as "Engine Room," is a powerful piece of creative invention depicting a shape of pre-historic animal form, suggested perhaps, by the gigantic shapes of fantastic motor appliances. It looks more like a gigantic black bear fondling its young one. Less enigmatic and more pleasing is a clever piece of "Patterning" (made by Escher, an artist from Netherlands) out of the reflexions of trees on a sheet of water, happily labelled as "Rippling."

The different phases of modernistic painting in Europe and America have evoked loud protests and trenchant criticisms not only from laymen, but also from academic painters, committed to the doctrine of accepting the function of Art as a picturesque and accurate presentation of forms of Nature, and that these distortions, deformities and abstractions are not the products of sober, normal or healthy vision. Most of the interpreters of the modern movements claim a charter of freedom from the tiresome necessity of learning to draw and other such-like quixotic accessories to the art of painting.

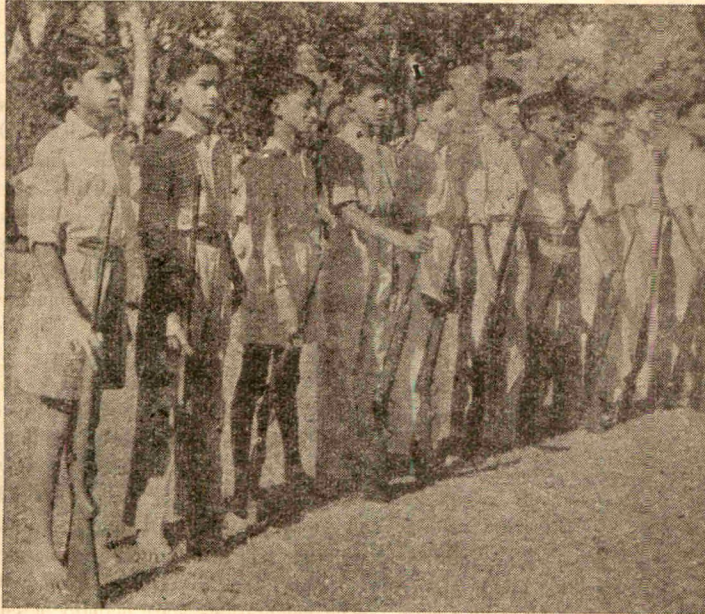
In most of these quixotic creations with fantastic and frightful distortions of form, the spectator is "invited to a display of artistic fire-works which does not always come off, but unmistakably smokes and splitters."



COORG, THE LAND OF THE KODAGAS

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

SITUATED on the eastern slopes of the Western Ghats, betraying monsoon, produces, besides coffee and pepper, surrounded by green-wooded mountains, is Coorg—the cardamom, oranges, and sugarcane. The Coorg forests Land of the Kodagas. This tiny state is noted for its supply all kinds of good wood and are the abodes of big game-hunting. The climate, as prevalent in all other hill-stations, is delightfully convincing, though a little too cold in winters.



Coorg lads preparing for an Army career

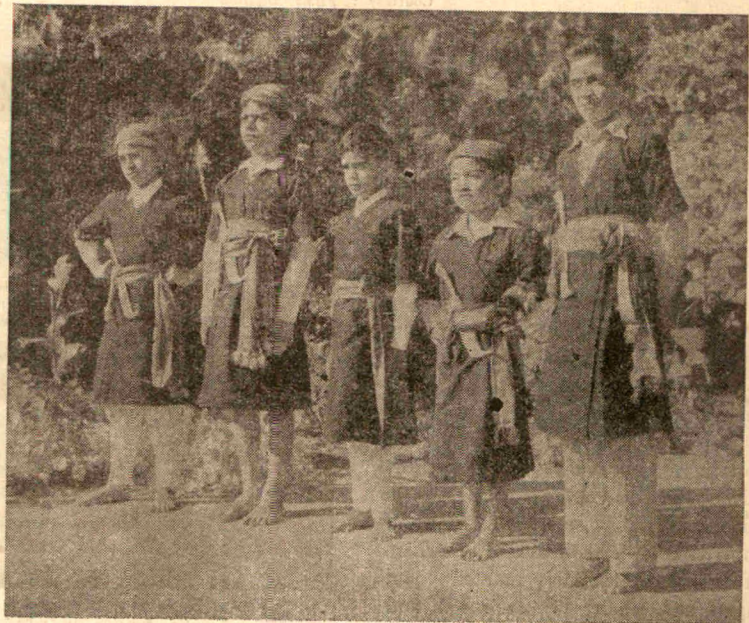
Courtesy : Films Division

irresistible charms of Nature and has been hailed as the "Scotland of India." Its delightful climate and the hospitality of the people welcome the visitors from all corners of the globe.

The journey to Coorg is highly exhilarating. There are no railways so that one has to depend on buses and cars which, however, are easily available from Mysore, about 80 miles away. Throughout the journey it is a feast for eyes to behold the marvellous creation of Nature, thick forests and bamboo bushes, rich coffee estates, the swift-flowing Caverry river, tiny waterfalls overflowing right through the winding road, and the avenue of trees of all sorts.

Besides being a tourist paradise, Coorg has a right to feel proud of its unique prosperity from the economic point of view. With an average rainfall of over 60 inches a year, it is one of the largest producers of coffee and pepper in the whole of India. Paddy is "scientifically" grown with the result that the output is almost double that of other states. The fertile soil, with un-

The inhabitants of Coorg, Kodagas as they are called, are noted for their personality, individuality and hospitality. Having been born and lived for centuries in mountain-homes amidst awful surroundings, the Coorgs, by their very nature, have become fearless, strong and aggressive. Rightly proud of their martial blood, thousands of Coorg youths today are serving in the Army with great skill and capacity. It is the Coorgs who have given us our first Indian Commander-in-Chief and Lieut. Gen. Thimmaya. They are seen holding today high posts in practically all walks of life. Their picturesque national dress certifies the fact that they are warriors by race though they are essentially "sons of the soil" and lovers of pastoral charms. Though Hindus by religion, the Coorgs have preserved their



Kodaga boys in their national costume

Courtesy : Films Division

society from some grave evils of Hinduism and have scant respect for the ever-dominating Brahmins.

Child-marriages, widowhood, and dowry system are unknown; and the fair sex holds the dominating position in all their walks of life. It is all due to the triumph



Hunting in the forest of Coorg

Courtesy : Films Division

of education which is widespread in the entire state of Coorg. The latest census has revealed that Coorg stands third in the whole of India in literacy. Kodugu is their mother-tongue which is a mixture of almost all South Indian languages.

The women of Coorg are noted for their personal charm, complexion and beauty. They are fastidious in their love of finery and show a pleasing taste for jewels and dressing. They have their own Coorgi style of sarees which is at once unique and arresting. The women of Coorg have shown a great advancement in the fields of Art, Music and Literature and have shown a superiority over their sisters elsewhere in India. Society has granted equal rights and dignity to their sex, and they have always been honoured in and outside their domestic life.

Mercara, the capital of Coorg, being 3800 ft. above sea-level, enjoys a peculiar distinction and is the centre of all gaieties. This lovely hill-station provides endless

charms which the visitors can never resist. Most of the houses are single-storeyed and are built on the slopes of hills while the roads are zigzag and up and down. Mercara has today a college, schools, a convent for girls, a cosmopolitan club, parks and a grand old fort where the Government offices and the Legislative Council are located.

No one will be more welcome to Coorg than a Nature-lover who will be sweetly thrilled and exhilarated by the majesty of green-wooded mountains which enclose this wonderful Kodaga land blessed by the bounty of Nature. The "Raja Seat" and the "Stewart Hills" present the visitors magnificent and serene sights of Nature's majesty which bring solace and unknown joy to human hearts. The far-off light-green mountain rows, nearby paddy fields, swift-flowing Cavery and thick bunches of trees have made the "Raja Seat" the most charming spot in the whole of Coorg. Every one has paid one's humble homage to this charming piece of land. "Coorg has been compared to Meru among mountains, jasmine among flowers, and to a string of pearls around the neck of an enchanting girl." The birth of the Cavery, India's sacred river, in the hills of Coorg has added more prestige and prosperity to the land.

A brief description of the Coorg wedding seems highly desirable to appreciate the customs and novelty of the Coorgs. The celebrations start actually a couple of days before the wedding day and there is great feasting in the nights. On the day of marriage the bride, winsome in magnificent dress and ornaments, is seated at the "mandapam," surrounded by men in

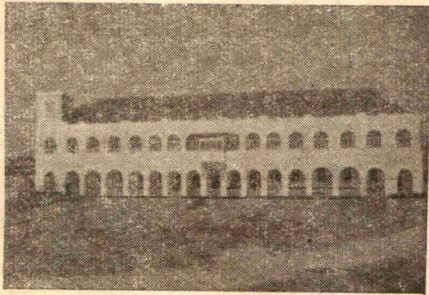


Stalks of rice being distributed by the chieftian during the Huttari festival

Courtesy : Films Division

their national costume and by women in dazzling and colourful attire. In the absence of the priest, some elderly persons, Aruvass as they are called, sing and

bless the bride. And then follows the long row of visitors who offer milk and give away the presents to the bride. All through this time similar proceedings will be carried on in the groom's place. A grand dinner is ready by now after which the Kodagas enjoy dancing in the open courtyard. Later, in the dusky hours, with the approach of nightfall, comes the groom with all his people handsomely dressed, cuts the six plantain trunks with a naked sword at each stroke, and meets the expectant bride. Again there are ceremonies, dinner, drinks and dancing to the tune of music and band. Finally the bride leaves the place with her husband in a mingled atmosphere of deep sorrow and unknown pleasure.

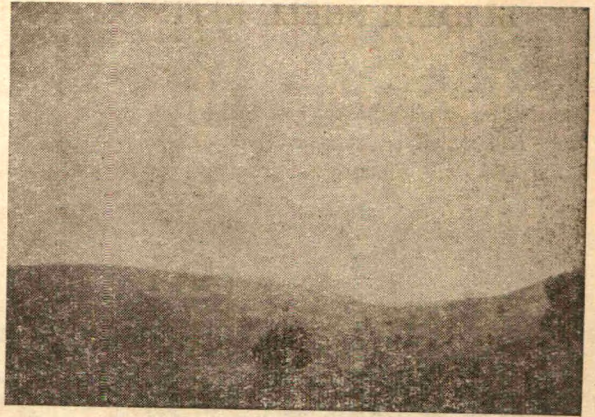


Public Offices Building, Fort, Mercara

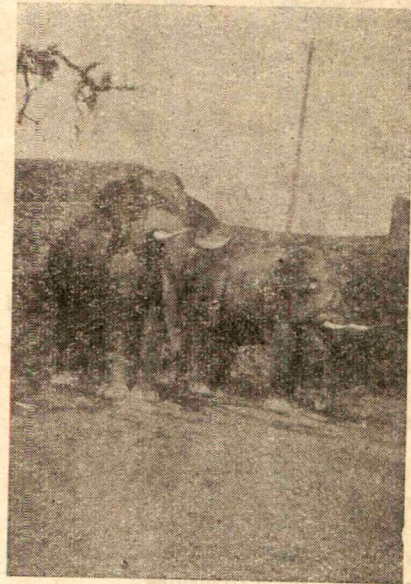
The Kodagas celebrate different festivals in their own delightful and convincing fashion. Among their more important festivals are the Thale-Cavery and the Huttari or the Harvest Feast, which comes off mostly in December. The Huttari dances are probably the most pleasing to behold. Kodagas, dressed in their picturesque national costume, with glittering "Odi Katti" and golden threads bordering their dress, amuse themselves and the encircled audience with their songs and dancing. And then one moonlit night, the chieftain of the town, followed by hundreds of men and women with lamps and plates of rice, slowly moves on to the nearby paddy-field and utters in a gentle voice—"Poli Poli Deva," while the others join him in their singsong tunes. In a solemn style he then cuts the first stalks and distributes among them. This new rice is proudly eaten with the first harvest meal.

Coorg thus presents the greatest holiday fun to its

visitors. It is always a great pleasure to meet these Coorgs who own this rich land, these peculiar customs

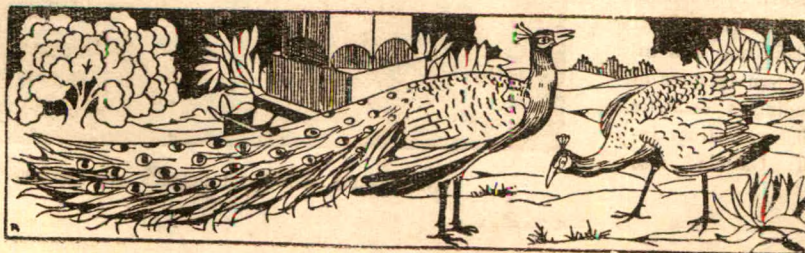


The Raja Seat, Coorg



The stone-elephants at Mercara, Coorg

and these glorious gifts of Nature. Coorg has almost everything that we want to see and enjoy.



BURMAH SHELL REFINERY TO SAVE 6 CRORES IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE

INDIA'S largest oil refinery, now being built by Burmah-Shell and which is expected to come on stream in early 1955, will produce the principal petroleum pro-

ducts. Twelve miles of road will be constructed, 400,000 cubic yards of earth will be moved and tankage to hold about 450,000 tons of oil will be erected. The largest diameter plant steel column will be 27 feet and the highest plant column will be 130 feet.



Foundation work for some of the larger units of the Refinery has already begun

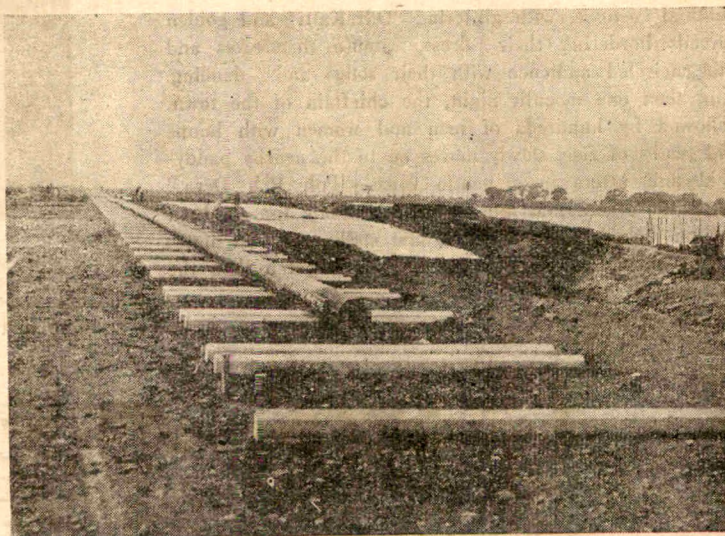
ducts, Motor Spirit, Kerosene, High Speed Diesel Oil, Light Diesel Oil, and Bitumen required in Indian market.

As a result of this the Government of India are expecting a saving in foreign exchange of between Rs. 4.3 to 6 crores per annum, due to the cheaper crude oil being imported, instead of the more expensive refined products.

The Rs. 25-crore Refinery, which will have a two-million ton refining capacity, is being designed by technical experts in the Royal Dutch Shell Group Offices in Holland and will incorporate the most modern features of refinery design, including a catalytic cracking unit which, apart from increasing the yield of Gasoline, also improves its quality.

The crude oil for the Burmah-Shell Refinery is expected to come from the Persian Gulf area and will be carried in tankers of up to 30,000 ton capacity. The tankers will use the new marine terminal at Butcher Island in Bombay Harbour.

A considerable portion of the 450-acre site at Trombay has now been cleared and levelled, roads built, storage sheds for sheltering materials and equipment from the monsoon erected and foundation work for some of the larger units of the refinery already begun.—BSIS.



New bund showing pipetrack and service road

MILE-STONES TO OUR FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Patriotic Movements and Associations of Early Nineteenth Century

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

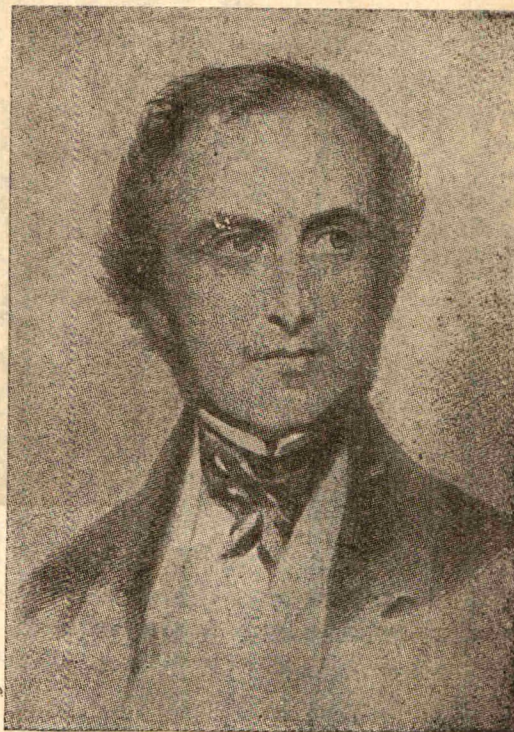
III

RACE-CONSCIOUSNESS AND RACE-ANTAGONISM

POLITICAL, social and cultural movements of the mid-forties were forging a change in the relations between the Indians and the Europeans, or at least their vocal sections. The Bengal British India Society and the Tattwabodhini Sabha instilled the spirit of self-help and self-assertion into our people, who would no longer tolerate European arrogance, or bow down to European leadership. A few instances may be cited. The elite of Calcutta, both Indian and European, assembled at a meeting on 24th December, 1847 to arrange for presenting an address to Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, on the eve of his departure from the country. It was due to the strenuous efforts of the Rev. K. M. Banerjea and Ramgopal Ghose that the resolution was so amended as to include a suitable reference to Lord Hardinge's services with regard to Indian education. In another amendment, Ramgopal moved for a statue of Lord Hardinge instead of a mere portrait to be hung in the Town Hall. The European leaders opposed both the amendments as a body, but it was due to the spirited and reasoned advocacy of Ramgopal Ghose that these were carried in full.¹ The next morning *The Englishman* eulogised the speech of Ramgopal for flooring three eminent barristers of the Calcutta Bar and gave him the epithet of Indian Demosthenes after the famous Greek orator, Demosthenes. This incident may appear trivial today. But it was a great pointer to the fact that the Europeans and Indians were very rapidly being estranged from one another even in non-political spheres.

The cause of education also suffered for this European arrogance. The Indian members of the managing committee of the Hindu College came to clash with its European members on the question of the retention of the services of a teacher, Kailas Chandra Bose, who had embraced Christianity. The frivolous manner in which the subject was treated in the managing committee as well as in the Council of Education by the European members that such a sober person as Prasanna Kumar Tagore got exasperated and resigned his hereditary governorship of the College.* The European members of the Committee and the Council did not scruple to act against the fundamental rules of the College by allowing the fresh Christian converts to remain there. This action of theirs resulted in the withdrawal of Raja Radhakant Deb from the College Committee

after his unstinted and continuous services for the period of thirty-four years.² The European section had at last to bow down to the popular demand in both the cases, but the bitterness engendered by the controversy between the parties remained for long and determined the course of their future actions.



John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune

DEFENSIVE MEASURES AGAINST THE MISSIONARIES

The Indian leaders grew more conscious of the anti-national activities of the Christian missionaries. But the latter were by then the *confidant* of the powers-that-be. Raja Radhakant drew the attention of Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the great orientalist and a sincere friend and well-wisher of India, to this menacing factor in the following words:

"Missionary influence is now on the ascendant; every department from the fountainhead of Government to the lowest course of office is infected with it."³

This influence culminated in the Government's passing the Lex Loci Act of 1850, which gave the

1. *Speeches of Ramgopal Ghose*, pp. 2-4.

* *Proceedings of the Hindoo College (1816-1850)*. Unpublished.

2. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

3. This and other letters of Radhakant were found copied in several MSS. volumes in his family library.

Christian converts the right of inheritance to the property of their Hindu parents. The Indian leaders protested against the measure to the Government here, and sent memorials to the Houses of Parliament in England. But every attempt of theirs proved abortive. This also goaded them to have recourse to self-help and self-assertion.



Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar

In a mammoth meeting held at the Oriental Seminary on 25th May, 1851, under the presidency of Raja Radhakant Deb, the Hindus resolved to accept the Christian or Mahomedan converts to their own fold even without any substantial penance on the latter's part. In its following issue on 5th June, 1851, *The Friend of India* editorially discussed the proceedings of the meeting and referred to the above resolution as "one of the most important events of the present (i.e., the nineteenth) century." In consequence mainly of this resolution, the "Patitoddhar Sabha," or the Society for the reclamation of the fallen, was formed with Raja Radhakant as president. A booklet was published in 1853-54 under the auspices of this Sabha. This pamphlet gave an account of the easy reclamation of the opulent Hindus who had gone astray and asked the people to help the poor converts whenever needed. It also referred to some services already rendered to the latter by some sections of the Hindus. The booklet contained an exhortation in Sanskrit for this purpose, styled as *Byabastha Patrika*, by one hundred Hindu Pundits of eminence belonging to different centres of Sanskritic studies all over Bengal. A periodical was published by Iswar Chandra Nandi, Principal of the Hindu Charitable Institution, in

August, 1852, for combating Christianity and the actions of the missionaries.

THE "BLACK ACTS"

Even towards the end of the 'forties the clash between the Indians and the Europeans grew more intense and vocal than could have been expected. And this was especially on the political plane. John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune came to India in April 1848 as 'Legal Member' to the Government of India. Within the first few months of his arrival he was able to make friends with Ramgopal Ghose, the most popular and active leader of the day. Both of them sat on the Council of Education, Bethune as President and Ramgopal as one of its members. It was, perhaps, here that they came to know each other's noble intentions closely. In his endeavours to found a female school, Bethune was largely assisted by Ramgopal and, through him, by his friends, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee and Pandit Madanmohan Tarkalankar. Bethune appreciated their services. He was bent to do his utmost for the good of the people.

Convinced of the legal anomaly of the treatment between the Indians and the Europeans, Drinkwater Bethune formulated four draft bills in late 1849 and early 1850, as Legal Member, and got them published in the *Calcutta Gazette*. These were meant for empowering the criminal courts in the mofussil to try cases in which Europeans were involved, and giving more power to the mofussil executive and judiciary for other purposes also. Since the Charter Act of 1833, and even after Macaulay's law of empowering the Civil Courts to try the civil suits of the Europeans, the latter had been moving in the mofussil districts as "free" Britons for the last fifteen years. They had developed a sense of racial arrogance and superiority over the weak and 'dependent' Indians. The Supreme Court of Calcutta only was eligible for trying the 'criminal' Europeans. Being far away in the mofussil, they could be hardly brought to book by that august tribunal. The menace of the "free" Britons was no less intense than that of the missionaries; it was eating into the vitals of both of our social and economic fabrics.

During the fifteen years after the passage of the Charter Act, the Europeans had been more numerous in the city and the mofussil, strong and organised. They had their spokesmen in the eminent Barristers of the Calcutta Bar, such as, Thomas Turton, Theodore Dickens and James Hume. Some of the influential newspapers of Calcutta also supported their cause. So, when the draft bills of Drinkwater Bethune appeared in the *Gazette*, the "free" Britons started a fierce agitation against them. They held meetings in the metropolis and spouted venom over their author. Like the previous Act of Macaulay, they nicknamed the bills as the "Black Acts."

THE INDIAN SUPPORT

The Indians also had by this time become conscious of the defective law and their untenable position. They gave their cordial support to the proposed laws, especially those which sought to remove the legal discrimination. Ramgopal Ghose gave vent to these feelings of his countrymen in a pamphlet, called *Remarks on the "Black Acts."* In this pamphlet Ramgopal narrated the history of the attempts at removing this anomaly during and after the passage of the Charter Act of 1833, refuted the arguments of the "free" Britons for retention of the defective law and referred to the glaring instances of tyranny and oppression by the Europeans in the districts, which was only possible for their exemption from the jurisdiction of the mofussil criminal courts. This pamphlet exposed the hollowness and unjustness of the European agitation against the proposed Acts.

The Europeans were so much insensed with the pamphlet that they voted the removal of its author Ramgopal from the Vice-Presidentship of the Agri-Horticultural Society in January, 1850! It should be noted that Ramgopal was elected to the post in January, 1845, by the Europeans, who all along formed the majority in the Society.† It was also due to the liberal donation of Ramgopal that the Agri-Horticultural Society could be removed to the newly built Metcalfe Hall, where the Calcutta Public Library was housed. On this shabby treatment meted out to Ramgopal *The Friend of India* wrote a long editorial in its issue of 17th January, 1850, strongly condemning this action. Appreciative references were made in the editorial to the valuable services rendered to the Society for several years by Ramgopal. Amongst other things, the paper wrote that "A scientific institution like the Agri-Horticultural Society might, one would have thought, have been kept uncontaminated with political animosities." This insult of Ramgopal was too much for the people to go unchallenged.

The Government of the day could not, however, boldly face the European agitation. They were forced to withdraw the Bills. But 'good cometh out of evil.' This served as an eye-opener to the educated Indians. The virtue of united efforts, may-be for an unjust cause, manifested itself to them. The Lex Loci Act of 1850, to which I have referred already, showed the people which way the wind was blowing. Many attempts had hitherto been made for united action. The Landholders' Society and the Bengal British India Society which once did yeomen's service to the cause of our nationalism, did not last long due to popular indifference and party dissensions. Now these onslaughts on the educational, social and political spheres

once again roused the educated and opulent sections of the country to unite together and counter-act the activities of the interested parties and strengthen the hands of those who represented the good causes. The consequence was that the leaders this time resolved to found an association at least for three years for safeguarding our national interests. Moreover, the renewal of the Company's Charter was imminent, being due in 1853. They should present a united voice for the reform and reconstruction of the Government of India in such a way that the amelioration of the condition of the people might be assured.



Rajendra Lala Mitra

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Discussion continued for some time amongst the leaders. A political association was formed, and christened the National Association on 14th September, 1851, under influential auspices. The object of the Association was generally to adopt 'measures which may contribute to the welfare of the country.' The Association was "to be composed of members of all classes of the subjects of this empire, without any distinction of caste, creed or colour." The object of the Association was further explained as follows:

"That by the help of this Association we may be able to assert our legal rights by legitimate means, it is resolved to apply for any amendment or reform, as the case may be, either to the Local Government or to the authorities in England."

The Association was to continue for three years. The Charter would be renewed during this time, so it was deemed necessary to 'have an agent in that

† *The Friend of India* for January 16, 1845 : Weekly Ept. of News, Thursday, January 9.

4. *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, 26th September, 1851.

time in England to lay before the Imperial Parliament our wants and grievances when that question comes on for discussion before that body.' The promoters of the Association were conscious of their past failures, so this time they solemnly declared that 'we will do all that lies within the sphere of our respective means and abilities, for the furtherance of these objects.' Debendra Nath Tagore was appointed secretary to the National Association with an establishment to assist him. It should be noted here that the term 'National' has been applied to an association of this nature for the first time. Because the Association aimed



Rajendra Dutt

at fulfilling objects, which were 'national,' and not local or regional or of any particular class or community. On the formation of the National Association, *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* (18th September, 1851) wrote :

"We have assurance, that such men as Baboos Prosunno Coomar Tagore and Debendernath Tagore will never associate their names with an undertaking which they do not hope to carry out . . . This time we have independent and honourable men for leaders and prime movers."

THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

To make the Association truly national, the leaders and prime movers of the Association widened its scope and included both the landed as well as the intellectual aristocracy in its fold. Rules were prepared for the reconstituted body. The National Association was transformed into the British Indian Association, just after a month and a half after its

foundation. For at least a quarter of a century, this Association served the whole country as its accredited spokesman. Really speaking, the British Indian Association was the first national political body in the whole of the British territories in India.

The establishment of the British Indian Association on 29th October, 1851, signalled a new era in the history of our political progress during the modern times. Leaders of the conservative and the progressive section veered round the Association for the first time for the fulfilment of common political ends. It was placed on a sound footing, and its permanence was assured, though, started at first for three years only. The objects were concisely and more clearly put in the following lines :

"That a society be formed for a period of not less than three years under the denomination of the British Indian Association, and that the object of this Association shall be to promote the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian Government by every legitimate means in its power, and thereby to advance the common interests of Great Britain and India and ameliorate the condition of the native inhabitants of the subject territory."⁵

It is not known to many that Raja Pratap Chandra Singh of Paikpara was the convener of the National Association. He was also instrumental in transforming this body into the British Indian Association. Pratap Chandra Singh should be honoured as the principal promoter of the British Indian Association. The Association had on its executive committee the flowers of the Indian community of the time, such as, Raja Radhakant Deb (President), Raja Kalikrishna and Raja Pratap Chandra Singh (Vice-Presidents), Raja Satya Charan Ghosal, Harakumar Tagore, Ramanath Tagore, Durga Charan Datta, Jay Krishna Mukherjee, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Asutosh Deb, Harimohan Sen, Ramgopal Ghose, Pearychand Mitra (Members), Debendra Nath Tagore (Secretary) and Digambar Mitra (Assistant Secretary). The committee was strengthened and reshuffled by the addition of such intellectuals as Harish Chandra Mukherjee of *The Hindoo Patriot*, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Kishory Chand Mitra, Dakshinaraman Mukherjee, Raja Iswar Chandra Singh (also of Paikpara), Chandra Sekhar Deb and several others.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The leaders of the Association appear to have followed the motto both in letter and in spirit since its foundation. The Association thrashed out each and every draft proposal of the Government and gave its views fearlessly and in a straightforward manner. But during the first two years of its start its leaders were preoccupied with the preparation and presentation of a petition to the Houses of Parliament on the

5. *The Citizen*, 18th November, 1851, as also *The Friend of India* for 27th November, 1851.

eve of the renewal of the Charter. In order to act unitedly, the Association's Secretary, Debendra Nath Tagore, issued a letter to the leaders of Bombay, Poona, Madras and of the Upper Provinces to present a single petition to the Parliament; because the object being the same, that is, reform and reconstruction of the Indian Government for the well-being of the people, a common petition would prove to the foreigners that we were one and indivisible, and could act unitedly for a common purpose. This memorable letter* of Debendra Nath roused the leaders of the other provinces to political action. A branch association of the Calcutta body was founded in Madras. The Deccan Association of Poona and the Bombay Association were started during 1852 on the model of the British Indian Association of Calcutta.⁶ For their provincial bias, they could not act unitedly with the Calcutta Association. But the petitions they separately sent to the Parliament were largely in conformity with the one of the British Indian Association.

The Association's petition, regarded as the charter of our constitutional agitation for political freedom, covered all the aspects of the Indian administration. It emphasised immediate introduction of two things at least, namely, (1) representative Government for India on the colonial lines, whereby majority of the members in the legislature would be Indians, and (2) the Civil Service examination simultaneously in India and England, so that the Rule 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 might be translated into action. It also stressed the reform of the judiciary and the police, spread of education, importance of agricultural and industrial improvement, and so on. The Association appointed a permanent agent in London to work on their behalf.

THE INDIAN REFORM SOCIETY

Even then India had several ardent friends and well-wishers abroad. John Bright and Richard Cobden, the two prominent liberal leaders, and members of Parliament, were on our side and did not hesitate to espouse our cause, whenever needed. On the occasion of the renewal of the Charter in 1853, these and other friends established the Indian Reform Society. The object of the Society was generally to look after the interests of the Indian people, and particularly to have important alterations made in the Charter Bill. The British Indian Association welcomed the formation of the Society. In its monthly general meeting, held on 6th May, 1853, the following resolution was passed :

"That this meeting has learnt with lively feelings of satisfaction of the formation of the Indian Reform Society, that the committee be

requested to correspond with that Society, and keep it informed of the wants of the country; and as a proof of the great interest, the Association takes in the success of the Society, and in furtherance of its objects a contribution be forwarded by the committee by the first mail."⁷

The Indian Reform Society rendered valuable services during the discussion of the Charter Bill in the Houses of Parliament. At some stage of the discussion it sought to postpone legislation till sufficient information had been obtained. With the view to enlighten the public mind on the questions to be brought before Parliament, the Society published



Motilal Seal

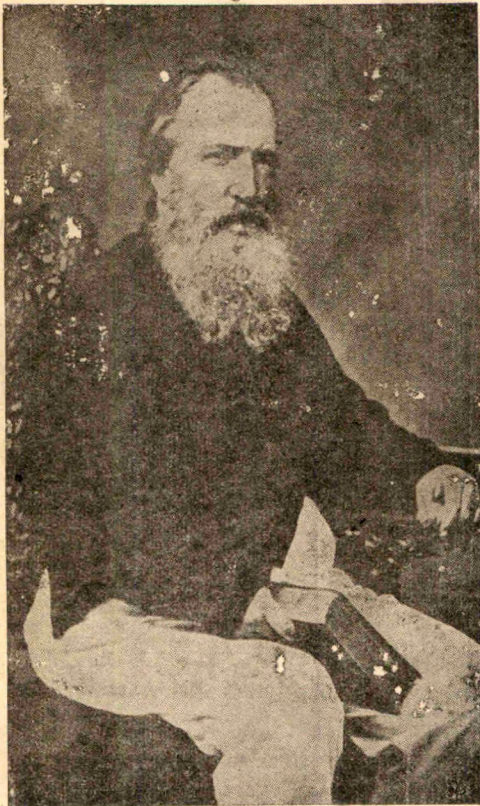
from time to time several important pamphlets, written by authors of extensive local knowledge and experience. The Society even went one step further. It deputed its President, Delby Sigmour, M.P., to India to collect first-hand information on the spot during 1853. He arrived at Madras and toured some places in Southern India for searching enquiries. He had to return to England from Bombay and could not come down to Calcutta. But the British Indian Association found in the Society its worthy prototype. Its committee kept on regular correspondence with the London Society, supplied important materials and sent occasional remittances, raised from amongst its members. The service of the Indian Reform Society did not go unnoticed even by the Indian public. A general meeting of the people was held on 26th June, 1853, at the Hindu Metropolitan College, at which

* Substantial portions of this letter have been quoted in *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* by C. F. Andrews and Girija Mukerji (1938), pp. 105-7.

6. *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*, December 9, 1852.

7. *The Hindu Intelligencer*, 30th May, 1853.

resolutions were passed acknowledging the services of the Society and for raising a subscription for contribution to its funds. On behalf of the meeting, the committee of the British Indian Association remitted a contribution of £500 to the Society out of the subscriptions raised for the purpose. After the renewal of the Charter, the Society continued for some years more. At the time of the transfer of the Indian Government to the Crown in 1858, John Bright kept watch on the Bill for Transference on behalf of non-official India, as president of the Indian Reform Society.



The Rev. James Long

THE NATIONAL PROTESTS : THE HINDOO METROPOLITAN INSTITUTION

The British Indian Association watched the proceedings in the Parliament from here, and took every opportunity to voice the popular feeling for or against any actions or utterances there. One such instance should be especially mentioned. Frederick Halliday (afterwards 'Sir' and first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) cast aspersions on Indian character in the course of his evidence before the Select Committee of the Parliament. As mouthpiece of the nation, the British Indian Association organised a huge public meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall on 29th July, 1853.

This meeting was said to be 'more numerous than any that ever assembled within those walls,' and 'it was composed of persons of all classes of the native community.' Ramgopal Ghose, the popular leader and one of the prominent members of the Association, made a vigorous speech, refuting the charges of Frederick. The proceedings of the meeting demonstrated to the British public what were really the sentiments of their Indian fellow subjects. The Association convened similar public meetings at different times for popular education as also for sanction to their proposals.

The spirit of protest and self-assertion was not confined to political matters only. The autocracy of the British officials had died hard, and followed a course quite unsuited to the growing self-consciousness of the community. The Hindu College was a hard nut for the official hierarchy to crack. The latter had, however, by this time, almost become its controlling authority. They admitted an undesirable into the College, which the Hindu community took strong exception to. Their sentiments were not respected. Their leaders rose equal to the occasion. Just like Debendranath Tagore in the former decade, Rajendra Dutt of the famous Dutt family of Wellington, took the initiative in giving practical shape to these sentiments, collected together the great leaders and formed an influential committee for the establishment of a national college under the sole management of the national leaders. The result was the Hindoo Metropolitan College, the inaugural meeting of which was held on 2nd May, 1853. The College opened on the day with David Lester Richardson, the famous educationist and ex-Principal of the Hindu College, Hugli College and Krishnagar College, and a galaxy of teachers on the instructing staff. The latter included Pandit Ramnarain Tarkaratna, the famous playwright and author of *Kulinkula-Sarbaswa*. The college was founded on the nucleus of the David Hare Academy and the Seal's Free College, thanks to the self-sacrificing spirit of Gurucharan Dutt and Motilal Seal, their respective founder-proprietors. Motilal Seal also made an endowment for the college by the gift of properties, the monthly income of which was Rs. 500. It should be stated here that many private institutions, of junior and senior standard, were established in the mofussil by private initiative and enterprise, along with the Government institutions, which were necessarily fewer in number. These institutions, whether political or educational, were purely national, because the initiative and resources of these institutions as also their founders, and personnel of their committees were all Indian.

THE CULTURAL SOCIETIES AND SABHAS

But this was not strictly the case with the cultural societies and Sabhas of the period. The prominent among

8. *Ibid*, 16th May, 1853.

them should be referred to here, however briefly, as their contribution to the building-up of our life and culture as well as to the growth of our sense of nationality was not negligible. The first of these was the 'Vernacular Literature Society.' This was a mixed body of Europeans and Indians where, at first, the Europeans predominated. The Society was founded in December, 1850, with Drinkwater Bethune as President. The members of the Society included such prominent figures as Raja Radhakant Deb, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Joykrishna Mukherjee of Uttarpara, who first mooted the proposal. The Rev. James Long was a valuable addition to the Society later on. The object of the Society was to bring out Bengali publications through translation of the English books of general knowledge. The Society sometimes published original treatises also. *Bibidhartha Sangraha* was brought out by the Society in the middle of 1851 under the editorial management of Rajendra Lala Mitra, the great archaeologist and political thinker of the latter days. James Long devoted his life for the collection of Bengali books and propagation of Bengali through his writings. He later on became famous as publisher of the English translation of *Nil-Darpan*, for which he courted imprisonment during the early 'sixties. It was while he was searching for the Urdu manuscripts in Delhi in the mid-fifties that the Rev. Long witnessed the serious discontent and disaffection amongst the common people there against the British Government. This resulted in the outbreak of the Sepoy Revolt, mis-called the Sepoy Mutiny.

The Bethune Society was formed on 11th December 1851 in memory of Bethune who breathed his last in the previous August. Though Dr. F. J. Mouat was the principal promoter of the Society, yet it was mainly Indian in character, the majority of its members and sympathisers being sons of the soil. The first secretary was Pearychand Mitra, and, on the committee sat most of the influential and intellectual Indians of the day. Science, literature, arts, education, social and sanitary matters—everything pertaining to the improvement of our culture could be discussed in its monthly and special meetings. But politics were eschewed for all time. Many European and Indian worthies read discourses and delivered lectures before the Society. The first of the kind was delivered by Dr. Suryakumar Goodeve Chuckervertty on the sanitary improvement of Calcutta. The paper of Col. Goodwyn on the importance of Industrial Arts led to the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Arts. The Art School of Calcutta was founded by this Society in 1854 on a very sound footing, and it is now hundred years old. During the 'fifties, discussions in the Bethune Society were responsible for many movements of national importance.

The Society for Social Improvement (or, *Samaajnatibidhayini Suhrid Samity*) of Kishory

Chand Mitra, founded on 15th December, 1854, conducted regular discussion on social improvement. Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore was its president and Kishory Chand Mitra and Akshoy Kumar Datta, Editor of *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, secretaries. Among its members were such nontable figures as Harischandra Mukherjee, Pearychand Mitra, Gourdas Bysak, and others. The Society directed their attention to the improvement of the condition of the females. A girl school was started. It also mooted for the re-marriage of the Hindu widows. And when Pandit



Kaliprasanna Singh

Iswarchandra Vidyasagar was agitating for this purpose, the Society assisted him materially. A largely signed memorial was forwarded to the Government at a time when there was strong opposition against the Widow Re-marriage Bill of the Government.

The Bidyotsabini Sabha of Kaliprasanna Sinha, though mainly a literary body, supported the cause of the widow-remarriage by more ways than one. The Sabha not only sent petition to the Government in support of the Widow-Remarriage Bill, but its founder-secretary, Kaliprasanna Singha offered a reward of thousand rupees to each and every person marrying a widow. Other questions of social improvement also received its attention. On its literary side, special lectures and dissertations were arranged and discussed. It also encouraged the composition of dramas for play on its own stage. The Sabha gave an

address to Michael Madhusudan Dutt on the completion of his *Meghnadbadh Kavya*. It should be said here to the credit of Kaliprasanna Singha that he at once deposited to the Court one thousand rupees of fine, the part of the punishment of the Rev. Long given him for his publication of the translation of *Nil-Darpan*.

The Family Literary Club of Burrabazar, Calcutta, was another cultural institution of long standing, where the intellectual Indians and Europeans met, and the best that was in the Eastern and Western culture was discussed. It was founded on 27th April, 1857, just a few days before the outbreak of the 'Mutiny,' but the ascerbities of the 'Mutiny' and the ill-born legacy that it left for many decades to come, never touched the members of the Family Literary Club. It was from the third year that the Rev. Long presided over its deliberations for long seven years. It was here through a speech of Long, on 27th April, 1866, that the Social Science Association of much unity was first germinated.

RACIAL ANIMOSITY: THE "BLACK ACT" AGAIN

By 1857, English education had spread through Government and private institutions. The Indians, at least their educated section, had imbibed the Western thought and culture. The current of national upheavals in the States of Europe was also reaching the shores of India with all their social and political implications. The British Indian Association agitated for our political rights and privileges, sometimes in the shape of petitions and memorials to the higher authorities here or in England and sometimes by holding public meetings in order to focus public opinion on different political matters. The Universities were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras almost simultaneously in the first half of 1857. Higher education, both in its cultural and literary aspects, came to be regulated and controlled by them. Different cultural and literary societies systematically disseminated knowledge and education of a higher as well as a popular sort to the people. A sense of self-consciousness amongst our educated sections had grown to a degree, and there was no way going back. In the face of such an attitude, the arrogance and self-styled superiority of the Britishers were simply intolerable. Racial antagonism between the Indians and the Europeans was the inevitable result. An event soon happened when this antagonism manifested itself in naked colours.

The so-called "Black Act" was again placed on the Legislative anvil in early January by Sir J. P. Grant, the Legal Member and the future Lt.-Governor of Bengal. It was just like throwing a stone at a hornet's nest. The Europeans assembled at a meeting in the Town Hall in early February. They had now

been thoroughly organised. They had their spokesmen in the Calcutta newspapers. They were moving heaven and earth and would on no account give respite to the Government for calm consideration of the matter. The Indians too had been vocal. They would not take things lying down. The British Indian Association gave the lead. A public meeting was organised under its auspices on 6th April, 1857, in support of the proposed Act. In the absence of Raja Radhakant Deb, permanent President of the Association, Raja Kalikrishna, presided over the meeting. The speakers included Raja Pratap Chandra Singha, Rajendra Lala Mitra, Joykrishna Mukherjee, Digumbar Mitra and Ramanath Tagore. George Thompson, who had come to India again, was present in the meeting and lent his wholehearted support to the proposed Act. In a letter to the President, Dr. Alexander Duff gave his full support to the objects of the meeting and wanted the legal discrimination to be removed as early as possible. Several resolutions were passed. The main resolution speaks for itself and runs thus:

"That in the deliberate judgment of the meeting, justice and sound policy as well as the altered circumstances of the country require that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects within Her Majesty's Indian Dominions should, in all cases of criminal prosecution for whatsoever description of offence, be amenable to the same laws and be tried by the same tribunals, and no sections of the community should, by reason of place of birth, or religion, or official position, possess any exclusive privilege or supposed advantage, distinguishing them in the eye of the law from the rest of their fellow subjects. This meeting, therefore, earnestly hopes that the principle that no class of Her Majesty's subjects should be exempted from the criminal jurisdiction of any of the mofussil courts will be fully tried out in the scheme of criminal procedure now under the consideration of the Legislative Council."

Race-antagonism prevailed for some time on this account. One interesting incident happened. In his speech, Rajendra Lala Mitra, spoke of some of the Englishmen here as 'sweepings of the British Society.'⁹ This enraged the Europeans so much that, like Ramgopal Ghose in the early 'fifties, he was removed from the committee of the Photographic Society of India, of which he was the first Secretary and Treasurer! For the outbreak of the Mutiny in early May, the Government of India could not proceed with the Bill further. The race-antagonism of the Britishers found a suitable outlet in the 'Mutiny' to wreak vengeance upon the Bengalis with redoubled force. But that is another story.

9. Detailed proceedings of the "Native Meeting" were published in *The Hindu Intelligencer* for 13th and 27th April and 4th May, 1857.

10. *The Hindoo Patriot* for 27th August, 1857.

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Three

MAKING THE MOST OF MAKE-BELIEVE

By St. NIHAL SINGH

VI*

THE room in which I found myself on a winter's afternoon in 1942 bore witness to the refined taste of its owner-occupant. This in a quiet, unostentatious but nevertheless unmistakable way. It bespoke of his affluence, too. Self-acquired affluence, it suggested, for wealth that descends through the paternal pipe-line flows fast and floods. Superfluity had been barred from this room with a high hand. The furnishings reflected likewise taste—restrained taste. There were no gaudy effects that jar my sensitive and (I fear) somewhat finicking soul in many a home that I, in my never-ending periprinations, visit in all parts of the Motherland. What ornaments there were bore the stamp of a collector who had travelled widely and had bought with care a piece at a time, carrying in his mind the earlier acquisitions with which the new one or ones would have to be associated.

While I was wondering if the owner-occupant, who was one of the busiest men in any profession or in politics in Calcutta, could make the time even to dip into the volumes ranged tier upon tier on yellowy-grey metal shelves, he noiselessly sauntered into the withdrawing room (as Thackeray, in his day in that very metropolis would have said). Genial by nature, at sight of one he had known since his student days abroad, he beamed at me and shook my hand in his hearty, vigorous way. We had not met for many a moon. His first words were in the nature of an anxious inquiry about the accident that had befallen me a little earlier while coming down holy Kamakhya hill on a dark night without lantern or torch. I took a step or two to show him that Dame Nature, coaxed and courted by the medical attendants, had been gracious and I could walk on my own power without limping. Having thus relieved him of any anxiety he felt about me, I remarked :

"Now I am here so that you may enlighten me as to what has been happening in this Presidency while I perforce have been unable to pay my periodical visits to it. I spoke of this to you over the telephone."

"That I shall," he promised.

Just that split second there was a noise as of a door opening at some distance—of shuffling of

feet and of steps becoming more and more audible. At the approach of a well-fed figure, we all (for Mrs. St. Nihal Singh had, as usual, accompanied me) got up. My host advanced, shook by the hand the caller, who, as I thought, had dropped in at an hour when the busiest of persons can make time for a chat over a cup of tea. Presuming that I was meeting him for the first time my host said : "Our Chief Minister, Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlul Haq."

I expressed pleasure at meeting Fazlul, as half the world called him, and asked :

"Where is your kinsman, my young friend Syud Hussain? I have not set eyes on him since he, years ago, left us in London and scampered off to my old stamping ground (the United States of America)."

I forget what reply he made. Perhaps that he did not know precisely where that gypsy was at the moment. Evidently my mind was too much occupied comparing the newly made acquaintance with an old, old friend to take in the reply, even if it had not been a polite nothing.

For the-sake of the generation that is now growing up unacquainted with the old-stagers, let me add, *en passant* that Syud's whole frame thrilled at merely the mention of the Motherland. I remember he, early in the nineteen-tens, rolled up his shirt sleeves and doubled up his fist to settle an account with a Briton (or was he a colour-conscious Colonial?) who had, in a stage-whisper, spoken disparagingly to his companion of these "niggers" crowding the sidewalks of the Empire's capital. He was incapable of herding Muslims in a separate political corridor and spoke to me, with no little heat, of the imperialistic machinations that were keeping them at logger-heads with the Hindus.

And here was Fazlul. By the separatist ladder he had climbed into the highest seat in the Presidency save that occupied by his mightiness stationed as the supreme imperialist agent there. What of his allegiance to the Mother?

While I was complimenting myself on the opportunity furnished by the God of Chance for me to try to probe the depths of the first minister's heart there was again noise of a door opening at some distance, of shuffling of feet and of steps becoming more and more audible as they proceeded us-wards. At approach of a heavier-set figure than Fazlul's we all stood up once again and

* The section numbers are continuous with those in articles 1 and 2 in the September and October, 1953, issues of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

shook hands with the fresh arrival and expressed joy at his coming.

VII

At least upon my part the joy was genuine. I had not come upon Syama even on our side of India since some weeks earlier he (on December 11, 1941, to be exact) had chosen to associate himself with the man alongside whom he now sat facing us three. What had induced him to do so? That thought had crossed my mind time and again. It was scarcely of a kind that could be asked on paper, so I had waited till our next meeting, which I expected to occur any day.

Ambition? That potent impulsion could not be ruled out, despite all the credit I gave him for his devotion to the Mother's cause (of this I wrote in the previous article).

That the Finance Portfolio had been placed in his capable hands seemed to argue that he might be feeding the flame of self-aggrandizement. But I was sure, without entering into any pact that might adversely affect any patriotic interest. I had the completest confidence in his integrity.

There was, however, something more to be said and considered. What mortal man would resist the opportunity to jump into the penultimate step on the presidential government ladder and that at a single bound?

Could Fazlul offer less to the head of the Hindu Sabha of that province, or could that head accept less with any sense of values—with self-dignity?

I thought of his father. Some one had suggested Asutosh in connection with the post on the Governor-General's Council—verily a steel ring thrown round the Mother's neck—that John (later the Viscount) Morley who, after the coming of the Liberals into power in 1905, had been sent to the India Office, was so keen on giving an Indian that he threatened to resign to overcome King-Emperor Edward's unwillingness. Lord Minto, who had fought and bled for the Empire and governed the original Dominion, (as Canada, not yet fully out of Britain's leading strings, was called by the romancers), and was playing the *divide et impera* game more furiously than it had ever been done before, would not hear of it. The High Court Judge was of too independent a nature tamely to toe any line that might have been laid for him. The job had gone to "S.P". Sinha (afterwards created at Edwin Samuel Montagu's instance, a Baron of the British realm), who had a remarkable gift for adjusting himself to any position so long as it was far removed from radicalism.

What on earth had induced Asutosh's second son to cohort with Fazlul?

At that moment Syama was, in fact, the head

of the All-India Hindu Sabha. "Working President" was, I seem to recall, the title he bore.

The moment was dismal. Following the outbreak of hostilities the British had rushed India headlong into the conflagration that in time was to spread to eastern India and beyond. They did not have the decency to seek the consent of the Legislative Assembly that they themselves had haltingly created. They doubtless funk'd such a reference.

They had packed the Assembly with all the yes-men they could contrive to run into it. There were, in addition, the Muslim Leaguers, acting in a solid block as Mohamed Ali Jinnah (whom I first met in 1910 with an introduction given me at Lord Morley's behest) willed. At so crucial a juncture as this he was sure to calculate as to how he could place the Indian National Congress at a disadvantage and thereby further the separatist designs from which the Mahatma Gandhi had tried again and again to wean him but had only succeeded in making him the more intransigent.

Even then the Tory British agent in India (Lord Linlithgow) would not take the risk of the legislature refusing him support. That support, he knew, was undeniably vital to the successful prosecution of the war that, at least in its initial stage, was almost to overwhelm his people and those who had cared or dared to join them. So he bulldozed the people in his iron grip.

No individual or organization in India had the power to prevent the aliens in the Indian saddle from using our armed might and our raw materials in any way or to any extent they chose to employ them. The Congress, however, decided to make them suffer the consequences of the affront they had offered us. Under orders from the High Command Ministers answerable to it were withdrawn and the onus of running those particular provinces was thrown upon the imperialists.

The high-mindedness of this action was not doubted by any devotee of Mother India. Its expediency was, however, questioned by many a politician. By none more than by Syama and his associates of the Hindu Mahasabha. He was of the view, as he put it to me, that the withdrawal of Congress Governments from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (now Uttar Pradesh), Bombay and Madras would place the people inhabiting those vast areas wholly at the mercy of the bureaucracy, always unscrupulous when imperialist interests were in jeopardy and now frenzied and desperate. Jinnah's legionaries would, in the meantime, function as merrily as ever. With the junta in office in the Punjab—the principal recruiting ground—the British would be enabled to replenish the wastage in the Indian armed forces as it occurred and also to raise fresh battalions.

He was apprehensive, moreover, that the disorders that were sure to result from the Congress-Government clash would intensify repression to an extent so far unheard of. Nothing, in his opinion, could throw the British into Jinnah's arms—arms always eagerly extended towards them—as this move would do.

The event threw upon the Sabha, he felt, a responsibility almost too onerous to shoulder. To evade it, however, was fraught with the direst consequences. The unholy concert of the imperialists and the Leaguers would, he feared, work havoc to the Hindus. The weal of the majority community was in jeopardy.

I nevertheless felt that all the nationalist forces in the country must cohere. At core all were one. Whatever differences existed between them were in respect of the *modus operandi* and not about the goal. If conjoint action was ever needed, this was the moment for it.

The separatists would, I was convinced, go their way. They might feign to go independently. In so doing they would not deceive any one save, perhaps, themselves. This for a simple reason. The way of the separatists might run parallel to that of the bureaucrats: but only for a while. The two would, in course of time, meet and become one. The sham would be exposed and exposed soon enough.

Given goodwill and plenty of patience, the anti-imperialist front could have been organized, since the objective of the Hindu Sabha did not vary, even by a hair's breadth, from that of the Congress. Both were desirous of shattering the shackles.

The Liberals—or the “Moderates,” as they by their political opponents were called,—felt the fetters as keenly as did the others. Temperamentally they might be opposed to shattering them. Filing them was more in their line.

In the atmosphere heated by the war and the contentions roused by the high-handed manner in which Britain had joined India in the conflict differences existing between one school of Indian nationalist thought and another were not ironed out (as Americans say). While I could see just exactly how each of them, for lack of what the scientists call a catalytic agent, they failed to combine, I could not but deplore our inability to take concerted action. A heave at that fateful hour—a heave conjointly upon the part of all nationalists—and the imperialists would have had to come to terms with us or be thrown out.

VIII

Syama had not only disapproved of the resignation tendered by the Congress Ministers, but had, as I remarked before, got into Bengal's government. And now on that winter afternoon he sat

side by side with his chief in the parlour of one who was on terms of friendship with them and us and who, out of the kindness of his heart, contrived that meeting had, I perceived more and more clearly as we got to talking while munching the delicious looches* and Singharas† that were being served piping hot. He had brought us together so that we could, in complete privacy, informally discuss matters. Syama and Fazlul had not casually dropped in.

If the drawing room offers advantages for the exchange of views, conventions cramp conversation. It must be confined in channels approved by the social code, which sets bounds to the pursuit of enquiries. Proprieties have to be observed, particularly when a pair of sharp feminine ears are listening to every word that is being uttered and a pair of sharp eyes are measuring the heightening or blanching of colour in the countenances of the persons with whom her spouse is having a word that might easily degenerate into squabble.

During my lengthy experience I have angled in many mental waters. Never, however, have I paid out line so liberally or at such speed or with such patience, or certainly been so extravagant in putting into it every milligramme of skill I had acquired, as I did that afternoon. And the catch?

I blessed my stars that I had not been on an assignment. Had I to empty the net on an editorial table the sight of the minnows unloaded would have shocked my compeers of the diurnal journalistic conference and I would have been abased in my own eyes.

Strange to relate, therein lay the reward for my lengthy angling. I had pursued salmon. I had landed a gauge.

It was a gauge for measuring the difficulties that Syama was encountering every split second of his administrative life—difficulties that must have chased him in the house and even the bed-chamber. That was a gain that would be cheap at any price.

The gauge not only was for Syama, but also for the man who, subject only to Providence's junior partner (the supreme British agent in Calcutta), dominated that huge, multi-millioned Presidency. I hardly needed to be reminded that Fazlul had climbed one ladder—the ladder of Number Two Service in the State (as we now call it)—had gone up several rungs when it ceased to interest him. Like a master-gymnast he had let go of it and jumped on to the trapeze that, for the moment, he fancied. For a time he could be seen pleading, mostly in courts of no exalted status, the cause of some confounded

* Thin, pancake-like bread fried in deep fat.

† A kind of rissole also fried in deep fat.

person for the fee in which the client held him for an hour or a day. Suddenly he felt that he had had "bliful" (to borrow a phrase from Fielding). Another somersault and he was on the political hobby horse. He sickened of the goal towards which his hobby horse's face was set—nationhood, one and indivisible. Off he vaulted. A sprint—a jump—and he was astride the parallel bars of separatism.

The crack of the whip irritated him not long afterwards. Or was it that he shied at the lank, tall figure that wielded it? It may have been that he could no longer brook being No. 2 to any one who sprang from the same soil as he did, though the whipster first saw the light of day in India's far west (Karachi) and the aspirant for Chief Ministership first opened his eyes upon East Bengal. I wonder if my old acquaintance Jinnah was not happy in his heart at Fazlul's quitting the circus (to continue the figure of speech I have borrowed from showdom), and setting up his *Krishak* (Cultivators') Party. A little later the rebel called it "Progressive".

This, then, was the man who Syama must perforce carry with him, if he were to succeed in keeping open the course through which finance flowed into fields that supported nutriment to the "minority community" as well as the "majority community" (to employ the jargon of the day, instead of plain English speech as it is written in the Queen's realm). In addition to finance—minding the rupees, annas and pies—which constituted, his special concern as the Finance Minister, he had, in virtue of his joint responsibility as a member of the Cabinet, to use his wit to prevent the erection of dams in certain channels. The design for these was hatched in the incubator of Bias. In changing the pattern of patronage they were consequently causing much anguish to a considerable number of persons who, in one way another, were adversely affected. At the time Syama entered office there was a loud outcry, not only from these victims of malevolence but also from men and women of vision who saw that, as the inevitable effect of favouritism, inefficiency and corruption were becoming rampant.

Policies, too, were being hatched in the incubator of prejudice. These, when applied particularly to the premier University in Calcutta, would alter the current of life—dry up some of the springs of life. This caused no little concern to public workers sincerely interested in the well-ordered, all-round progress of society in general.

Much was expected of Syama. With his intimate experience of University administration he, it was hoped, would exercise financial control in a way that would prevent glaring injustice to

persons, who, through desperate increase in population, had recently been placed in the "minority community" category, and to the institutions that they had established or were establishing.

Faith was reposed in his nationalist outlook, broad intellectual horizon and his all-embracing sympathy. These would help his colleagues of the Cabinet to put an end to the narrow policies conceived to promote the interests of a particular section of the people that had become the order of the day. The Ministry would, instead, calmly though quickly survey the needs and aspirations of all sections and particularly those who, through lack of economic stability or intellectual quickening or through the operation of age-old racial injustice, were least able to take care of them. They would formulate measures that would be as large-hearted as they would be practical.

When I saw him privately (more than once, I recall), subsequent to the little quiet tea party of which I have written, we discussed these matters. He was neither elated at his preferment nor did he cherish my illusion about his ability to reshape affairs. He, it seemed to me, had taken a shrewd measure of the forces to whom he would have to give battle day in and day out if he were to be able to do anything at all.

Fight was in his blood. He never courted it. Never did he run away from it either.

Just because he had unhurriedly taken on the job that a man lacking his leonine courage might well have evaded, he now refused to be daunted by the difficulties he was encountering, tremendous though these difficulties were. With calmness that, in the circumstance, impressed me as remarkable, he seemed determined to deal with each issue as it arose—resolve whatever complexity presented itself to him. His was a sanguine, positive nature and a singularly agile, resourceful mind.

Was he, however, even dimly conscious that at that stage it was not Fazlul or any other colleague whom he would have to tackle, quite so much as Providence's junior partner stationed by Mother Britannia at Calcutta to mind her imperialist interests? The multifarious functions assigned to him and the powers and privileges given him for the discharge of those functions reduced representative government to a farce. In making the most of a constitutional make-believe, solemnly set up in Bengal as in other provinces of India under the Parliamentary Statute of 1935, he, in less than twelve months of assuming office, came to the dead end and regained freedom. This I shall discuss in the article that follows.

[Article 4 of this series will appear in *The Modern Review* for December, 1953.—Editor].

TOYNBEE

His Philosophy of History and Treatment of Modern Civilization

By BUDDHA PRAKASH

OF all attempts at formulating a philosophy of history and explaining the trends of modern civilization in its light, Toynbee's has been the most successful in firing the imagination of the West with a brilliant and roseate possibility of incessant progress towards perfection and betterment. In the feverish and hectic quest for an adequate response, on which the overwhelming and flabbergasting challenge of the Eastern world under the impact of Communism has launched the minds of the present frustrated generation of the West, Toynbee has kindled the beaconlight of the coming Christian *denouement* of the theodician drama of damned civilizations, towards which it is hurrying with a hopeful air. This *denouement* is the second coming of Christ which a spiritual renaissance caused by the strengthening of faith in the Christian teachings embodies and symbolises. In order to prepare our minds to accept the certainty of this epiphany he has made us watch the twenty-one-act-drama of the rise and fall of civilizations and imbibe the philosophy of history that runs through it as the central theme.

Toynbee's philosophy of history centres round the concept of civilization which is defined as "the smallest unit of historical study at which one arrives when one tries to understand the history of one's own country." (*Civilization on Trial*, p. 222). The genesis of a civilization lies in the process of evolving "responses" to the "challenges" of circumstances. The adequacy of the "challenge" determines the effectiveness of the "response." The stimulus of hard countries, new grounds, blows, pressures and penalizations provokes the faculty of breaking forth from a state of inertia (*yin*) into a phase of creative action (*yang*). The response not only meets the challenge for which it is devised but also presents another challenge that calls for another response. This process of continuing to respond successfully to recurring challenges is called "growth." Its characteristic is an inner adjustment called "self-determination" and a spiritual development called "etherialization". The "growth" of a civilization is the work of "creative personalities and minorities" which rally the rank and file of the people around them by the magic of their genius. The *modus operandi* of the "creative personalities and minorities" is the "creative movement of withdrawal and return," that is to say, a retirement from the field of action and the accumulation of creative force and after that a reappearance on the stage and the performance of constructive work. No sooner do the people refuse to fall in with the "creative leaders in response to the magic of their appeal, than the civilization enters on a phase of decline. The process of "self-determination" stops, the tendency of "differentiation" or the development of the individuals in a variety of ways in accordance

with the diversity of their geniuses is replaced by a pattern of "standardization" in which the individuals lose their originality and submit to a procrustean social integration. In other words, the behaviour of the people becomes "mechanical," social system splits up into "dominant minority" and "internal proletariat." Their conflicts allure the "external proletariat" to invade and enslave their society. The "schism in the body social" is paralleled by a "schism in the soul." The spirit of the "dominant minority" expresses itself in "higher philosophy," the genius of the "internal proletariat" produces a "higher religion" and the ethos of the "external proletariat" gives birth to "heroic epics." These elements form the matrix of a new civilization. The "breakdown and disintegration" of a civilization exhibits the alternation of respites and relapses which is explained by the formula of "rally-and-rout." In broad tendencies, the "rally" characterising the "age of growth" is followed by a "rout" expressed in "a time of troubles," which, in turn, is succeeded by a "rally," namely, the "universal state," that is finally overtaken by another "rout" marking an "interregnum". Within each of these periods the rhythm of rally-and-rout continues to beat. Usually there is found to be one rally followed by one rout in the course of a "time of troubles" and one rout followed by one rally in the course of a "universal state." Thus the normal rhythm seems to be "rout-rally-rout-rally-rout-rally-rout": three-and-a-half beats. In the process of breakdown, a "civilization" gives birth to a "higher religion" and it is through these religions that the progress of humanity is kept up. "Encounters" between civilizations in time and space result in the amalgamation of these religions and the consequent and gradual unification of the world. The "periodic downfalls of civilizations are the wheels on which the chariot of religion mounts towards heaven." The cyclic movement of the wheels, symbolic of the periodic growth and decline of civilizations means also the linear advance of the vehicle, they carry, that stands for religion, in which the spirit of progress is enshrined.

Basing himself on the philosophy of history outlined above, Toynbee has "almost ventured to cast the horoscope of the one civilization that is still alive and on the move." (*A Study of History*, Vol. VI, p. 321). He fixed the time of troubles for the Western Christian Civilization between 1378 A.D. and 1797 A.D. for the Western half and between 1126 A.D. and 1528 A.D. for the Eastern half. The two universal states following these times of troubles are the Napoleonic empire (1797-1814) and the Danubian monarchy (1528-1918). (*A Study of History*, Vol. VI, pp. 327ff., table I). According to him, the wars of religion of the sixteenth century are clear indications of the breakdown of the Western civilization. While

dealing with these wars he is struck not only by the rifts that tore Christendom apart but also by the terrible paradox that from the highest good and the belief in one God the suicidal poison of intolerance was distilled; and he is confirmed in his opinion by the fact that the appeasement of the third quarter of the seventeenth century that followed these wars of religion was based not on the abiding foundations of faith but on the sandy terrain of a cynical temper born of indifference and weariness. Hence this period of peace was followed by a worse relapse—the wars of nationalism reinforced by the combined drive of energies generated by the forces of democracy and industrialism that started from the French Revolution. Here Toynbee suggests that the universal state of the Western civilization is yet to come. If it comes through a knock-out blow, as in the case of the earlier civilizations, this civilization is doomed to perish but if it comes through the willing co-operation of its component parts, it will live on. ("The Next Step in History" in *Look*, November 18, 1952). In his opinion the cold war between Russia and the West provides the necessary challenge to keep the Western civilization on its toes and devise a pattern of co-operative unity. Here it would be observed that Toynbee relinquishes his former position according to which the universal states of the Western civilization were the Napoleonic empire and the Danubian monarchy.

Besides these features, he sees in the Western civilization the social schism manifesting itself in a dominant minority and an internal proletariat which is the culminating point in the disintegration of a civilization. The loss of style and the tendency to ape alien fashions and barbaric forms of art have also attracted his notice. The most tragic features of Western civilization, scepticism, neo-paganism and spiritual slackness have made a morose impression on his mind. (*A Study of History*, Vol. V, annexe). He has called this period of European history starting from the seventeenth century, "post-Christian" ["The World and the West" (Reith Lectures, 1952) in *Listener*, Nov. 20, 1952] and has likened it to the Hellenistic age in which the vast region from the Ganges to the Tyne felt the impact of a soulless Graeco-Roman culture. [*The World and the West* (Reith Lectures, 1952) in *Listener*, December 25, 1952]. We know that as a result of the Hellenistic impact on the East and as a consequence of the travail of the breakdown of this civilization a large number of new religions arose and spread over the whole realm of this disintegrating civilization and gave birth in its place to a new civilization. "Christianity and Islam arose as alternative responses of the Syrian world to Graeco-Roman penetration: Christianity a non-violent response, Islam a violent one; Mahayanian Buddhism and Hinduism are the gentle and the violent responses of the Hindu world to the same Greco-Roman challenge. ("Encounters between Civilizations" in *Civilization on Trial*, p. 219). On this showing the dissemination of modern Western civilization over the face of the globe is also fraught with the possibility of

the rise of new systems of thought and belief which are likely to overshadow and eclipse this very civilization. We know that Western civilization meaning thereby science, democracy, industrialism, secular attitude, common law and rational outlook, has caused a great upsurge in the East. These forces have coalesced with the deep-rooted patterns of integrated and co-ordinated conduct that constitute the architectonics of Asian culture. The concept of *Rita* in India, the idea of *Asha* in Iran, the system of *Tao* in China, the discipline of *Yassag* among the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and the tradition of *Millat* and *Tamait* in Islam are symbolic of the universal co-ordination and social adjustment to which the life of the individuals must of necessity conform. In such an environment the Western technique of democracy has naturally become qualified by the epithets "new" and "planned." Qualitatively viewed it has become quite different from what it connotes to the European mind. If in Asia it is the religion of uplift and progress whether in the form of Mao-Tse-Tung's "new democracy" or in that of Jawaharlal Nehru's "planned democracy," it is surely antithetical to the civilization of the West just as the religions mentioned above once were.

There is another aspect of this possibility. We have seen that according to Toynbee in the breakdown of a civilization and the splitting up of the body social in the "dominant minority" and "internal proletariat," the latter produces a higher religion which becomes the chrysalis of a new civilization. We have also noted that the Western civilization has reached the stage in which the Hellenic civilization was after the fourth century B.C., in other words, it has broken up into a "dominant minority" and an "internal proletariat." This "internal proletariat" of the Western civilization has produced communism, which, according to such a keen observer as J. M. Keynes, "represents the first confused stirrings of a great religion," (J. M. Keynes: *Laissez Faire and Communism*, pp. 134-135), precisely as the internal proletariat of the Hellenic civilization became the spearheads of the Oriental religions including Christianity. We know that Christianity led to the growth of modern Western civilization which was different from the Hellenic civilization, though it was affiliated to it and borrowed much from it, similarly Communism is going to produce a civilization which has no place for the Christian Church and its ethics and the laissez faire economy and democratic institutions as understood in the West. On this showing the days of the Western civilization are numbered and the communist civilization, the twenty-second in the list of Toynbee, is proceeding to swallow it up. If the historic role of a civilization is to rear up a religion in its womb and to break up and give it birth, can we not see that the Western civilization is passing through the throes of the birth of Communism and by breaking down in this process is fulfilling the historic mission which is its *raison d'être*.

Toynbee fights shy of these logical results of his philosophy of history in its application to the modern

Western civilization. He still hopes that there is much scope for the Christian Church and the English Constitution, characterized by the faculty of steering a middle course between the extreme forms of conduct. ("A Study of History in the Light of Current Developments" in *International Affairs*, October, 1943, p. 504). He sees a great field for Christianity even in Communist China and India and finds in the conversion of the Negroes to Christianity the shimmering of a Christian spiritual renaissance. In the organization of the Roman Catholic Church with its hierarchy and its institution of Mass he envisages the system of world unity in which political authority and spiritual leadership would be consolidated and co-ordinated. This civilization of "Church Militant" would mark the spiritual awakening of mankind in a kingdom of God and would thus inherit all philosophies from Akhnaton's to Hegel's and all religions from primitive cults to those practised in our day. ("Christianity and Civilization" in *Civilization on Trial*, pp. 240ff.)

Is this view of the future of the Christian Church warranted by what we know of history? The answer to this question has perforce to be returned in the negative on the following grounds. Toynbee himself holds that in the expansion of Western civilization the religious factor acted as a retarding force while the technological factor proved as the expansive element. [*The World and the West* (Reith Lectures 1952), *Listener*, December 18, 1952]. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese harbinger of Western civilization in the Far East were repelled by Japanese statesmen simply because they presented this civilization as a rival religion whereas in the nineteenth century the representatives of the self-same Western civilization were welcomed because they offered it as a new technology. Likewise, in India and the Middle East the success of Western civilization is primarily due to its dissociation from religious motives. In Russia, the adoption of some of its features would

have been unthinkable had it been necessary to import with them the Christian doctrine of the western type. As a matter of fact, history has made the Mohammadan and Orthodox Christian averse to Western Christianity. How can we therefore think that this religion and Church would be acceptable to these Easterners in the very form in which they have been hating it from a fairly early time.

Besides this, Christianity, particularly in its Protestant form has given birth to modern capitalism as Max-Weber has very ably shown. The vocational ethics, the rational and utilitarian scale of values, the sanctity of private property, the consideration of material prosperity as a sign of divine grace constituted the *Wirtschaftsethik* of Protestantism which has produced the modern capitalistic system. (Max Weber: *Religionssoziologie*, Vol. I, pp. 238 ff, recapitulated in R. H. Tauney: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*). Max Weber's aforesaid thesis has been accepted with some modifications by the famous German Sociologist Ernst Troeltsch. While he accepted the formative influence of Protestantism on the growth of Capitalism he also emphasized the contribution of the latter to its fruition and expansion. (*Protestantism and Progress*, Eng. tr., p. 138). Thus the Christian religion, which has such intimate association with Capitalism, that, according to Marx and Somhart, has widened the gulf between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and thus provoked a social schism in Western civilization, can never be adaptable to the new needs of an economic reconstruction through which this civilization is going to be transformed into a new entity.

Thus we observe that Toynbee's treatment of modern Western Civilization negatives his philosophy of history. It illustrates the serious flaws in his reasoning and elucidates the tragic fate of the Western civilization which he tries to veil in a religious cover by turning his back on the realities of historical development.

—:O:—

TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH VERSE

By MICHAEL HAMBURGER

CRITICS and reviewers of poetry whose taste was formed during the 'thirties, when "political consciousness" and social comment were the programme of the leading school, have recently been complaining about the poverty of contemporary verse. There can be no doubt that the poetic climate in England has changed considerably in the last 20 years; it is also true that much of the work produced in the present decade is less experimental, less topical and, superficially at least, less "modern" than the verse produced in the 'thirties by Auden, Spender, Day, Lewis and MacNeice.

The average competent poem written in the last few years may well be less exciting to readers whose chief concern is with novelty; but the average competent poem is of little importance, except in so far as it testifies to the spirit of the time. What matters now, and has always mattered, is whether the spirit of the time is such that it permits the creation of major work which is likely to outlast the fashions and passions of an age.

Before going on to comment on some books of poetry which I believe to be in that class, I should

like to draw the reader's attention to a number of recent anthologies, for these are a better introduction to general trends than the necessarily brief remarks of a reviewer. *New Poems* (Michael Joseph), an annual anthology sponsored by the P.E.N. Club, is the most representative, since its editors attempt to select the best work produced in the course of a year by poets of every school and of every generation. The oldest contributor to the current volume, Walter de la Mare, has just celebrated his 80th birthday; the youngest, Terence Hards, was born in 1929.

Springtime (Peter Owen), edited by G.S. Fraser and Iain Fletcher, is less representative, being confined to the work of poets either very young or not yet well established; it is more consistent and more idiosyncratic than *New Poems*, for the editors were able to indulge their marked preference for certain types of verse. Lastly, there is *Images of Tomorrow* (S.C.M. Press), a selection by John Heath-Stubbs of work by poets who were not widely known before 1939; the poems in this volume were chosen with a view to their relevance to the Christian theme, and are therefore mainly philosophical, though without conforming to any sectarian orthodoxy.

NO LACK OF VARIETY

I have mentioned these anthologies because I believe that, in spite of complaints to the contrary, even the minor verse produced in recent years is well worth the attention of readers interested in English life and literature. If, on the whole, such verse is close to the formal conventions and traditional themes of past centuries, the fact in itself is significant; nor is there any lack of variety or of innovation, though the differences may be more subtle and the innovation more tentative than in ages of great revolutionary zest.

Compared with Dylan Thomas, who has recently published his *Collected Poems* (Dent), the youngest generation certainly seems somewhat lacking in zest. Born in 1914, he became famous before he was 20; the impact of his early verse was such that it may be said to have broken the domination of the sociological school. Himself the initiator of a school known as the New Apocalypse, he is, above all, a highly subjective lyrical poet with an inimitable command of music and metaphor.

On the rational plane, much of his verse is difficult, not to say incoherent and obscure; but, as its popularity shows, this difficulty is resolved on the plane of feeling, by the appeal of its potent imagery and an eloquence

unequaled in contemporary verse. Unlike that of the Auden school, his imagery is more often derived from nature than from the urban scene; his symbolism, partly sexual and partly religious in his early work, has now become more accessible to traditional ways of thought.

A considerably older poet whose *Collected Poems* (Faber and Faber) have recently appeared is Edwin Muir (born 1887), who has long been known as a poet, novelist, critic and English translator of Kafka's works; but for many years his poetry was eclipsed by the fame of younger men, the founders of movements and creators of fashions.

A SINGLE THEME

Also, like most of the best poets of our time—Dylan Thomas' precocity is an exception, for, by the very nature of his talent, he is less dependent on experience—Edwin Muir has developed slowly; unlike Dylan Thomas, he is a philosophical poet whose forms, metres and diction are not violently original. Indeed, his work has a certain austerity which was too often mistaken for monotony; but its lack of surface brilliance conceals a gentle and unassuming strength, a nobility no longer disputed now that he has reached his maturity. Slowly, with admirable persistence, he has pursued a single theme, exploring the labyrinth of our time until, in his latest work, the exit was revealed to him. His world has always been that of the eternal values, moral and spiritual, and these he has embodied in the true language of poetry, in symbol and myth.

I have left myself little space to discuss the poetry of Kathleen Raine (born 1908), who has something in common with Edwin Muir; like him, she is concerned not with appearances, but with archetypes. Her development, too, has been gradual, but her latest collection, *The Year One* (Hamish Hamilton) establishes her as one of the purest poets of our time. Edwin Muir was born in the Orkney Islands; Kathleen Raine, though born in London, owes her formative experiences to the landscape of Northumberland. She is not a nature poet in any romantic sense of the word; she neither describes nor sentimentalises nature, but uses its images to evoke an intense vision of her own, sometimes mystical—as in the longest and greatest poem in her new collection, *Northumbrian Sequence*.

I should like to mention several other poets who have reached their full stature in recent years; but the work of these three poets alone may bear out my belief that English poetry is as rich and as vital as ever.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE LIFE OF MAHATMA GANDHI (Parts I and II): By Louis Fischer. Published by the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chawpatty, Bombay*. Pp. vii+321 and vii+327. Price Rs. 1-12 each.

The best single volume biography of Mahatma Gandhi was produced by Louis Fischer in 1951. There was an English and an American edition, and we are now presented here with a very cheap, and well-produced Indian edition under the auspices of the *Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan*.

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the merits of Fischer's well-known biography. One may, however, be permitted to point out that the book sometimes fails to carry one to the great depths of Gandhiji's innermost philosophies as it helped in moulding the course of his life. That does not, of course, matter where the purpose is to present a factual picture of a great life, and where the author had constantly to keep in view the Western reader for whom the book was primarily being written. Indeed, such an objective study may help even an Indian reader in correcting his pre-occupation with the thoughts and aspirations of a great man rather than with the actualities of his life. We hope the book will be widely appreciated by Indian readers as it has been by readers outside.

N. K. Bose

A PHASE OF THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT (National Education), 1905-1910: By Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee. Published by Chatterjee, Chatterjee and Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1953. Pp. 84. Price Rs. 2.

This is an excellent monograph dealing with the most important aspect of the liberation movement which swept over Bengal in the second half of the first decade of this century and which marked if not "the beginning" (p. 10), at least an intensification of our struggle against the then alien ruling power in our land. The history of the national education movement in Bengal during the years 1905-1910, though immediately inspired by Lord Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904 and its aftermath in the shape of the Carlyle Circular, is the history of release of the pent-up forces of discontent among our intellectuals against the tendencies of the educational system imposed upon us by our British rulers in the past. Combining in rare perfection the highest qualities of idealism and practical constructive effort, it drew into itself almost all the mature talents and the youthful energies of the Bengali people at the time. It found its tangible expression in the remarkable experiment of new educational institutions (Bengal National College and School in Calcutta and the affiliated National Schools in the mofussil) with their

original and highly successful scheme of studies. In the work before us, the joint authors have done full justice to the story of the genesis and the maturity, as well as the subsequent collapse (in spite of its brilliant promise) of this movement. Their treatment of the subject shows on every page the handiwork of trained students of history. With great industry they have gathered their material from the study of old files of newspapers and the evidence of eye-witnesses and have corrected at some points the errors of previous writers in the field. Likewise they have carefully analysed throughout the forces at work behind the movement. We have no hesitation in wishing this work the widest publicity for it deals very successfully with a phase of our independence movement which fills a glorious chapter in the recent history of our State and our country.

U. N. GHOSHAL

(1) **ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL NEPAL**: By D. R. Regmi. 1952. Pp. vii+178. Price Rs. 4.
(2) **WHITHER NEPAL**: By D. R. Regmi. Printed at the Prem Printing Press, Lucknow. 1952. Pp. ii+181. Price Rs. 3-8.

These two important publications, (1) on the history mainly of ancient Nepal, (2) on present-day Nepal, would be offered ready welcome by the educated public, as being the version of Nepalese ancient and contemporary history by its own historian. Nepal, Mithila and Kashmir have the unique distinction among the many States of this sub-continent of possessing dynastic chronicles (*vamsavalis*) which form one of the principal sources for the reconstruction of history. All that we know about the history of this land is primarily the work of European scholars like Wright, Kirkpatrick and Sylvain Levi. But in the books under review, a Nepalese college teacher, D. R. Regmi, now the President of the Nepalese National Congress, offers an account of the ancient and contemporary Nepal.

In the first book under review the author makes a laudable effort to present a sketch of the history of his country by a critical study of the sources literary, epigraphic and numismatic and revision of the chronology of the early period. He rejects Bhagwanlal Indraji and R. G. Basak's views on the date of Manadeva and differs from Levi as to the starting-point of the Newari Era. He similarly refutes K. P. Jayaswal's opinion as to the dyarchical-executive in Nepal, being derived from the Lichhavi constitution and traces out this peculiar feature to the times of Amsuvarman and Jisnu Gupta. Of special interest is the account offered here of (i) King Amsuvarman—his rise to kingship, extent of his kingdom, his administration and patronage of Sanskrit studies, and (ii) of the Lichhavi restoration, (8th Century A.D.) which was marked by the

military triumph of the king named Aramudi (unidentified) over the Kashmiri King, Jayapida and increase in the social status of the rulers, so that Sivadeva and Jayadeva married respectively a Maukhari and a Gauda princess.

Nepal is a land abounding in temples where cow-killing, according to law, is a capital offence. Kirkpatrick hardly errs in exaggeration when he says that there are as many temples in the valley as there are houses, and as many idols as there are men. The author enters into a discussion of the Nepali style of architecture and is perhaps the first scholar to offer us in the English language an account of the contribution of the Nepalese master-architect, Ar-ni-Ko who entered Kubilai Khan's service in 1263 and left an indelible impress of his work in the Celestial Kingdom. But some of the author's contentions, e.g., the identity of the Kiratas with the Newars, the invention of the so-called pagoda style and the modelling by the Newars of the Tibetan script of the Gupta style, lack sufficient proof.

In the second book under review, the author attempts to give us a sketch of the contemporary history of Nepal, with an analysis of the political forces that are at work and their possible repercussions on the destiny of a comparatively backward people. Here unwillingly perhaps the author takes up what is reckoned as the most baffling of all the historian's arts, viz., writing the history of one's own times, and fails lamentably, for one misses here a clear and consistent narrative of the dramatic circumstances that ended the Ranadom in Nepal and also an account of the various political parties that play upon the kaleidoscopic political stage of the country.

D. R. Regmi is an ardent patriot and the pages in this book are vibrant with this sentiment. But the reviewer regrets that some of the chapters here, e.g., "Nepal in retrospect," read like the haraunge of a professional politician rather than the sage discourse of a reflective college teacher. Much that has been incorporated in this treatise, e.g., the Chapters IV, V, VI and VII are of a polemical nature and hence of ephemeral interest. The chapter, "India and Nepal" is well worth a perusal, for, here the author, by describing the strategic position of Nepal, points out its importance to India's security in view of the imposition of the Communist hegemony over Tibet, and the great hazards to which the anti-Communist front of the present administration exposes Nepal.

We would recommend a thorough recasting of the pair of useful books, when they go into print for the second time. The obscurities in the pages should be cleared up, prolixity in narration avoided and errors of syntax and print which are plentiful be corrected.

N. B. Roy

1. POPULAR ESSAYS IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: Pp. 122. Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.

2. THE QUEST AFTER PERFECTION: Pp. 120. Price Rs. 5 or 7s. 6d.

Both the books are from the pen of Prof. M. Hiriyanna and published by Kavyalaya, Mysore.

Sri M. Hiriyanna was the distinguished professor of Sanskrit in the Mysore University. As the author of the *Outline of Indian Philosophy* he has been widely known in India and abroad. Full of years and honours he passed away in 1950 as an octogenarian. He was a very profound scholar and renowned professor of modern India. Though he was not a prolific writer yet his writings bear the distinct stamp of deep erudition and uncommon insight.

The first book under review contains seventeen learned essays on Indian philosophy and Sanskrit

culture contributed to various journals and publications. The fourteen papers among them were already published in different places and the remaining three on Maya and Indian Philosophy are brought out here for the first time. The paper on Indian Philosophy was contributed to Tamil *Encyclopaedia* where it will soon appear rendered into Tamil. Other essays are written on Karma, Reincarnation, Purusartha, Sankhya system, Upanisads, Sanskrit learning and similar cultural subjects.

The second book contains eight thoughtful articles on the ethics of the Upanisads, Philosophy of Value, Quest after Perfection and other philosophical subjects. The paper on the message of Indian philosophy was the address as the General President of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December 1939. The two papers on Quest after Perfection are two Miller lectures delivered in December, 1940, under the auspices of the Madras University.

Prof. Hiriyanna aptly observes that practical interest has ever been the distinguishing feature of Indian philosophy, and the main aim of Indian philosophy as a whole is to determine the ideal of practical life rather than merely to formulate a set of theoretical views of the universe. Philosophy has always been inseparable from life in India. The goal of Indian ideal of life, according to the author, is *sannyas* of self, or self-renunciation and not world-renunciation. The learned author who was himself an ideal philosopher in the Indian sense pertinently remarks that self-renunciation must be practised through loving service. He asserts that not a particular section of people but all men and women irrespective of caste, colour, or creed can be *sannyasins* in the real sense; because all have their places in society and respective duties pertaining to them which they can practise selflessly. In the opinion of the wise author this is the central message of Indian philosophy.

The writings of the learned author are not only thoughtful but also original, and readable. Clarity of conception and simplicity of style characterise his masterly essays. All students of Indian philosophy have got much to learn from these two books under review. A perusal of these handy volumes is sure to reorient our outlook and reform our views about Indian philosophy. A biographical sketch of the late lamented author should have been added in these two books.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN INDIA : By R. L. Mehta, M.A. (Oxon). Orient Longmans Ltd., 17, Chatteranj Avenue, Calcutta. First published in 1950. Pages 326. Price Rs. 6.

English occupies an important and useful place in our educational system. Apart from its wealth and beauty it has a utilitarian value in the international world and in this respect it cannot be suitably replaced by any other single language. In our pre-independence days English held the place of honour and took up much of the time and energy of the educators. Emphasis on the subject has been lessened in the post-independence period and a general tendency is noticeable among the school and college population to take the subject with some amount of indifference, the inner working of their mind being that with the quitting of the English this language also has fallen from grace. The zeal and propaganda for the new *lingua franca* for India has also contributed to this mentality to a great extent. But if we consider the matter with a serene and dispassionate

mind we are forced to the conclusion that English cannot be minimised without detriment to our national culture and international importance.

The present volume deals with the problem connected with the teaching of English in India and the suggestions and observations of the author based on his deep knowledge and practical experience in the class-room are sure to be of immense help to the teachers of the subject. Unlike ordinary books of dry pedagogy Shri Mehta's book is enlivened with illuminating personal touches. Representing the correct attitude from the Indian point of view towards English and the teaching thereof, the volume under review is written in a racy style and is eminently readable.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

YUGOSLAVIA : THE LAND OF NEW HORIZONS : By Prabhakar Padhye. Published by the author from 774, Tilak Road, Bombay 14. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author, the Editor of the *Nava-Shakti* of Bombay, visited Yugoslavia as a delegate to the Zagreb Peace Congress in 1951. He describes his experience in Yugoslavia in the slender volume under review. He contends that Tito's Yugoslavia with its 'democratic communism' as distinct from the 'Statism' and 'totalitarian communism' of Stalin's Russia, is the true standard-bearer of Marxism. Moscow and her partisans do not however agree.

Mr. Padhye however has succeeded in giving to his readers a more or less clear idea of the experiment in the Balkans.

The volume seems to have been rather highly priced for its size—112 pages of reading matter including a Preface and two Appendices.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

SANSKRIT

THE VAJRASUCHI OF ASVAGHOSA : By Sujit-kumar Mukhopadhyaya, Lecturer in Sanskrit and Tibetan, Visva-Bharati Cheena-Bhavana. The Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan, India. Price Rs. 3.

We have here a nice critical edition of the *Vajrasuchi*, an interesting Sanskrit work attributed to the great Buddhist polymath, Asvaghosa, which seeks to demonstrate the hollowness of the Brahmanical system of caste. The edition is accompanied by an English translation and an appendix containing the text of the *Vajrasuchyupanisad*. Besides, there are the word-index and the valuable notes of the learned editor, which trace, as far as possible, the sources of the quotations in the text and occasionally cite parallel passages from different Brahmanical works echoing views similar to those expressed in the text of the *Vajrasuchi*. The edition is based on six manuscripts and the edition of Weber published in 1859. The extent and nature of help received from the latter, however, are not quite clear. An earlier edition made by Wilkinson and the translation of Hodgson published respectively in 1839 and 1829 have not been utilised or mentioned. As regards the antiquity and authorship of the work there seems to be legitimate room for doubt though the learned editor is of a different opinion. The style of the work, in particular, scarcely appears to be as old as the time of Asvaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist writer of the beginning of the Christian era.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA-MANASA : By Jyotirindra Chaudhuri. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharmatala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

In nine chapters the book deals with Rabindranath's Philosophy of Life, the influence exerted on his mind by the Upanishads, Vaishnava poetry and Western literature and science, his treatment of Nature and Woman, nationalism, attitude towards children and materials for literature. The author deserves praise for his power of appreciation and independent personal approach. We expect from him more comprehensive studies in the works of Tagore.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

RUP AUR SWARUP : By Ghanshyamdas Birla. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 46. Price ten annas.

The author, an adept in the canons of the counter and the cash-box, appears to be also an adept in the art of autocracy. For, in the four essays, contained in the present booklet,—Their Themes being Form and Spirit; This World and the World Beyond; The Subtle and the Gross; Movement and Progress,—he reveals himself as a philosopher of the common road, who knows how to shake off the claims of the counter and flying into the empyrean of the invisible, descend on the earth with a smile on his lips saying, "Now I shall tell you interestingly something of the wisdom which lies behind and beneath the visible." He wields his pen with the effortlessness of an experienced essayist.

GANDHI-GATHA : By Bhupnarayan Dikshit. Pp. 202. Price 2-8.

KRISHNA-DUTA : By Bhupnarayan Dikshit. Pp. 56. Price Re. 1.

Both available from Sharada Mandir, Katra Shamsheri, Etawah, U.P.

The first is a long narrative poem on the life of Gandhiji, while the latter is a poem in four cantos, composed in Sanskrit *chhanda*, centring round the story of Sri Krishna. Both are in Sanskritized Hindi which makes it, therefore, rather difficult for an average Hindi or Hindustani reader or student to enjoy the author's verse without somewhat of a strain, thus distracting not a little from his delight in them. But both lend themselves commendably to congregational *katha*-recitation among lovers of Hindi poetry.

GALPA-MALA : By Prabhat Kumar Banerji Shivanand-Dham Prakashan, Nagpur, Ajani, M.P. Pp. 63. Price Re. 1.

A sheaf of nine short stories by an amateur who, however, knows that a story must be, above everything else, "a pass-timer," and, therefore, stands on the threshold of promise. There is still, however, not a little of "laboured" imagination, incident and art in his style and plot.

G. M.

TAMIL-ENGLISH

KAMBA RAMAYANAM—A STUDY: By V. V. S. Aiyar. Published by the Delhi Tamil Sangam, MC. 1/3028, Parliament Street, New Delhi. 1950. Price Rs. 7.

To non-Tamilians who have merely heard that Tamil literature is very old and that in point of culture it is second to none this will come as a refreshing storehouse of information and it is quite possible that they will get so much information from the brief survey of Tamil language and literature appended to the work by way of preface that they may not be able to proceed further into the book itself. But those who will proceed into the book are sure to find an exhilarating course of reading about Kamban, V. V. S. Aiyar and the story of the Ramayana as told by Kamban. Even the Tamil readers, one feels sure, will be grateful to the Delhi Tamil Sangam not older than six or seven years by now for having undertaken this venture and executed it so well. Here one meets the author Kamban who composed the Ramayana in Tamil and who belonged to the 9th Century A.D. and the Ramayana which was actually recited by the poet before a selected audience of scholars, and the poet received for his recompense rightly enough, the title Kavichakravarty.

V. V. S. Aiyar belonged to our times and had been a non-compromising fighter for freedom and after a stormy life spent from London to Amsterdam—from Paris to Pondichery, was at last reckoned as one of the conquests of Gandhiji, who transformed him from a violent revolutionary to a champion of *ahimsa*. This stormy life—a firebrand revolutionary, a scholar, a journalist, a teacher of the new type, an organiser of Ashrams—this heroic life full of vicissitudes was cut off in 1925 by the cruel waters of the Tambrabaraparani into which he jumped to rescue his drowning daughter to be both whirled into eternity.

It was during his nine months of prison life between 1921-22 that he wrote his critical study of Kamba Ramayana. He had written in those nine months a little over 140,000 words, surely a performance which does credit to his industry and intellect. The great hold which the story of Ramayana has on the bulk of the people of India and specially those living in the South is but too well-known and this should make us aware of its scope for wide use among Indians of all classes for character training.

V. V. S. Aiyar, after emphasising the place of Kamba as a popular teacher who will hold his own with the greatest, gives the story of the Ramayana after Kamba and compares it with the epics of Europe (though he just touches the fringe of the subject) and passes on to examine the build and structure of Kamba's work and its development. The development is, however, indicative of the great individuality of the writer Kamba. The conventional supernatural of the Ramayana may require a special note to the modern reader and Aiyar has supplied it. He has then taken up the great characters of the Ramayana—Rama, Lakshmana, Indrajit, Vibhishana and Kumbhakarna, Vali and Sugriva, Hanuman, Ravana, Bharata and there he stopped short, snatched away from our world by death. A member of the Delhi Tamil Sangam, however, has appended on his own responsibility and that of the publishers, a note on Sita which would otherwise have been missed very much. Aiyar's verse translation, spread throughout the book will show his knowledge and mastery of the languages—English and Tamil.

Aiyar was one of the interpreters of Tamil literature to the non-Tamil world and the reviewer would be glad to admit with approval the sentiments expressed by Shri K. Santanam, who had written a foreword to the book: "The Delhi Tamil Sangam had done a great service to all lovers of literature by undertaking the publication of this study."

The reader who has been introduced to Kamba Ramayana by Aiyar will surely look forward to the Delhi Tamil Sangam for such publication of other works by V. V. S. Aiyar.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

(1) **AROGYANI CHAVI.** (2) **SATYAGRAHA ASHRAMNO ITIHAS:** By Kaka Kalelkar. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 68 : 95. Price As. 10 : Re. 1.

Both these books from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi were written while in jail (1942). The first is an exposition of principles, according to his belief, on which the human body can preserve its health, and so he calls it "A Key to Health." These are not theories. These beliefs he has put into practice: The history of the foundation of the Ashram at Ahmedabad in 1915, and its progressive development, its activities, its functions, its prayer meetings, all these have been recounted by its founder, Gandhiji. There could not be a more valuable contribution to the history and genesis of this Satyagraha Ashram than this record in his own hand. Kaka Kalelkar has arranged in book-form what was at time loose material and fragments.

(1) **SANSAR ANE DHARMA.** (2) **SAMULI KRANTI:** By Kishorlal G. Mashruwala. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 257 : 164. Price Rs. 2. Re. 1-8.

Shreejunt Mashruwala, on whom had fallen the mantle of Gandhiji in editing the *Harjan* was a quiet, earnest, unobtrusive, religiously minded thinker, student and writer who had adopted "plain speaking as his motto in life." Pandit Sukhlalji has written a Preface, and Shriji Kedar Nathji has contributed an epilogue to the first book which sets out in a scholarly, rather saintly way, the duties and responsibilities of one in the world and non-world (Dharma). It is philosophical, but free from the technicalities thereof, which scare off ordinary readers. The title of the second book means Complete Revolution and Shreejunt Mashruwala explains what he means by treating the topic in four sections, (1) Religion and Society, (2) Economics, (3) Political and (4) Educational. He advocates "change everywhere," till what he calls, Bhadra Sanskriti and Sant Sanskriti are established in the world. This book is the result of much thought and serious study.

KHADIVIDYA PRAVESHKA: By M. P. Desai. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 185. Price Re. 1-4.

This is the third edition of that excellent handbook which introduces and guides the reader to the methods by which he can become a student of Khadi Vidya. The technique of the subject is well set out, and suitable additions made to the text, in the light of experience gained after the publication of the second edition in 1945.

K. M. J.

PRABUDDHA BHARATA THE HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The PRABUDDHA BHARATA, started by Swami Vivekananda in 1896, enters the fifty-ninth year of its publication from January 1954. We are glad to inform our readers that the January, 1954 issue will be a Special Number to commemorate the Birth Centenary of Sri Saradamani Devi (which comes off on 27th December, 1953), the worthy consort of Sri Ramakrishna, well-known as the Holy Mother on account of her immaculate purity and great spiritual attainments.

This bumper Number, which will be printed fully on art paper and will be profusely illustrated, will contain a good number of interesting articles on the several aspects of the Holy Mother and on the role and achievements of women in Indian national life down from the Vedic times.

CONTENTS

1. Sri Sarada Devi—By Hon'ble Sri Justice P. B. Mukharji
2. Devi Saradamani—By Dr. Mahendranath Surcar, M.A., Ph.D.
3. The Characteristics of Indian Womanhood—By Hon'ble Sri Justice N. Chandrasekhara Aiyer
4. Women in the Vedas—By Dr. Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D.
5. The Holy Mother—By Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi, Reddi, M.L.C.
6. Womanhood as a Spiritualizing and Unifying Force in Indian Tradition
—By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A. Ph.D.
7. Indian Women through the Ages—By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Woman in the Upanishads—By Sri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar
9. The Role of the Mother—By Srimati Lila Majumdar
10. Glory of Womanhood in the Upanishadic Age—By Srimati M. A. Rukmini, B.A., B.L.
11. Mother-love in Motion—By St. Nihal Singh

And many other articles by distinguished writers from all over India

Will be sent to subscribers of Prabuddha Bharata without extra charge

Annual Subscription : India, Burma and Ceylon, Rs. 5 ; Foreign 14 sh. ; U.S.A. \$ 4.00

AN EXCELLENT MEDIUM FOR ADVERTISEMENT

Write for particulars to :

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

widely appreciated at home & abroad..

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,
Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. A. W. Hunter
3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington.
U. S. A.

The letter from an American lady is convincing about the supreme quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM and natural CHLOROPHYLL, well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO. LD.

CALCUTTA-29



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Mau Mau and S.S.

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Roy Bridger considers the aspects of the problem caused by man's alienation from the land. He starts with two symptomatic disturbances—the Mau Mau in Kenya and the S.S. in Germany—and carries his enquiry to root causes :

The Kikuyu have been described as politically the most developed tribe in East Africa. They are also the most overcrowded. Their two main reserves have population densities between 1,000 and 1,500 per square mile. At the present rate of increase the population would be doubled in 40 years.

Germany, a country in which political consciousness has for long been deeply rooted, is also one with a marked interest in *lebensraum* problems. Saxony, where the proportion of urban population is higher than in most of the country, has a population density only slightly less than 1,000 per square mile. Deep in this congested interior the Nazi denunciations of Versailles fanned the smouldering feelings of oppression into volcanic activity. Again a world war raged. Millions died. There followed an irresolute period of Allied Occupation, during which several old grievances were recalled and some new ones formed. Eventually a day arrived which bore a curious resemblance to a great many days of 20 years previous : 5,000 men of the former *Waffen S.S.* (Hitler's elite troops), many wearing jack-boots, gathered to hear a one-time German general launch a bitter tirade against the Western Allies. "Who are the real war criminals?" he asked. "Those who made the Versailles Treaty." (Cheers) They had dropped bombs on non-military objectives. They were now busy making new weapons. He concluded with a condemnation of Allied treatment of S.S. war prisoners which drew shouts of "Filthy swine!" from his audience.

A high density of population is not in itself a danger sign. The two largest Channel Islands have very high figures. Jersey is about equal to Saxony in population density, while Guernsey, with 1,600 per square mile exceeds even the Kikuyu reserve.

Only one and a quarter per cent of Rhodesia's "black north" are Europeans. They tend to turn towards the Union of South Africa and towards Pass Laws and *apartheid*, rather than towards the humane toleration of pre-Mau-Mau Kenya. "The truth is that in his inmost soul the white South African despises the African," a press correspondent concluded in a recent dispatch from Capetown. "I have one great fear in my heart," said Msimangu in *Cry, the Beloved Country*, "that one day when they turn to loving they will find we are turned to hating." South Africa, with its seemingly irreconcilable human divisions, its mounting soil erosion problems and its inhuman industrialization, is one of the unhappiest countries in the world.

That all the Africans in Kenya should turn to hating would be most disastrous. "If we fail in Kenya we are finished in Africa," wrote Negley Farson in *Last Chance in Africa*. The Kikuyu Central Association, a

representative society formed about 20 years ago, was suppressed during the war.

The nationalist aspirations found expression in the Kenya African Union led by Jomo Kenyatta, while the extremists went underground as Mau Mau.

To a certain extent the campaign to drive out the British is an unfortunate irony of timing. It is clear that the fundamental cause of unrest is land hunger, and it is also clear that until this is removed there is little hope of peaceful development. Yet within the last ten years a revolution has been taking place in the attitude of the Africans to their land which makes the political approach seem old-fashioned. The tribal system of land ownership is breaking up. Agricultural productivity, hampered in the past by a communal system of land-holding which forbade individual initiative, has been suddenly and dramatically stepped up by enclosure.

It would be as wrong to assume that all modern farming methods are inferior to those practised in some previous period of faultless husbandry as to accept the view that the changes which have taken place have been all improvements. Many previous peoples have failed to maintain themselves on the land at their disposal. The alarming present-day state of affairs—according to Jacks and Whyte (in *The Rape of the Earth*) more soil was lost to the world between 1914 and 1938 than in the whole previous history of mankind—has been occasioned largely by the use of power-driven machinery. The old systems of communal ownership of land had grave defects, and there can be little doubt that the gradually emerging idea of enclosure has been a stabilizing factor.

But enclosure not only makes better farming possible : it gives rise to a landless class who, in the absence of any alternative, look for employment in the towns, which become increasingly industrialized. The acreage enclosed is often considerably more than sufficient to support a man and his family. In North Nyanza, for instance, large-scale farms of several hundred acres are developing.

Running through the Mau Mau disturbances and the S.S. outbursts, and linking them with similar manifestations in other parts of the world, are certain fundamental issues.

One is the question whether food should be grown locally and under either the control or the surveillance of the consumer, or whether it should be grown by a special class called *farmers*, the consumer neither possessing nor desiring information about the way in which his food is produced. Another is whether the guiding principle is to be individual enterprise or whether a system of paid employment is to be preferred.

The modern choice has of course been to relegate food production to paid labourers under the direction of a class of men who had originally been self-supporting peasants but were now in the process of becoming out-

door factory overseers. Remnants of the old peasant system survived in spite of every discouragement, however, and in the teeth of an almost world-wide swing towards cash-cropping and paid employment.

Year after year, century after century, the peasant ploughs his patient furrow across the world. But the men without land are swept to and fro like seaweed wrenched from its moorings by a storm. Their heads spin giddily under the pressure of a thousand fears and fancies. "Greece and Turkey would march against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia against Hungary," proclaims a current analysis of the international scene. It reads like a Phillips Oppenheim novel. Geographical grouping was serviceable enough in the days when Wessex marched against Mercia, but its usefulness as a rallying agent is now outworn. Other links between people fill the place once occupied by patriotism. Finance has for long snapped its fingers at frontiers. Intellectuals and scientific workers have formed their own international groups. Sport is making great efforts to get clear of tiresome political encumbrances. Even the United Nations, painfully steering between complexity and chaos, seems to be able to secure results only when groupings other than nations are at work. But the supremely international figure, the quiet man behind the plough, is overlooked—as yet.

The resistance movements, it is true, are growing increasingly formidable. In the anti-Communist bloc, for instance, a chronic witch-hunt is in progress, intended to root out those of its citizens who are obviously disinclined to march against a partly geographical, partly ideological, enemy.

But the ideological struggle itself is becoming out-of-date. The massing of workers against bosses presupposed an attractive share-out when at last the bosses had been overthrown. Today, thanks to the exploitative economy of the Industrial Revolution, the earth is no longer a perpetual cornucopia. The big prizes have already been won.

In the meantime the technique of destruction has made unprecedented advances.

Man removed from his land is cut off from his full nourishment. Without the responsibilities of guardianship he cannot appreciate the continuity of life. He strives desperately to find a compensatory purpose. The hunger of the body for adequate nourishment, of the soul for self-assertion—these are the unseen forces behind the malignance of the ambush, the frenzied surge of demonstrators and the fateful tramp of marching men.

The Land Problem

In the course of an article in *The National Christian Council Review* dealing with national issues C. Arangaden discusses the land problem:

The most insistent demand for justice in a predominantly agricultural country like ours is in respect of land. Land has been one of the most abused things in India. It was made to function and still has not ceased from functioning as a component of a feudal-capitalist system of power. Such systems have claimed sanctity based upon the fact of historical possession. Possession bases itself upon factors like conquest, robbery, grants from rulers, acquisition by purchase, inheritance and so on. The alienation of vast tracts of rich tribal land to cunning and unscrupulous intruders in these areas was nothing but day-light robbery. British conquest and the economic policy it imposed upon India was largely responsible for the destruction of indigenous industry and the abnormal and disastrous increase of the agricultural population. Speculation in agricultural land by Indian industrialists and leaders of commerce, the concentration of land in the hands of certain castes in many areas have led to the destruction of the free agricultural class and the swelling of the number of the landless labourer sold into 'wage slavery.'

The land question, then, is to be understood in terms of the conflict between the historical and the real aspect of possession. The Christian is guided in this area of concern by two principles. The first is, 'the earth is the Lord's,' that is, absolute ownership belongs to God alone. The second is, our own ownership is in His behalf. Such ownership is not a private affair; it is a concern of the community and nation. It does not carry with it an absolute right to use, or abuse it. In other words, every man has the right to the land from which he is to draw a subsistence. This is rooted in the order of creation. Land to the tiller is a clear enough Biblical principle, that is, in so far as he is willing and capable of tilling it. It follows from this that the individualistic conception of property with its claim to absolute right of use or disposal, speculation in agricultural land, unqualified rights of inheritance and the like have no sanction in Christianity. The Biblical ideal is of a free peasantry and it remains a postulate of justice in Christianity.

This leads us to a rejection of the communist solution, namely, nationalization and collectivization of land. The official approach has been the abolition of land-lordism with compensation wherever necessary. There are others who oppose compensation altogether. Official land reforms are limited to improving conditions of existing tenure and are heedless of the claims of the vast army of landless labourers. Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan Yagna*, on the other hand, focuses attention upon these forgotten men and their needs. This movement, so long as it proclaims the supremacy of the spiritual over the material and does not lead to problems like further fragmentation of holdings, merits our support. However, it cannot be considered as a substitute for the agrarian reforms promised and deferred so far. Such reforms wait upon comprehensive legislation by the Centre. Such legislation could provoke serious internal strife, and the attitude of high-ranking civil servants, army officers, police and intelligence service men is of crucial importance in any such venture.



Crime and its Cure in India

Crime is on the increase in India as are its population and problems arising out of it. J. K. Soumitri Sharma observes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

As every one knows every anti-social act is a crime. But it is the result of a series of causes and not of a single one. The four basic needs of man as enunciated by Manu—Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksa—can be fulfilled only when man lives as a social being, as a member of a civilised society. Otherwise a jungle man would be an articulate animal at the most. Whenever any of these human urges are interfered with, there is friction and man indulges in the committal of crime. But before anyone is adjudged as a criminal it is the duty of society to understand the situation thoroughly, analyse the effects of climate, food, heredity, education and neighbourhood, economic and political influences and so on, and then devise appropriate means of reclaiming him instead of condemning him and losing him for ever. Quite often, a criminal is forced to become an adjudged professional, as though all the malevolent planets conspire together to make him so.

CRIME AND CLIMATE

Crime varies with the seasonal and topographical conditions of the place and the environments of the person. Even the types of crime vary with the climatic conditions. Crime in hot countries is usually against an individual, whereas in cold countries, it is against property. In hot countries, the act is mostly impulsive, whereas in cold countries, it is a cold-blooded design, well laid out and executed, and even on organisational magnitude. In warm countries, we find a slight provocation causing exchange of fists and burning of tram cars and julkas. In cold countries even a pistol is aimed with a calm hand, a steady nerve and a pre-plan. In tropical countries such as ours, the climate exhausts the man, lessens his food consumption and makes him docile and thus minimises the incidence of crime. Whereas in cold countries, heavy alcoholic drinking, meat eating and sex indulgence contribute much and prompt the man for thrills and adventures and thus cause an enormity of crime.

CRIME AND HUMAN ELEMENT

Is criminality a hereditary trait? Biologists hold strongly that tendencies are transmitted from parents to children. A child born of a drunkard certainly craves for alcohol, and can be offset only by cautious up-bring-

ing. Weak children born of weak parents are known to possess more criminal tendencies than normal ones. It is said that deficiency of pineal gland produces sub-human mentality; and excess of adrenals causes aggressiveness; and a disproportionate prostate gland results in sexual abnormalities. That is how some persons are said to be a prey to theftomania even in their later years of responsible status in society.

CRIME AND ENVIRONMENTS

More than the man or the climate, it is the social environments that contribute to crime most. It is the family, the school, the associates and the playground that affect a boy's set-up and his future career. Grinding poverty and distress in family, many a time give room for prostitution, theft, and fraud which are necessarily the worst crimes. Many a time boys and girls are trained for it. Once a boy succeeds in picking pockets and goes unsuspected, he gets emboldened and dares for bigger crimes. For grown-ups there are any number of incentives for crime, especially in big cities. Large cities throughout the world are the ant-hills of crime. It is the cities that give shelter to the perpetrators, whose identity can be easily camouflaged in the surging crowd.

PROMOTERS OF CRIME

Many a modern Indian film glorifies six immoralities, provokes carnal appetites, encourages vagabondism and lawlessness and somehow grudgingly shows virtue all along fighting hard and quite often ending in a losing battle. Young minds are allured by the daredevil stunts staged on the screen. Many such movie-makers in our land, who manufacture box office hits and bloat their purses are not only passed off as great artists and directors but are claimed as the choicest citizens of our land of culture. In reality they are the parents for the propagation and multiplication of crime. Another agency is the cheap literature that is being voraciously swallowed by our present educated young men and women in the shape of night-reading booklets and journals. There are hundreds of magazines distributing immorality in the garb of catering sex education; and our young generation must specially beware of them, because they are responsible for vitiating the mind beyond repair, if not beyond repentance, and thus destroying the very roots of our great culture.

CRIME VERSUS DETECTION

Crime varies with time, purpose and circumstances. For, after all, it is the society that determines the crime. Ordinarily robbery is a crime. But if a Shivaji does it to build up his armies and to liberate his motherland, or a Stalin does it for the sake of building up his Party, they are deemed as meritorious acts. Normally murder

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for
DIABETES

At All leading Chemists.
DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM
HIMALAYA DRUG Co.

251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY. M.B.

আয়ুর্বেদ-বৃহস্পতি রাজবৈদ্য কবিরাজ প্রাণচাঞ্চ
ডক্টর শ্রীপ্রভাকর চট্টোপাধ্যায় এম, এ ; ডি, এস-সি প্রণীত

ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা

এতদিন পর্যন্ত ভারতীয় কোনো ভাষায় ক্যানসার রোগের ধারাবাহিক চিকিৎসাপদ্ধতি লিখিত ছিল না। ক্যানসার চিকিৎসা সম্পর্কে ভারতবর্ষে ইহাই সর্বপ্রথম নিবান ও চিকিৎসা সম্বলিত পুর্নালি চিকিৎসা গ্রন্থ। মূল্য ৫/- টাকা। ডাকমাণ্ডল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রাপ্তিস্থান :- রাজবৈদ্য আয়ুর্বেদ ভবন।

১৭২নং রহবাজার স্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা—১২

is the worst crime. But if the same person commits good many murders in an enemy camp, it is a heroic feat. One would even bless one's own country's bombers to shower hell and fire over the enemy territories. In some countries prostitution is a crime and in some it is not. In olden days hand would be cut off for a simple theft. But under the present judicial set up, even a murderer is set at large for want of evidence.

As are the variations in crime, so are its detection too. In days past, large footprints were necessary clues. Sherlock Holmes was a hypnotic word for detectives. But in this scientific age, precision and surety of detection have reached astounding proportions. The methods are such that even if a top rank gangster like Bhupat has crossed the continents, spanned the seas and is hiding in a cave in a remote corner of the globe, still he can be surely caught beyond scope of escape. But the criminals also being contemporary products of the same stock of society, resort to more ingenious ways of perpetrating the crime. Iron safes and safety rooms are left out safe. And open day light hold-ups at Bank doors and streets have come into play. Science and intelligence are no monopoly of the police alone. Criminals also have easy access to them.

REPRISAL THE BASIS OF PUNISHMENT

Since the day man has started living as a social being, crime has existed and punishment also is being given in a variety of ways. No small amount of human genius has been spent to find novel and unique ways of torture. Slow death on the oil-mill, boiling alive in water or oil, tearing the body by elephants, peeling off the skin, sewing up in animal skin, nailing on the cross, these and many other forms have been tried to get rid of not only the criminal but the crime itself for ever. But crime has persisted. Retaliation for wrong still prevails. Vengeance still forms the foundation of Penal Law. Reprisal is still its guiding principle.

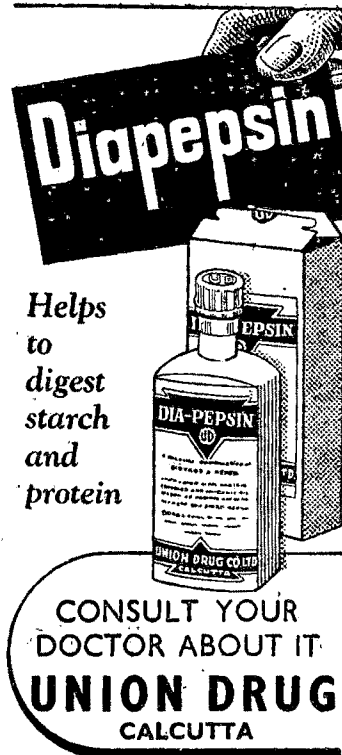
MODERN REFORMS

But now rapid changes have been taking place to reclaim an offender into society and to prevent crime. The aim of punishment now is to recondition the prisoner's personality. Especially in the West and even in Japan, the prisoner is being trained in regular habits with a view to establishing harmony in his life. He is given good comforts of life and put under proper systematic daily routine. Bathing, exercise, regular times for food, hard but interesting vocational work and adequate rest and plenty of literature to improve himself will certainly put him on right lines. There are a lot of incentives for self-improvement and character-building. In fact, he is so well reconditioned that he returns to the world fully equipped for a new and reformed mode of living. Even the word 'prison' is discarded and is called penitentiary and reformatory. Prisoners are called inmates. Cells and barracks no more give the impression of cages and dungeons. Juvenile delinquents are even better treated with care and compassion. For, a juvenile delinquent of today, if left uncared, will be the confirmed criminal of to-morrow. In case an offender sins against a society or vice versa, both are losers. In most of the cases of young delinquents, the causes that lead to crime are beyond their control. As such, a little attention on the part of society is enough to put them on the right track. So in the West, most of these potential criminals are being reclaimed into society with success.

IT IS NEVER TOO LATE TO MEND

The subject of juvenile delinquency is so vast and developed that for want of space, I shall confine only to this much that it still requires greater attention of our society and the Government to locate them and recondition them so that they will be useful citizens. Hundreds of vagabonds are being still manufactured in theatres and by-lanes of our big cities. Jails have got but only a flavoury touch of reformatories. High stone walls, enclosed corridors, dingy cells, steel-bars and locks, bug vermin and company unlimited, hard and moist floor, coarse mat, smelling bed covering, most nauseating uniform, wooden badge and the buffoon's cap, insufficient and non-nutritious food, long queue even for latrines, rod beating, hanging by arms, and a hundred and one variety of tortures at the hands of the hard-boiled warders, absence of magazines, books or any literature or intelligent pastime are still the horrid marks of ordinary prisons in India to-day. They are still a hell on earth, where those who enter should leave hope behind.

Knowing full well that any amount of penal laws and jails cannot mitigate the incidence of crime, let our people try to train themselves and their children on the basis of our great culture and most of the causes of crime will be certainly eradicated from our glorious land.



Diapepsin

Helps to digest starch and protein

CONSULT YOUR DOCTOR ABOUT IT
UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele : Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

How Jews Built the Movie Industry

II

During the twenties Warner Brothers found itself on the down-grade, for with no controlled exhibition outlets of its own, even a superior producing company could not live. At that time the Western Electric Company had just developed its first motion picture sound equipment, and of all the leading companies only Warners was willing to try it. Sound had an amazing restorative effect. Warner Brothers became the only movie company, with the exception of Loew's, that was able to survive the depression without financial reorganization.

Mr. Warner, Sr., was a Polish-Jewish farmer who had come to America in 1883 and settled in Ohio. Harry, the oldest son, had started his business career as a shoemaker. Several years later he went to work for the Armour Meat Packing Company. His brothers Abe and Sam had other ideas, however; they toured the country exhibiting their single print of "The Great Train Robbery." Barnstorming was profitable enough to enable them to buy a nickelodeon in Newcastle, Pennsylvania, where Harry joined them. By 1917 the Warners had developed a successful movie exchange.

That year James Gerard published his *My Four Years in Germany*. With characteristic enterprise Harry Warner secured the screen rights and the sensational film of Gerard's experiences, grossing nearly one million dollars, made the Warners' topflight producers. This picture also established the Warner Brothers pattern. Their products, generally based upon the events of the day, became what were called topic-snatchers.

Hollywood's financial terrain was exceedingly rough, and it needed Waddill Catchings, the ever-optimistic partner of Goldman, Sachs, to take the Warners in hand and teach them how to become important movie magnates. But for the advent of sound, Warner Brothers would never have reached the top of a brawling competitive industry.

It was Sam Warner who insisted that the company gamble on the Western Electric's sound device. Most of the motion picture firms had refused to have anything to do with the new gadget. Warners obtained an exclusive license to the device, in return for which they agreed to sell 2,400 complete theatre sound-equipment systems for Electrical Research Products, Inc., the Telephone company's subsidiary. Then came the remarkable "Jazz Singer" and all the film companies and theatres clamored for equipment. ERPI promptly cancelled its exclusive contract with Warner and sold equipment to all comers. Today, one of Harry Warner's pet antipathies is the telephone.

The Warner boys quickly realized that they would have to control their own outlets if they were to stay in business. From 1928 to 1930 they bought as many theatres as they could and with the acquisition of the powerful Stanley circuit reached their goal. Selling debentures and common stock, they built up a chain of over 500 theatres. Music publishing firms, a radio factory and a lithographing plant were among some of their more curious purchases.

Becoming adept in high finance, Warners' stock manipulations were brilliant enough to dazzle the most jaded of Wall Street operators. During the twenties, stock was sold to an investment-mad public through Renraw, the Warner Brothers' personal holding company. Renraw (the family name written backwards) then lent the proceeds, interest free, to Warner Brothers, thus circumventing the bankers. But the Warners always held on to the voting stock—no one was going to tell them how to run their own business.

Radio Corporation of America also tried to market sound equipment for movies, but the field had already been quickly gobbled up by Western Electric. Within a year after Warners proved the practicability of sound pictures, Western Electric had exclusive contracts with 90 per cent of the movie firms. The only alternative for RCA was to create its own movie empire. A holding company, the RKO Corporation, was formed, with control

A FASCINATING ALBUM PAINTINGS OF ISHWAR DASS

12 Superb Coloured reproductions of masterpieces of one of India's Greatest and Best-known Artists. (size 12" x 9 1/4") Price Rs. 19. All lovers of Indian art will welcome this finely produced album of paintings by one whose genius as an interpreter of Indian culture has received world-wide recognition. Both the connoisseur and the layman will be proud to own these reproductions in full colour of the work of the artist who typifies all that is best in the 20th century renaissance of Indian art.

TARAPOREVALA'S

"Treasure House of Books,"

210, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY-1.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4 1/2% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2 1/2% Per Annum

divided between RCA, the Atlas Corporation and Rockefeller Center, Inc. RKO Pictures was organized as the producing subsidiary and the Keith-Orpheum theatre chain became the exhibiting outlet. Here was a motion picture giant built exclusively by financiers whose sole motive was to exploit a new technological device.

Between 1927 and 1935 the industry was rocked by a struggle to control the patents for sound equipment. ERPI signed long term contracts with Loew's, Paramount, United Artists and Universal. Only 95 theatres in the country had other than Western Electric reproducing apparatus, while 1,946 theatres had Western Electric equipment. RCA seemed to have been virtually eliminated from the field; only the large RKO chain used its sound devices.

RCA finally filed an anti-trust suit against the Telephone company interests and in 1935 a peaceful agreement was signed to give RCA new rights in the sound-equipment business. This legal battle was in the last analysis fought by the two financial giants of American industry—the Morgan and the Rockefeller empires—who now control motion pictures, sound equipment and monetary sponsorship having assured them a monopoly beyond the wildest dreams of the old Motion Pictures Patents Company of 1909.

The famous case of William Fox well illustrates the power of finance in the motion picture industry. Fox held the American rights to Tri-Ergon, a European sound system; this was dangerous competition for Western Electric. Patent-infringement suits and anti-trust charges, however, did not trouble the Fox Corporation. Fox continued to expand and at one time he virtually dominated the motion picture industry in America. But even he could not withstand the determined onslaught of the Telephone interests.

Fox was born of Jewish immigrants from Hungary. His father earned a meager livelihood selling home-made shoe polish on New York's East Side. Young Fox started out in a cleaning and dyeing establishment at \$17 a week. One day in 1904 he took the \$1,600 he had saved and bought a movie house in Brooklyn. From then on he went ahead steadily in the budding industry, became one of the first to defy the old patent pool, launched into production, and gradually expanded his theatre holdings.

In 1927 Fox began to gobble up theatre chains; in 1929 he secured control of Lowe's and Baumont British. But these operations required financing, whereupon Halsey, Stuart and Co., an investment banking firm with Western Electric connections, extended the necessary assistance in the form of short-term loans. Then came the 1929 crash. When Fox tried to renew his loans the bankers insisted that he relinquish control of his company. Fox sought aid from other sources, but no other banker seemed willing to oppose the house of Morgan.

In the end Fox was forced to sell his holdings to H. L. Clarke, an Insull associate, for \$18 million. Until a few years ago the Chase National Bank was the largest stockholder in the Fox films.

The motion picture industry, dominated by the "Big Five"—Paramount, Loew's, Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Brothers and RKO—is now very much concerned with the competition of television and the resultant impact on the box office. The lush days of 1946, when any strip of film made money, are over. The movie makers, more than ever, insist that only "high value" entertainment will draw people away from their comfortable parlors into the motion picture houses: high value here means box office appeal.

The most profitable pictures are those that successfully transfer the soap opera to the screen: Universal's Pa and Ma Kettle series, which go on as interminably as the Hardy pictures, bring a fantastically high return to its maker. On the other hand, the prestige film becomes the tail end of a double feature. While cutting overhead costs as drastically as possible, Hollywood makes more pictures in an effort to recapture an audience that is now seeking entertainment elsewhere. This in turn reinforces the sure fire cycle formula and strengthens the hold of "business men" on the industry.

Of the old-timers, there are few still in control. Only in Loew's, where Nicholas Schneck still rules, and in Warner Brothers, do the original Jewish interests still predominate. Of ten Paramount directors, only two are Jewish as compared with 12 out of 19 in 1927. Twentieth Century Fox is now controlled by non-Jewish personnel and even in Loew's the number of non-Jewish officers and directors is greater today than in 1927.

As in most modern corporations, stock ownership is widely dispersed in the movie concerns. There are about 15,000 stockholders in Loew's and of the twenty largest holders, four are officers. Their ownership, however, is but four per cent of the stock. Stock ownership in Warner Brothers is also dispersed, as it is in Paramount. The significant element in the financial structure of the movie companies is the large proportion of borrowed capital.

The history of the movies exemplifies what happens in a now successful one time disreputable industry. Jewish entrepreneurs, after demonstrating the hard headed practicality of their dreams, are compelled to surrender their leadership to financiers. Patent control, debt financing and a huge investment in fixed capital demand steady returns. Business conservatism dictates stereotyped products that will assure that income; experimentation is too risky. In motion pictures, the one industry that affects educational and cultural values more than any other, this compels the immaturity to which we have become accustomed.—*Jewish Frontier*, July, 1953.



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES!

AMRUTANJAN LTD., PO. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



New Zealand's Place in World Trade

D. P. Taylor, M.Com., delivers the Henry Morley Lecture, as published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 7th August, 1953 :

Nearly 120 years ago, from this very street where we are now meeting, a man of some stature in New Zealand's history published a book entitled *The British Colonization of New Zealand*. The man, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was the founder of the New Zealand Company and was largely responsible for the decision of the British Government, in 1840, to annex New Zealand as a British Colony. The New Zealand Company and the somewhat similar associations which settled Canterbury and Otago were not commercial enterprises designed to show a profit for their organizers, but nevertheless behind the formulation of these schemes lay the prospect that the new country would export products of use to the old and would grow to play an important part in the pattern of British world trade.

Wakefield's book was designed to persuade government and public opinion in favour of the early annexation of New Zealand, and it is significant that he laid great stress on the possibility of developing trade with the proposed colony. In the course of our survey of New Zealand's trading position, we shall have occasion to look at Wakefield's ideas and see how they have worked out in the passage of time; but it is sufficient at this point to take note of the fact that New Zealand's present very close association with the United Kingdom began, to some extent, through the possibilities of trade and, as will be seen as we go on, the trading link has brought our two countries closer and closer together as the years have gone by.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF NEW ZEALAND'S TRADE

The title of this lecture—"New Zealand's Place in World Trade"—may raise doubts in some minds and some might say that so small a country has such a minor share of world trade that it is rather grandiloquent to speak of her as having a place in world trade at all. Indeed, when comparison is made with the massive trade figures of the United Kingdom, it must be admitted that New Zealand's total overseas trade is small. Nevertheless, there are some unique features about New Zealand trade which are of interest not only to professional economists but also to the merchants, manufacturers and the general public of this country. The British people, indeed, are vitally concerned with New Zealand, for we supply such a large proportion of their rations of butter, meat and cheese.

The outstanding feature is that New Zealand has the greatest value of trade per head of population, of any

country in the world. In 1951 our total visible trade, imports and exports, amounted to £454 million, or £233 10s. *od.* per head. The comparative United Kingdom figures were £6,620 million, or £131 10s. *od.* per head; so it will be seen that even if our total trade volume is relatively small we do have a more vital interest in international trade than most countries. The second feature is that, for its overseas income, New Zealand depends upon the export of a few agricultural commodities directed largely to a single market. The United Kingdom market is so important that scarcely any aspect of our trade can be discussed without reference to the trade relationship between the two countries. We have been linked contractually by preferential tariffs and by bulk purchase agreements for three of our chief exports—butter, cheese and meat—for a number of years. These agreements have aimed at producing stability, but in a period of severe fluctuations, such as we have experienced since the last war, bulk purchase agreements bring problem for both

In a few minutes,

you can buy a wonderful security for yourself and your family. Instead of having to find a lump sum to buy a policy, premiums—paid to your convenience—yearly, half yearly, quarterly or monthly will secure for you a policy suitable to your particular need on payment of the FIRST PREMIUM.

The Hindusthan offers a wide range of policies :

- FOR YOUR OWN SELF
- FOR YOUR DEPENDANTS
- FOR YOUR ESTATE
- FOR YOUR PARTNERSHIP IN A BUSINESS

For particulars—please write to us mentioning your age, requirements and amount you are prepared to sacrifice every month for the future benefit of your dependants.



**HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY, LIMITED.**

4, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE, CALCUTTA 13

buyer and seller. These problems will be touched on later.

A remarkable illustration of the closeness of the economic ties between New Zealand and this country was provided a few months ago when the New Zealand Arbitration Court decided against a general increase in wages, stating in its judgment that while the economic and financial position of the United Kingdom was so perilous a substantial increase in wages was undesirable. Surely few countries have ever consciously conducted their own internal financial policies so positively to avoid placing strain on a trading partner's economy.

A third unique feature arises from the fact that there has been practically no change in our main source of income from the same products for the past fifty years. This does not mean, however, that the economy is static. Agricultural output and secondary industries show continuous development. Finally, New Zealand provides a very interesting economic illustration of a country entirely dependent on the export of primary products for its earnings of overseas exchanges, whose internal financial position is consequently vulnerable to fluctuations in the prices of these products, but one which is making a real effort to ensure some stability in the face of these difficulties. Nevertheless, it has been well said that the export market is the determining factor of New Zealand's economic life. Before studying this economic life in greater detail, it might be helpful to consider briefly New Zealand's geographical position.

IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE

New Zealand consists of two main islands with a total area a little greater than the United Kingdom. Situated in the South West Pacific, in temperate latitudes, it has a climate well suited to agriculture on the European pattern. Its distance from other land masses, its narrow size, high mountain ranges and long coastlines lend themselves to plentiful rainfall but, nevertheless, there is generous sunshine, giving suitable soil temperatures as well and the combination of the two leads to the provision of New Zealand's chief asset which is just plain, but believe me, very important, grass. Of the country's 66 million acres, 43 million are farmland of which three quarters are in grass. New Zealand's dependence on good growth of grass is shown in the fact that we export well over £200 million of grass each year in the form of butter, meat and cheese. New Zealand farmers have been described as the best grass farmers in the world and certainly the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Agricultural University Colleges have done much to ensure that this description remains true. New Zealanders have pioneered in the practice of extensive application of phosphatic fertilizers and the development of grasses and clovers for the efficient use of these fertilizers. We were one of the first countries to use the aeroplane to distribute fertilizers, particularly in the back hill country, and it may be that we are as far ahead as any other country in the application of this new development. Our Chairman, as a distinguished leader of New Zealand scientific thought, knows well that research is still going on with the principal motive of ensuring that New Zealand's main asset—its agricultural and pastoral industry—continues to progress.

Wakefield and his contemporaries, as his book shows, considered that New Zealand would be an excellent farming country and would also provide abundant timber and flax. They anticipated that it would have a rich fishing industry and be the centre of an important whaling and sealing industry. They were quite confident that New Zealand would provide a plentiful supply of minerals and they even went so far as to imagine that it might in future become not only a Britain of the south in social patterns but a highly developed manufacturing and

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfiguration, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.) Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DIBNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX**, Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE**, Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED**, indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **CIVITA: MUST BE TAKEN** tonic with **NOVUM** to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION**. Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX** and **FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail (enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope) for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR
of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank
61/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

trading country occupying the place of Britain with Europe in the South Pacific and directing its trade to Australia and the Far East. New Zealand history is yet too short to write off this destiny completely but it seems unlikely, for Wakefield and many of his contemporaries miscalculated the country's resources. They were confident that the country had great mineral wealth which would provide the foundations for thriving manufacturing industries, whereas, in fact, New Zealand lacks supplies of most useful metals. The early forecasts were, of course, correct about New Zealand's future as a farming country, although flax and timber have proved secondary products compared with the huge exports of wool, meat, butter and cheese. But then Wakefield could not foresee the immense contribution which refrigeration was to make to New Zealand's economy in making possible the transport of perishable foodstuffs. Time does not permit a description of the development of refrigeration, which is a story all on its own—nor of the gold rushes which brought wealth and a vigorous population to the country.

GROWING MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

From what has been said so far you may have gained the impression, one that is found to be widely held, that New Zealand is simply one great farm. That is, however, far from true, for the internal economy is much more complex. Secondary industries designed to provide many of our demands for consumer goods and light capital equipment have of recent years made rapid progress.

In 1881 the only industries with a total capital above £200,000 were those connected with saw-milling, gas-works, grain milling, brewing, printing and coal mining, but others worth noting and which have subsequently grown in importance are the woollen footwear and clothing industries, and the manufacture of agricultural implements. By 1890 frozen meat production had become the largest of our secondary industries, but apart from this change there had not been much alteration in the pattern of secondary development, although there had been substantial increases in the capital of established concerns. During the Second World War, when United Kingdom factories were turned over almost entirely to war production and New Zealand herself was facing possible invasion from the North Pacific, it was necessary to transform and expand our factories to produce large quantities of Service equipment, including cloth, small arms, Bren gun carriers, mortars and bombs. The small ship-building industry was also enlarged to turn out numbers of small naval craft; and thus, at the war's end New Zealand had a greatly extended manufacturing capacity available for peace-time production and, moreover, precision engineering had been established.

A stimulus of a different kind was given in the depression years of the early 1930s. New Zealand suffered almost as badly as any other country, for we are, as has been pointed out, heavily dependent on exports of farm products for our overseas income and internal prosperity. In the depression, prices paid for New Zealand primary products were so low that the whole financial structure of the country was in danger of collapse. Unemployment was heavy and many believed that the only way to ensure that New Zealand was never again subjected to such dire social distress was to provide work in secondary industries so that we should never again be so entirely at the mercy of fluctuations in world prices for our primary products. Consequently Parliament sought means of stimulating new industries, but before much had been done New Zealand began to face a severe shortage of overseas exchange, and at end of 1938 it was considered necessary to introduce import

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
 167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET
 & BOWBAZAR STREET JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
 TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

BRANCH-HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
 CALCUTTA * PHONE: P.K. 4466

control to ensure that what overseas funds we had were spent on buying essential goods and equipment. The protective effects of import controls are well known and there is no doubt that they did shelter New Zealand manufacturers and assisted the expansion which took place in the war and post-war years.

To-day New Zealand industries not only consist of woollen mills, saw-mills, clothing factories and footwear factories but include the manufacture of tyres, plastics, paints, radios, refrigerators, electrical equipment, car assembly and kraft paper manufacture; indeed, most types of light engineering are now undertaken in New Zealand. The shortage of base metals and the limited domestic market provided by a population of two million people have so far precluded the establishment of heavier industries.

The trend toward greater self-sufficiency for many consumer goods will undoubtedly continue but it is not anticipated that this trend will affect the volume of imports, although these will consist more and more of the heavier types of goods and equipment we cannot yet make ourselves. We do not export many manufactured goods, other than processed foodstuffs and for decades to come the bulk of our exports will remain primary products, although an important contribution may come from industries, such as electro-chemical industries, based upon supplies of cheap electric power.

The U. S. National Labor Relations Board in 1952

In the United States, the National Labor Relations Board, a 5-member commission operating under the Management-Labor Relations Act, has two major responsibilities: to hear and render decisions on charges of unfair labor practices brought to its attention by management or labor; to conduct elections to determine who (if any) union workers wish to designate as their representative for collective bargaining purposes.

Operating under new streamlined procedures, the Board conducted the largest number of representation elections in its 17-year history, according to the NLRB's Annual Report covering fiscal year 1952. The 6,866 elections which the board held represented a 5 percent increase over fiscal year 1951. Nearly 800,000 employees were eligible to vote in these secret ballot elections which determined whether or not and by which union they wished to be represented in bargaining with their employers.

This stepped-up activity stemmed, in part, from a board decision to give representation cases precedence over case involving unfair labour practices. At the same time, the board expedited processing of representation cases by simplifying some procedures.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations unions competed for recognition in 722 elections; AFL unions won 337 of these elections, CIO unions 298, and unaffiliated unions 12. The workers voted against union representation in 75 elections. Statistics such as these recently prompted the AFL and the CIO to propose a 2-year pact, effective January 1, 1954, which forbids the raiding of employees in an established local which has a contract with an employer or certification by the NLRB. The no-raid pact, however, does not cover the subject of rival claims to units of unorganized workers.

AFL unions won 3,089 of the 4,711 representation elections in which they participated. Unions affiliated with the CIO won 1,404 of the 2,502 elections in which they were involved. Unaffiliated unions won 60 per cent of the 776 elections in which they sought representation.

The board, acting on petitions filed by employees seeking to have their bargaining agent decertified conducted 101 such polls. In 74 of these elections, the representatives involved were decertified; unions won the remaining 27 elections. The provision for decertification elections did not appear in the earlier Wagner Act which was amended in 1947 by the Labor-Management Relations Act (Taft-Hartley law.).

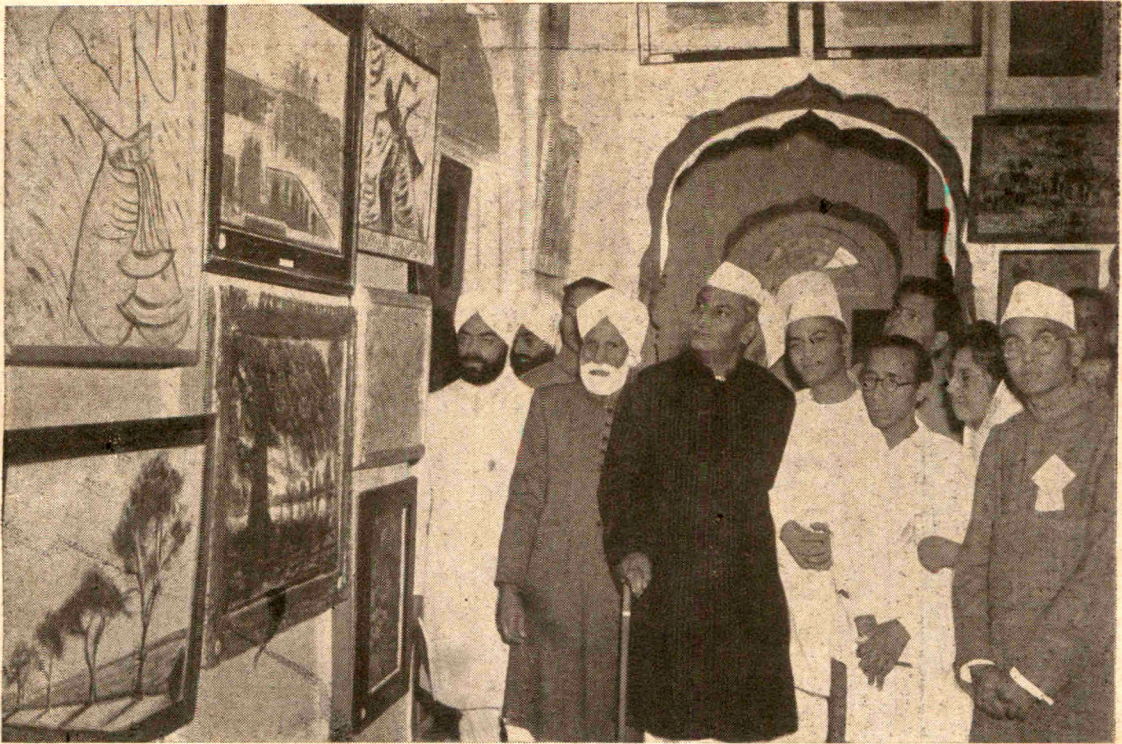
The number of charges of unfair labor practices filed with the board in fiscal year 1952, increased slightly (4 percent) over last year. Seventy-nine per cent of the 5,454 unfair labor charges were made against employers; the remaining 21 percent against unions. Only 13 percent of the case required a trial before the board members.

Employers were most often charged with having discriminated against employees for participating in union activities; next in importance were charges against employers for refusal to bargain in good faith. Unions were most commonly charged with having caused or attempted to cause employers to discriminate against employees for failing to become union members; illegal restraint or coercion of employees in the exercise of their right to engage in union activity or to refrain from it was the next most common charge against unions.

Employers charged with unfair labor practices took remedial action in 1,263 cases during fiscal year 1952; in the vast majority of these cases the employer took this action by agreement rather than by NLRB or court order. In most cases the employer posted a notice within 60 days on the employee bulletin board stating that he would no longer continue the unfair labor practice with which he had been charged. Other employer remedial action included withdrawing recognition or assistance from a company-dominated union; disestablishing such unions; placing workers on a preferential hiring list; and bargaining collectively with employees. In addition, employers offered 1,801 workers reinstatement to their jobs and paid back-pay awards of over \$1.3 million to 2,734 employees.

Unions undertook remedial action in 297 unfair labor practices cases; in more than half these cases the action was taken by agreement of all parties and not NLRB or court order. As was the case with employers, unions most often posted notices on employee bulletin boards indicating they would cease the unfair labor practice. Unions also agreed to cease requiring employers to give them assistance and, in 14 instances, agreed to bargain collectively with employers. Back-pay awards of \$23,910 were made by unions to 87 workers.

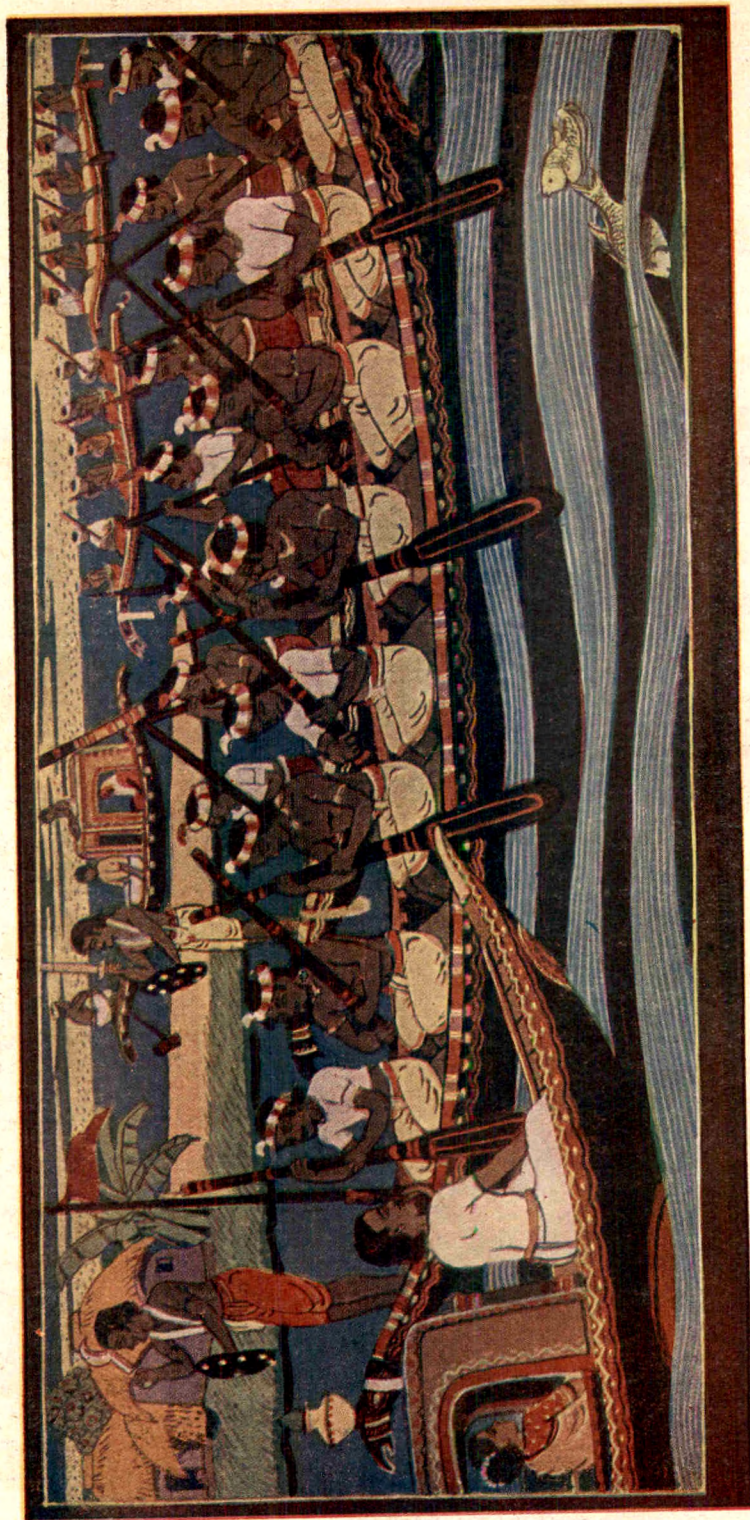
The *New York Times*, commenting editorially on the NLRB's 17th Annual Report, noted: "Apparently the election process is becoming more and more acceptable to employers and employees as an integral part of peaceful industrial relations. Its acceptability is no doubt enhanced by the increasing tempo with which such elections are being processed. . . . The NLRB is to be commended for speeding up its procedure and, to a measurable extent, reducing the incidence of industrial conflict."—*American Labor Review*.



President Rajendra Prasad performed the opening ceremony of the Silver Jubilee Exhibition of the Indian Academy of Fine Arts at Amritsar, on October 30, 1953



Mr. M. A. Menshikov, Ambassador-designate of the USSR to India, presenting his credentials to President Rajendra Prasad, at a ceremony held at Rashtrapati Bhavan, New Delhi, on Nov. 2



BOAT RACE
By Niharvanjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1953

VOL. LXXXIV, No. 6

WHOLE No. 564

NOTES

The Congress in West Bengal

The next All-India session of the Congress is going to be held in West Bengal. To be exact, it is going to be "celebrated" at the site of the satellite township of Kalyani, at a distance of approximately 40 miles from Calcutta.

We have no doubt that the session will be held with the glitter and pomp of a durbar, in line with what was done at Jaipur and Hyderabad. And further the plans for Kalyani will receive some minor fillip in the way of advertisement and very partial completion, free of charge, of certain conveniences, such as drainage, water supply and electricity connections. But what would it achieve in the way of rehabilitating the Congress in the hearts of the people? That is the vital question, though it seems to have been lost sight of by our Gods That are Failing.

The W.B.P.C.C. issued a few posters during the bye-elections, stating that the Congress was born in Bengal. This is undoubtedly a fact, undeniable by even those of the ilk of Pattabhi Sitaramayya. But today the Congress stands a good chance of being regarded as a stranger and an impostor in the province and city of its nativity. Why should it be thus, is the question we ask with all the emphasis at our command.

It cannot be denied that the Congress is being looked upon with open hostility by quite a considerable section of our younger generation. And that its acts of omission and commission are viewed with deep disappointment tinged with strong resentment by the vast majority of the older and more thoughtful portion of the public. This is particularly true of Calcutta, and, if timely consideration be not given, this will be true of all West Bengal.

That the Congress Government is out-of-contact with the people, was amply demonstrated during the July disturbances. Matters have improved somewhat since then, but no substantial progress has been registered, as was fully evident during the South-East Calcutta Parliamentary bye-election, of which the result came out on November 27. In that the Communist candidate Mr. Sadhan Gupta was elected, having secured 58,211 votes, the Congress candidate Dr. Radhabinod Pal securing 36,319 votes. The other candidates, Dr. Bhupal Bose of the Forward Bloc and Mr. J. P. Mitter of the Jan Sangh, forfeited their deposits having got only 5,415 and 5,431 votes respectively. The Congress thus was defeated by a majority of nearly 22,000 votes, in the city of its birth.

That Communism *per se* is not a fighting force all over West Bengal yet, was demonstrated, however, in the other bye-election held simultaneously in Nawadwip-Krishnagore Parliamentary Constituency. In this the Congress candidate Srimati Ila Pal Chowdhury defeated her Communist rival Mr. Sushil Chatterji by over 42,000 votes having secured 69,636 votes to the 27,455 votes of her Communist rival. The P.S.P. candidate, Sri Mihir Lal Chatterjee, came a bad third with 19,802 votes, as was expected.

Srimati Ila Pal Chowdhury is an absolute new-comer in the public life of West Bengal, despite all that has been published in the daily press. She has not had any contact with any phase of public activities until very recently. All the more praise is due to her for her successful election campaign. Most probably she fought the campaign with the enthusiasm of a new-comer, unfettered by the shortcomings and blemishes that have accrued to most Congressmen. Praise is also due to the Congressmen who carried on

the campaign over the scattered and difficult terrain of a countryside constituency.

Dr. Radhabinod Pal is a man of high standing in public esteem, being a jurist of international standing and unsullied reputation. The constituency is compact and easy of approach and within easy reach of the headquarters of the W.B.P.C.C. And yet he suffered a miserable defeat!

It is unanimously agreed amongst all trained observers that the Congress lost by sheer default. There was no campaign in evidence anywhere. Indeed a veteran journalist with a great deal of experience of electioneering in Calcutta said he had never seen a Congress candidate being let down like this.

Now that the expectations and excitement in the South-East Calcutta election have died down, a dispassionate view should be taken as to where the parties stand. Those who voted against the Congress are not all anti-Congress. They say thus:

"We are not anti-Congress, but we do not see eye to eye with some of the policies of the premier party. We know that the Congress enjoys the majority in the Union Parliament, and one more member will not in any way alter its position. But we want to register our protest on this occasion against its present policies. The Communists are a minority in the Legislature and one more member will not make it a majority party. Still we must vote for its candidate and this is just a protest and warning too that if the Congress does not make amends, it will have to lose many more seats in the next election."

But what about the leftist parties (other than the Communists)? This election may be taken as a pointer that in no distant future they are destined to die a natural death unless they awaken to realities. In the last general election some of these leftist parties formed an entente with the Communists under the name of the USO. At that time the Communists were still to a certain extent handicapped with their war-memories. Naturally they welcomed the entente. But they knew full well that it was just a patchwork pact to be broken as soon as their purpose was served. And they broke the entente soon after the general election.

The position is now altered. The so-called leftist parties are today practically without organisation, without strong, clear-cut policies and ideologies, and lastly, without resources. These splinter groups and organisations are now compelled to play a second fiddle to the Communist party, seemingly only to delay their elimination from the political arena of India. During the last tram strike they tried to make capital out of the agitation and to lay the foundation for this election thereby. They are now disillusioned, but they should have foreseen this at that time. At their cost the Communists have won, because they are a strongly organised party. Sri Silbhadra Yajee is now alarmed at the future prospect of his party. He says that the Forward Bloc did not hold many meetings in support

of their candidate. But that is poor consolation and a paltry defence too. The Forward Bloc did its best and their defeat was just inevitable under the circumstances.

The next general election will be fought between the two major parties—Congress and the Communists. The other leftist parties will have to join either of these parties or will go the way of political extinction, unless they see reason. The P.S.P. which is by no means a splinter group has lost not only both the elections, but a very considerable amount of prestige. And for that they have to thank their Calcutta executives, who thought they could win the elections as fellow-travellers. If the P.S.P. wants to survive in West Bengal, it should start with a searching enquiry into the workings of its party-organisation here.

Congress Reverses in U.P. Civic Elections

The Congress has suffered a surprising defeat in the recently held civic elections in Uttar Pradesh. As the *People* writes, the civic elections had been described as 'miniature' general elections. Though the Congress still topped the list in numbers of seats secured "the fact remains that the Congress has suffered heavy and unexpected reverses," writes the special correspondent of the *People* in Lucknow. The correspondent adds: "The *People* prognosticated a resounding victory for the Congress—anything between 75 per cent and 90 per cent. It seems we must eat our words now. We have proved to be bad prophets."

The Correspondent lists the inability of the Congress Parliamentary Board to mobilise its forces to the full as one of the causes of the defeat of the Congress. Growing popular resentment towards the Congress Government was also a contributing factor. The cost of living was rising higher and higher and unemployment was on the upgrade. Added to this was much factionalism inside the Congress itself. Casteism and Communalism also had a hand in the Congress defeats, the correspondent writes.

Next to Congress the most successful has been the Citizens' Democratic Front, consisting of Communists and fellow-travellers. Out of 31 seats contested the Front has secured 26 while the Congress could secure only 39 seats by contesting for 106 seats.

According to the statement of Sri Govind Sahai, General Secretary of the Citizens' Democratic Front, on November 9 the party position on that date was as follows:

Party	Seats contested	Seats won	Percentages of seats won to seats contested
Congress	106	39	36.7
C.D.F.	31	26	84
P.S.P.	34	12	35
Hindu Maha Sabha	30	12	40
Independents	112	23	20.5

In the Four bye-elections to the State Assembly, however, the Congress has fared much better by secur-

ing three seats. The Communists failed to gain any seat and the fourth one was annexed by the P.S.P. Two bye-elections were still pending.

Devanagari Script Reform

Two distinct points of view seemed to dominate the deliberations of the Devanagari Script Reform Conference which sat at Lucknow on November 28, under the chairmanship of Sri S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India.

Dr. Radhakrishnan stressed the need to have a uniform script for Devanagari for the whole country. "Our aim should be simplicity and speed. We should not, of course, make changes simply to suit typing and printing," he said.

The need for simplifying the Nagri Script was recognised by the spokesmen of both sides, Dr. Sampuranand and Kaka Kalelkar, but the former, while initiating the general discussion on the subject, emphasised that the richness and beauty of the language should not be sacrificed for the demands of "mechanisation" of the script. Kaka Kalelkar, however, pointed out that the question was not of retaining or sacrificing the beauty of the language but was that the script should be so simplified as to take the language to the widest section of illiterate masses and further so that the unifying heritage of different languages of India, all of whom were derived from Sanskrit, should emerge.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, in his presidential address, expressed yet another point of view. He said that there should be a uniform script for the whole country but suggested the use of both Roman and Nagri scripts and added that "such co-operative usage (of two scripts) will bring us into intimate relations with our Sanskrit heritage and also European culture." He also warned that displacement of regional scripts by Nagri was not a practical proposition at present.

"We have the same alphabet in many Indian languages but different scripts. We may also arrange the Roman letters in the Sanskrit order. This will help to popularise Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking areas and spread the knowledge of Indian literature, philosophy and religion outside India more easily and effectively.

"It is sometimes suggested that both the Nagari and the Roman scripts may be used for the expression of Sanskrit. Such a co-operative usage will bring us into intimate relations with our Sanskrit heritage from which almost all the languages of India are derived, and European culture. The Roman script adapts itself to expansion by the use of diacritical marks. The Roman script, it is contended, is not European in its origin but is really derived from Asia and is well suited for the expression of Sanskrit. I realise that this suggestion is beyond the scope of the conference

which is convened for the specific purpose of effecting the necessary improvements in the Nagari script to suit the needs of the modern printing press, typewriting and those of the growing politically conscious population.

"The suggestion that one uniform Nagari script should be employed for all the languages of India will have to be considered with great care and caution. The use of the Nagari script for Sanskrit in many parts of the country is not very old. We owe it to the work of the European Sanskritists and the unifying tendencies of the different Universities from 1957 onwards. The first volume of Max Muller's edition of Rig Veda Samhita was published from Oxford in 1854 and the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras which were founded in 1857 started prescribing Sanskrit texts in Nagari script. Till then Sanskrit works were written in Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili, Newari in Nepal, Sarada in Kashmir, Telugu, Kannada, Grantha in the Tamil country and Malayalam. The Nagari script was used for Sanskrit works in the Hindi area, Rajasthan, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra. To suggest the displacement of native scripts by Nagari is not at the present time a practicable proposition. All these local scripts as well as Nagari are derived from the old Bramhi script. When Hindi in Nagari script is more generally accepted in non-Hindi areas, the people who speak other languages will also become familiar with the Nagari script and perhaps may adopt it as an alternative to their own. In these matters, natural growth should be the method and not official imposition.

"The punctuation marks which are in use in English may be adopted.

"As for the international numerals or the Devanagari numerals, there are arguments for each. The Nagari script and the Nagari numerals, it is said, should go together. They form an organic whole. When it is decided to use the Nagari script, consistency demands that the Nagari numerals should also be used. On the other side, it is said that international numerals are used the world over. Even countries like the Soviet Union which insists on the general use of the Russian language by all its people, use the international numerals and not their national ones. These numerals, it is argued, were originally Indian and spread to Europe through the Arabs. If the international numerals are used, accounting, book-keeping, etc., are greatly facilitated when trade and commerce are becoming international. It is suggested that in Hindi correspondence the Hindi numerals may be used and in all other cases international numerals."

Pandit Nehru sent the following message:

"It is not quite clear to me what exactly is going to be discussed at the Devanagari Script Conference, which is going to be held soon in Lucknow. Problems of language and script are normally dealt with by a

small body of scholars or experts and then considered by large gatherings or organisations. I do not know if this preliminary stage has been passed already and there are specific proposals to be considered.

"Not knowing this, I am at a disadvantage.

"If the conference is going to consider the problem of script only, I imagine that this falls into two parts:

(1) The adoption of the Nagari script by the other Indian languages, or by as many of them as possible.

(2) The improvement of the Nagari script so as to make it more suitable for printing, typing and other forms of modern usage.

"It is obviously desirable that we should bring about some uniformity in India in the matter of script.

"This applies more especially to the scripts of the languages derived from Sanskrit and secondarily to the other languages of India. If we have a uniform script, this in itself would remove a major barrier in the learning and understanding of other languages in India. It would be a unifying force and far more people than today will know more than one Indian language.

"This is so obvious that it needs no argument.

"The result of having one script would actually lead to a much wider acquaintance of those languages which at present have another script. Our decision to make Hindi in the Nagari script, the national language of India gives undoubtedly a big pull to people living in the Hindi-speaking areas. Others will no doubt learn Hindi, as they are doing now. But, normally speaking, they will not know it as well as a person whose mother-tongue it is.

"I think it is important that every Indian should know at least one Indian language other than his mother-tongue. In the case of people living in the non-Hindi-speaking areas, that other language will necessarily be Hindi. For the Hindi-speaking areas, the other language will have to be a different one, Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Telugu, Kannada, Oriya, Assamese, etc.

"In Europe there are many great languages, but all of them except in the Slav regions, are written in the Roman script. That is a great advantage and many literate persons can at least read every other language even though he might not understand much of it. That advantage will come to India if we have one script.

"I remember the complaint of a young Khasi boy in Assam. He told me that he had to learn his own language, that is, Khasi, which was written in the Roman script. (This was introduced by the Christian missionaries many years ago and still continues, Khasi books and Grammar being in that script). Then he had to learn Hindi in the Nagari script and Assamese in its own script. Also he was keen on learning English. Thus the poor boy had to learn four languages and three scripts.

"This did appear to me a bit too much. This would

apply to all the Tribal areas. That boy suggested, of his own accord, that Assamese might be written in the Nagari script. That would simplify, to some extent, his work, as obviously it would.

"Thus no argument is needed for having one script for the whole of India if possible. This will create difficulties to begin with, but, once done, it would make things easy for all of us. We, in Northern India, would learn the Southern languages with far greater ease. People in the South of India would learn Hindi easily as well as any other language. The real difficulty, of course, is a practical one and how far people would willingly accept such a change in the script. Language in all its forms, including script, is something which is a very intimate part of an individual, a group or a nation. It is not easy to change it and passions are frequently aroused in such controversies. Therefore, one has to proceed with the greatest caution and goodwill. Attempts to impose a language or a script create difficulties, and usually can only be done successfully by some authoritarian regime. The change-over should have a considerable measure of support from the people most concerned.

"Two scripts are to remain, or rather should remain, in India, namely, Urdu or the Persian script and the Roman script, in which English or the European languages are written. There is no sense of conflict between them and Hindi. These are completely different and cannot be absorbed in Hindi. The Roman script keeps us in touch with the world generally and we must know it. The Persian script is still used by a large number of persons and is a link between us and Western Asia. It has been used in India for many hundreds of years and is part and parcel of our life. Naturally it will be dominated by Hindi and Nagari more and more. But it should be preserved and encouraged in its own sphere as something which adds to the richness of our life and thought, just as the Roman script does over a wider field.

"The second question is the reference to the possibility of the present Nagari script being simplified or improved for purposes of printing, typing, etc. While the script is scientific, it is slightly cumbersome for these purposes and therefore efficiency suffers considerably by its use in its present form. This is a matter for experts to consider, some proposals have already been made for such an improvement."

Forced Labour

An international committee has laboured for two years to establish the fact that many countries use political prisoners as slaves. The man in the street has little doubt that slave labour is a fact. Yet he has equally little idea of its scale, and its very existence is hotly denied by the governments concerned. Such denials inevitably carry some weight when the accusations are levelled by refugees or by governments politically opposed to the accused regime.

Real value, therefore, must be attached to the carefully objective and restrained report compiled by a United Nations committee composed of three eminent individuals representing three continents. Sir Rama-swami Mudaliar of India, Mr. Pål Berg, former president of the Norwegian Supreme Court, and Sr. Sayan, former Foreign Minister of Peru, issued their 620-page report on June 24th, almost two years after their appointment. They were instructed by the UN Economic and Social Council to study the extent to which forced labour is used not only for political repression but also as an economic weapon of governments.

These three men were faced at the start by the fact that during public sessions of the Council no less than 23 nations had been accused of practising forced labour. The 23 included Britain, Australia, France, South Africa, the United States, Eastern Germany, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Communist China. But the committee was required to consider other countries too. In fact, it sent a brief questionnaire to all governments, whether members of UNO or not, asking for information about their relevant laws. Forty-eight governments replied; those that did not include the Soviet group, thirteen of the Latin Americans, Persia, Egypt, Portugal and Pakistan. As to the 23 accused, each was supplied with copies of the allegations and of supporting documentary evidence where it existed, and asked to comment. The Soviet group and some of the Latin Americans declined to comment.

While the committee was being denounced by Moscow and Prague as a tool employed solely to calumniate the Communist nations, it was painstakingly probing the truth of a long series of sweeping accusations which those nations themselves had made, in almost every case without any supporting evidence. For example, a Soviet spokesman declared that the British Control of Engagement Order of 1947 had "deprived the British workers of all their rights." The committee, however, found that only 15 directions to work were issued under this order in 1947, 14 in 1948, and none in 1949, while the order itself was revoked in 1950. The Polish allegation that 20,000 Africans had been subjected to forced labour in one year in the colony of Gambia and the Byelorussian accusation that Tanganyika groundnut scheme was based entirely on forced labour, were proved false.

But the committee in no way set itself to whitewash the non-Communist world. A scrutiny of Portuguese law revealed that Africans who went to work on the island of San Tome, although voluntarily, were liable to find themselves in a position akin to one of forced labour. In Spain, the committee found that very broadly defined political offences were liable to severe punishment involving forced labour. A system of forced labour of significance to the national economy

was judged to exist in South Africa, in the indirect sense that most of the population was channelled, by discriminatory laws, into agricultural and manual occupations in which many of the Africans were strictly supervised by the authorities.

The committee went further and examined the position in Malaya, Kenya, the Belgian Congo, Bolivia and Nauru. Its conclusion is that in each case existing regulations might, if extensively applied and broadly interpreted, lead to the creation of a system of forced labour. The evidence did not suggest that such a system existed in these territories, but the possibility could not be ruled out. The same warning was given as regards vagrancy laws in some States in the United States.

All this, however, was overshadowed by the committee's findings with regard to the Soviet bloc. When studying these countries, the committee carefully refrained from accepting any estimates of the size of the slave labour population, reports on the location of the Soviet prison camps, or evidence of mass deportations. It applied itself essentially to a study of existing Soviet and satellite laws and administrative practices. As to the Soviet Union itself, official publications clearly established the fact that persons suspected of political errors are sentenced to forced labour often without any right of appeal or of representation by a defending counsel, and sometimes by an administrative organ instead of a court. They further established that most of those sentenced are sent to labour camps or colonies in remote and undeveloped areas or at the sites of big mining and construction projects. As one Soviet publication puts it, "The stupendous work done by corrective labour camps is of enormous importance to the national economy."

The committee's findings that in the Soviet Union forced labour is used not only for political coercion, but also as an important element in the national economy, is applicable also to Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. As to Poland and Hungary, the committee did not find the evidence conclusive, but it held that the laws of these countries gave their governments power to employ forced labour as both a political and an economic weapon. In Rumania, it was found that forced labour was, in fact, used for political repression, and could also be made to serve economic purposes. The committee was unable to study the situation in Albania and Communist China since it could not obtain copies of the relevant laws and regulations. Further information was also needed about Eastern Germany, but the committee noted official Communist admissions of the existence of labour camps, documents establishing the fact that Germans were directed to work in the uranium mines, and extracts from the East German Criminal Code, which empowers courts to inflict forced labour "without conducting a full hearing."

It is strange that the Indian delegation to the United Nations dissociated itself from the views of the committee on forced labour. The preface to the Report on forced labour states that the members of the committee "had acted in a purely individual capacity and that they did not represent any government or party and that the opinion they had expressed in their report did not and could not commit their respective countries." The Soviet delegate, M. G. F. Saskin, denounced the report as it disclosed the inside story of the labour situation in the Soviet bloc. He vehemently attacked both the Chairmen, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Mr. Paal Berg, the former as a "servant of the colonial imperialists" and the latter as a "Quisling renowned for toadying to the Fascists." The Norwegian delegate resented this remark against an eminent personality of his country. But the Indian delegate said no word which is exceedingly strange.

Peace Prize

The conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize on General George Marshall, the former Chief of Staff of the American Army, makes one wonder whether the terms *peace* and *war* have become synonymous with the Nobel Prize Committee. The man who played a leading role in the second world war, the man who is in no mean way responsible for deciding the Allied Policy that ultimately led to the subjugation of the defeated nations of Europe is now recognised to be an upholder of peace. It may be that peace having been annihilated in the second world war, peace is now non-existent and has yielded place to war, hot or cold. War now being the sole survivor of the two, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee probably thought that henceforth the best upholder of war should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

If one sees the matter from this point of view, the puzzle may be cleared why Mahatma Gandhi was not awarded the peace Nobel Prize. It is simply because to the Committee peace is now non-existent.

Trade Unions in India

Prof. Van Dusen Kennedy, Berkley University, California, in the course of his address to the Mysore State branch of the Textile Association of India in Bangalore in the first week of November, stated that the striking difference between the Indian Trade Union Movement and the American was that the unions in the United States were led by men who had come up from the ranks of the working classes, while in India, they were led by persons who had nothing to do with the concerned industry but belonged to some political party. Secondly, he said that labour-management differences in the US were thrashed out between the parties concerned, whereas in India the Government and the tribunals often come in, and very largely, into the picture. In America, there are provisions for written agreements and their

proper execution. Thirdly, in the United States, there is a national union for each industry exercising full powers over its branches; but there is no such centralisation in India, the units being knit together only very loosely in the form of a federation.

These observations by Prof. Kennedy bring out the essential difference between the American and the Indian labour movements and the weakness of the latter. The Trade Union Movement in this country is neither centralised nor is controlled by the workers themselves. The movement is disrupted by a number of rival central associations dominated by one political party or the other. The All-India Trade Union Congress was founded in 1920 and affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. It is now fully controlled by the Communists. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, founded in May 1947, and affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is run by the Congress Party. The Socialist Party founded in 1948 the Hind Mazdur Sabha. There is again the United Trade Union Congress, which broke away in December 1949 from the AITUC. The Trade Union Movement in this country is thus controlled by India's political parties. The result is that the economic and social interests of labour are sacrificed at the altar of political rivalry and personal jealousy. Small wonder that where political consideration predominates, economic welfare of the labour goes at a discount. This factor explains the absence of machinery for mutual settlement of disputes and the consequent interference of the Government in labour disputes. Unless such outside political control goes, there is little prospect of ensuring harmonious labour management relations.

The number of affiliated unions and their membership during 1951 was as follows:

Organizations	Number of affiliated unions	Membership
Indian National Trade Union Congress	1,220	15,68,668
All-India Trade Union Congress	736	7,58,314
Hind Mazdoor Sabha	517	7,74,263
United Trade Union Congress	332	3,84,962

India's Mineral Production in 1951

The total volume of minerals and ores excluding petroleum produced in India during the year 1951 has been estimated at over Rs. 105 crores as compared with Rs. 83 crores in 1950.

The reserves of Gondwana coals in seams of workable thickness, that is, four feet and above, of a quality which can be used for most purposes, not exceeding 25 per cent ash content and occurring within one thousand feet of the surface, have been estimated at 20,000,000,000 tons. Of this, the good quality coal would amount to about 5,000 million tons, or 25 per cent of the total reserves. India's known reserves of chromite are of the order of 200,000 tons of high grade ore, while the reserves of lower

grade ore are estimated at several times as much. The total estimated reserves of copper ore at the close of the year 1950 stood at 3,087,195 short tons and the total reserves of gypsum are roughly of the order of 67 million tons. Major iron ore reserves total up to 10,200 million tons. The Lapsa Bafu deposit of Kharsawan is the largest kyanite deposit of its kind in the world and the reserves have been estimated at 200,000 tons within a depth of a few feet. India has large reserves of high grade manganese ore. There are many other strategic minerals of which India possesses fair reserves.

Iron Ores of India

India is one of the few countries of the world containing large and abundant reserves of iron ores, according to an article contributed by Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Director, Geological Survey of India to the latest issue of the *Indian Minerals* (Vol. VI, No. 3).

The ores are distributed widely in various parts of India and are of four general types. Of these the more important are hematite and quartz-magnetite rock. The former type of ores occurs in large deposits in Bihar, Orissa and Central Provinces and the latter is seen in the Salem and Trichinopoly districts of Madras.

Iron ore has been smelted in India for perhaps 500 years, for it is known that articles made of iron and steel of Indian origin used to be marketed in the event some centuries before Christ. The famous Damascus blades for swords were made from Indian steel. The smelting was done in very numerous but small furnaces scattered over the country wherever some kind of iron ore and charcoal were available. The famous iron pillar near the Kutab Minar at New Delhi has won the admiration of many. Analyses of the iron were made by Dr. Percy, late of the School of Mines, and Dr. Murray Thompson of Roorkee College, who found that it consisted of pure malleable iron without any alloy. The pillar which shows no sign of rust is a testimony to the skill and art of Indian iron-makers 500 years ago.

It was known that in the 18th century steel taken from Britain from India was of two kinds. One was in the form of conical ingots and the other in the form of flat round cakes. The former was *wootz* steel made in crucibles in the Trichinopoly district of Madras and in certain places in Hyderabad. The word *wootz* belongs to the Telangana language of the south-eastern parts of Hyderabad State. It was produced by the carburisation of wrought iron in crucibles, using a principle which was unknown in England until the year 1800. The latter, i.e., steel in the form of flat iron cakes, was made by the partial removal of carbon by oxidation from cast iron.

Five-Year Plan and Agriculture

Agricultural development has been given a high place in the Five-Year Plan, and the success or failure of

the Plan is therefore naturally going to depend very largely on what the agriculture is able to achieve. Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, addressing the Conference of State Ministers of Agriculture and Co-operation, held recently in New Delhi, said: "Thanks to the good rains and seasonable weather last year, the overall acreage under cereals are the highest even in 1952-53, being 200 million, and the total production of cereals during that period was 5 million better than the previous year. In rice, maize and barley, we have had an all-time record production in 1952-53."

He further said that the usual grow-more-food efforts have been supplemented this year with a drive for the new method of rice cultivation. The seventeen States that have reported so far estimate that over 3.4 million acres of land has been put under this method. It may be that all the items of the new method may not have been followed uniformly everywhere. But the addition to rice production will not be inconsiderable. The south-west monsoon has on the whole been satisfactory in most parts of the country, although extensive damage by floods has been reported. In spite of this widespread calamity, it is being hoped that India's overall production will not suffer.

Referring to land reform policies, including imposition of ceilings on holdings, Dr. Deshmukh said, "The general lines of land policy have already been laid down by the Planning Commission. One important question on which there seems to be difference of opinion is the question of ceilings on holdings. The idea of ceilings has already been given effect to in a number of States as the limit for future acquisition and as the limit of resumption of lands. The question of imposing a ceiling on the existing holdings has recently been taken up by certain States and this has undoubtedly a direct bearing on agricultural efficiency and output."

Apart from better production, the question of marketing of the agricultural produce is very important. It is axiomatic to say that unless there is an adequate return to the farmer, it is idle to speak of enthrusing him or entertaining the ambition of greater production. Moreover, the agricultural industries, big or small, are all almost everywhere in the hands of non-agriculturists, with the result that there is a perpetual conflict of interests between the two. In this conflict, the cultivator, being the weaker, always and consistently loses. Steps should therefore be taken to enable the agriculturist to establish his own industries.

Census of India

The All-India Census Report, 1951, (just published), has been prepared at a cost of Rs. 1.49 crores (or Rs. 41½ per 1,000 persons enumerated as against Rs. 15½ per 1,000 enumerated in the 1931 census). The Report of the 1951 census is presented in 17 volumes which are divided into 63 parts. The Report reveals that India is more densely populated than Europe which is itself

the most densely populated region in the world. In relation to the natural resources available for the production of food, India is even more heavily populated than Europe. But while Europe has brought only 30 per cent of his land under the plough on the average, India has brought 43 per cent of her land under cultivation. The pressure of population on land in India will be evident from the fact that, although the land area of the USA and Soviet Union put together is nine times as large as India's, these two countries have together a smaller population than India.

The total area of land is 812 million acres and the population of the Indian Union between 26th January and 1st March, 1951, was 356, 879, 394. The land area *per capita* comes to 2.25 acres (including Jammu and Kashmir). Out of India's 812.6 million acres, 86.9 million (or 10 per cent) acres lie in mountains. The word "mountain" in this connection means steep land at a very high elevation and excludes all land below a limit of 7,000 feet above sea-level. Nearly two-thirds of such mountain tracts (54.8 million acres) are found in Jammu and Kashmir. The remaining one-third is distributed among three zones: 14.1 million acres in East India, 9.7 million acres in North-West India, and 7.9 million acres in North India. Less than 500,000 acres are in South India. In West India and Central India there are no mountains in the strict sense of the term.

Next to "mountain" tracts come hilly tracts. The term "hill" is used to cover all kinds of weathered highlands (except mountains) without reference to the level at which the hills are situated. It also covers the entire area of all ranges other than the Himalayas, as also the foothills of the Himalayan range up to 7,000 feet above sea-level. Hilly tracts thus defined covers 150.9 million acres of all land in India (18.6 per cent). This area is divided among four zones: East India 52.5 millions, Central India 33.3 millions, South India 27.8 millions, and West India 19.8 millions.

There are 8.8 million acres of hill tracts in North-West India outside Jammu and Kashmir and 2.7 million acres in Jammu and Kashmir. There are 4.1 million acres of hilly area in Northern India and 2.1 million acres in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Plateaus are the third kind of tracts. They comprise all types of flat tracts of land which lie between 1,000 feet and 3,000 feet above sea-level. Such tracts measure 224.8 million or 27.7 per cent of all the land in India. Almost exactly one-half of all plateaus (112.5 million acres) is found in Central India including Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh. The remaining half is distributed as follows: North-West India—30 million acres; South India—28.6 million acres, West India 28.4 million acres and East India 2.4 million acres. A fringe of North India measuring 3.4 million acres is also plateau land.

Lastly, come the plains. India has 349.9 million acres of plains or 43 per cent of all land in India. They

are distributed thus: East India 80.5 million, North-West India 74.2 million, North India 57.2 million, South India 50.6 million, West India 47.6 million and Central India 39.5 million. Plains are generally the best for purposes of cultivation and settlement of people.

But all the 350 million acres of plain land are not fertile or even cultivable. Some parts of the country have vast stretches of land which can be called land only in a technical sense. The "Rann of Kutch" is an instance in point. It measures 5.9 million acres and is not cultivable. So also is 25.4 million acres of Rajasthan dry area. The capacity of this area to support life is negligible. Then come the sandy wastes and marshy lands which occur in many tracts. Such lands account for 33 million acres in North-West India and 7.5 million acres in West India.

Thus, out of a total land area of 812.6 million acres, unusable area accounts for 308.2 million acres. Topographically usable area therefore is of the order of 504.4 million acres. All the usable area, however, is not cultivable. Even within this area, there lie large patches of land which are little better than barren rock, and have no soil or cover. Information regarding the nature and extent of soil cover available for land in different parts of the country is mostly descriptive. There are four main groups of soils in this country, namely, alluvial, black, red and lateritic. A brief description of these soils is given below:

(1) Four main groups of soils are found extensively all over India. Among them, the alluvial groups is by far the most productive. They are distributed over practically the whole of the Gangetic plains in Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and extend to the Punjab and parts of Assam and Orissa. The coastal tracts of Southern India are also alluvial, especially at the mouths of the rivers, where they are known as deltaic alluvium. The soils are deficient in phosphoric acid, nitrogen and humus, but not generally in potash and lime.

(2) The black soils of India are loamy to clayey in texture, vary in depth, and contain lime *kankar* in varying percentages, and free calcium carbonate. These soils are generally suitable for cultivation of cotton and are known in many places as "black cotton soils" or *regur*. Resembling tropical black earth, they are very well defined soils which occupy the greater part of Bombay and Saurashtra, western parts of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Hyderabad and some parts of Madras including the districts of Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram. The soils are fairly fertile and very useful for commercial crops.

(3) Another fairly well-defined and extensive group consists of red soils. They differ widely in depth and fertility in different parts of India and are generally of medium to low fertility. They cover very large tracts of Madras, Mysore, south-east Bombay, east Hyderabad and a strip of tract running along the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh to Chhota Nagpur and Orissa. In the

north, the red soil area extends into and includes the greater part of the Santhal Parganas in Bihar, the Birbhum district of West Bengal, the Mirzapur, Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of Uttar Pradesh, northern portion of Madhya Bharat, the Aravallies and the eastern half of Rajasthan.

(4) The last of the four main groups consists of laterite and lateritic soils. Soils of this group are derived by the atmospheric weathering of several types of rocks under monsoon conditions of alternating dry and wet periods. Well-developed laterite and lateritic soils are found on the summits of hills of the Deccan, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, and of the Rajmahal and Eastern Ghats, and certain parts of Orissa, Bombay, Malabar and Assam. The soils are deficient in potash, phosphoric acid and lime.

(5) Other miscellaneous types of soils include desert or arid soils occurring in the regions having low rainfall, e.g., Ajmer, Eastern Rajasthan, etc. Marshy or peaty soils occur over small areas in Travancore, and in parts of West Bengal, Orissa and Madras. Hill soils, which are generally sandy or red loam, occur in the hilly regions of West Bengal, Punjab and Assam.

As regards the sex ratio, the census figures have revealed that not only males and females are unequal in numbers, but also that the magnitude of this inequality is also different in different parts of the country. In the country as a whole, the sex ratio is 947, that is, there are 947 females per 1,000 males. It varies widely among the zones. The lowest value is 883 in North-West India and the highest is 999 in South India where practically equality of the sexes is attained. The other four zones vary thus: 910 in North India, 938 in West India, 945 in East India and 973 in Central India. Regarding the marital status pattern, the Census Report states that in the country as a whole roughly every other male person is unmarried; while rather less than two out of five females are unmarried.

Births have occurred during the ten years 1941-50 at an average rate of 40 per thousand per year; and deaths have occurred during the same period at an average rate of 27 per thousand per annum. The natural increase of the population is therefore taking place at an average rate of 13 per thousand per year.

As regards livelihood pattern, the Report states that the pattern varies from one zone to another. There are 402 landless agriculturists for every one thousand agricultural landholders. There are enormous differences in this respect from State to State. This number of landless agriculturists per thousand agricultural landholders is the smallest in UP (161) and the highest in Travancore-Cochin (782). The numbers for other major States are: Mysore 190, Assam 235, Orissa 271, Bombay 383, Madhya Bharat 397, Madhya Pradesh 413, Hyderabad 507, Bihar 510, Rajasthan 544, West Bengal 609 and Madras 714.

Economic Condition of the Indian People

The economic data analysis of the 1951 Census reveals that agricultural classes account for 249,074,901 persons and non-agricultural classes 107,553,411. Of the agricultural classes 71,049,356 persons are self-supporting; 146,956,640 are non-earning dependents; and 31,068,905 are earning dependents. Among the non-agricultural classes 33,350,447 are self-supporting; 67,334,634 are non-earning dependents; and 6,868,330 are earning dependents.

Among the agricultural classes, 58,514,694 males and 12,534,662 females are self-supporting; 45,193,466 males and 89,763,174 females are non-earning dependents; and 10,479,295 males and 20,589,610 females are earning dependents. Among the non-agricultural classes, 28,662,536 males and 4,687,911 females are self-supporting; 25,407,927 males and 41,926,707 females are non-earning dependents; and 2,937,036 males and 3,931,294 females are earning dependents.

Among the agricultural classes, 167,326,578 persons and their dependents are cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned; 31,618,073 persons are cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned; 44,309,019 persons and their dependents are cultivating labourers; and 5,321,231 persons and their dependents are cultivating owners of land and agricultural rent receivers. There are 402 landless agriculturists for every one thousand landholders.

Among the non-agricultural classes, 37,671,902 persons (including dependents) are engaged for their livelihood in production other than cultivation; 21,311,898 persons are engaged in commerce; 5,620,717 persons are engaged in transport; and 42,948,894 persons in other services and miscellaneous sources.

On an average every house in India is occupied by 5.5 persons. Of the total of 64,361,676 occupied houses in the country; 54,056,388 are rural houses occupied by 295,004,271 persons, and 10,305,288 are urban houses occupied by 61,875,123 persons. This gives an average of 5.4 persons per house in the rural area, and six persons per house in the urban area.

India has an area of 1,176,864 square miles, 558,089 villages, and 3,018 towns with a total population of 356,879,304 persons. This excludes the population of Kashmir State and the population of the Part B tribal areas of Assam, but includes the population of Chandernagore.

Regarding the marital status pattern, the report states that in the country as a whole roughly every other male persons is unmarried (total 88,147,296); while rather less than two out of five females are unmarried (total 65,950,673).

Despite the Sarda (Child Marriage Restraint) Act, 1929, nearly 14.5 per cent of females and 6.3 per cent of males aged between 5 and 14 years are married.

Prevalence of polygamy is revealed for the fact

that married females exceed married males by 124,911 persons.

During the period 1941-51, births have occurred at an average rate of 40 per thousand per annum; and deaths have occurred during the same period at an average rate of 27 per thousand per annum. The natural increase of population has been at the rate of 13 per thousand per annum.

Abor Hills

Commenting on the sad and unfortunate events in the Abor Hills where a number of officials of the Assam Frontier Agency had been killed by tribesmen the *Chronicle* points out that it served as an eye-opener as to the situation prevailing in the region. Characterising the incident as "nothing short of an insurrection," the paper commends the steps the Government proposed to take.

But the paper urges "utmost care and caution," keeping in view the geographical position of the area, activities and developments in the neighbouring areas beyond Indian borders and the nature and temperament of the tribal people. The Government of India should give closer attention and assume direct responsibility of the affairs of the region. All endeavours should be made to win the hearts of the people and the evil forces, who, the paper suspects, were being worked up by the foreign agencies, alienated from the rest of the people. And to achieve this objective specially trained officers would have to be deputed to this region. Otherwise, writes the paper, "situation may take, we reasonably apprehend particularly from the happenings in the Naga Hills as well, a very serious turn when Government of India will have only to repent and regret."

The latest information, as revealed by Shri Bishnuram Medhi, Minister in the Assam Government, goes to show that the Abor would listen to nothing but force. That force will have to be applied was evident from the very first, because these tribals are primitive people totally ignorant of outside affairs. There is no alternative therefore before the Government of India.

The Abors of Assam

Sri Satyen Sen writes in the *Hindu*: "Under the North-eastern Frontier Agency, the tribes who live in the mountains, east of Bhutan are the Akas, the Daflas, the Miris, the Abors and the Mismis. The hills inhabited by the Akas lie to the north of the Darrang district in Assam between the Dhansiri and Dikrai rivers. The Daflas live in the ridges that lie north of Darrang and Sibsagar districts between the Bharabi river and the Ranganadi. Miris live in the area lying to the north of Dibrugarh intersected by the river Subarnasiri. The hills wherein live the Abors are to the north of Lakhimpur district between the Siom river on the west and the Dihong river on the east. The Mismi

area is spread over the hills to the north-east of the Lakhimpur district. These hills sweep round the head of the Brahmaputra valley. The administrative districts of the Se La or Dafla inhabited area, the Subarnasiri or Miri area and the Abor Hills of N.-E.F.A. have a co-terminal border with Tibet. The Mismi Hills district which lies to the east of Abor Hills adjoins both Tibet and Burma."

The Abor region is perhaps the wettest part of the earth. The Abors are a fast dwindling race. The population was 10,761 in 1951 compared with 17,646 in 1941. There were only 695 females for every thousand males. The word 'Abor' was derived from *a-bari*, meaning "untamed." British official contact with these tribesmen began in 1847. Since then periodical expeditions had been sent by the British Government in India designed to 'subdue' the Abors, but with partial success only. In peace time, the Abors were truthful and honest, but in times of war they would not hesitate to bluff and trick the enemy into their clutch. The Abors were very conservative by habit and did not favour the idea of going away from their villages and suspected strangers. The chief weapon of the Abors was bamboo-made long-bow shod with iron, and fitted with a cane string. Almost everyone of them carried a sword. They were expert craftsmen and the womenfolk were expert weavers.

There were easily accessible roads to Tibet in the Abor Hills but those had hardly been used for direct communication between India and Tibet because the Simong Abors and the Bono-Janbo tribesmen inhabiting the area did not let anybody through and share in their profits of monopolistic middlemen's trading on Tibetan goods in their own hands.

Referring to the recent unfortunate happenings Sri Sen urges upon the Government to initiate a scientific study as a long-term measure to transform the turbulent nature of some of the Abor clans and to encourage and support philanthropic organisations to open centres there with a view to establishing closer links between the tribesmen and the people of the rest of India.

A Great Omission

The All-Bengal Medical Conference, recently held at Midnapur, adopted several good resolutions. But one thing is missed and that is a great omission as it relates to the medical practitioners themselves—it is their fees. In recent years fees of the medical practitioners are being increased, particularly in Calcutta, to almost prohibitory levels—prohibitory in the sense that such exorbitant fees have made many medical men out of bounds to the majority of the people. Plainly speaking, fees are now so high that they are nothing but prohibitive. Perhaps in no other States of India fees of the medical practitioners are so high as in West Bengal. Even in a great city like Bombay, fees are much lower. Then why the medical fees are so exorbitant in Bengal?

In Britain the Labour Government had to nationalise the medical service to check the profiteering fees of the medical men. In that country also doctors' fees became exorbitant and just to break up the rising pace of their charges, medical practitioners' services were statutorily nationalised and private practice was regulated. Most medical men are now under services of the State and they are paid for by the State. But their services are in a way, free to the public—they cannot charge fees directly.

It is time that the Government of West Bengal and the medical profession as a body, considered the desirability of devising some measure whereby to check the ever-rising fees.

Demand For A Punjabi State

The *Bombay Chronicle* of November 10 reports that presiding over the Punjabi-speaking State Conference held in Bombay at Shivaji Park on the 8th November, Sardar Gian Singh Rarewalla, former Chief Minister of Pepsu and President of the Pepsu National Front had reiterated the demand for a Punjabi State.

The demand for the creation of a Punjabi State had been going on for a long time, Mr. Rarewalla said. But because the Sikhs had vigorously voiced the demand, some narrow-minded opportunists had tried to discredit it as a communal move and thereby create suspicion and mistrust in the minds of the people. Mr. Rarewalla had no doubt that the creation of the Punjabi State "would end the party frictions and bickerings in north India and would usher in a new era of peace and prosperity," the paper reports.

"The greatest justification," for the formation of a Punjabi State, "was the development of the Punjabi language and the Punjabi culture," he had said. Though Punjabi had been recognised as one of the fourteen regional languages, in the Punjab, Punjabi had not been accorded the encouragement it deserved. Mr. Rarewalla had pointed out the unsatisfactory demarcation of boundaries and had pleaded for a readjustment. He had expressed the view that only in a linguistic State could the people contribute their best for the progress of the country. In this connection he had referred to the high praise bestowed by Sri Nehru on the system of linguistic States in Russia.

According to the *Bombay Chronicle*, he had complained "that a section of the Punjab press had been dubbing this demand as a demand for a separate Sikh State or even Khalistan. He felt that they were trying to create this misunderstanding by raising false and misleading slogans and appealing to the communal sentiments of the people."

Mr. Rarewalla had also urged the Government to announce the personnel of the Boundary Commission without delay and had put forward the demand that not only should the Commission have wide powers but that the Government should be bound by its decisions.

A Vicious Convention

Recently a Conference of the Muslims was held in Aligarh, where much anti-Indian, Muslim communal propaganda had been indulged into. Fantastic charges were made of massacre "of Muslims in Free India uprooting of lakhs of them, colossal devastation of their properties, desecration of their mosques, mausoleums and graveyards, which had created a sense of horror, insecurity and frustration in the minds of Muslims." The conference brought into existence an All-India Muslim Jamiat with headquarters at Aligarh.

The proceedings of the Conference did not find much publicity in the Indian press but was much publicised in the Pakistan press. Referring to this conference the *People's* special correspondent in Lucknow writes: "Between the genuine ignorance of the public and the amused indifference of the Government, certain lessons may be drawn from the recent Muslim gathering at Aligarh."

"Following the typical Muslim League tactics," the correspondent continues, "the cry was raised for reservation of seats in the legislatures and for proportions in the services. There was also talk of a minorities convention to meet the growing menace."

He concludes with the remark that history has showed that "Aligarh has played a vicious part in Indian politics. At any rate a good many of its alumni are still finding that their best prospect is the high road to Pakistan. The passports office in Aligarh is the most overworked in India."

Asked to give his comments on the proceeding of the Conference, Mr. Nehru said at his Press Conference in Delhi on November 15 that he had seen the reports of the proceedings of the conference in the Pakistan press and in a section of the Urdu Press in India. He added: "I have other reports too. The Convention itself was a small affair and not important from the view of the numbers or influence. But I do think that the line adopted by that small convention was, if I may use a strong word, vicious."

An "Islamic Republic" for Pakistan

Mr. Aziz Beg, editor of the Lahore weekly *Star*, writes under the heading "Must We Have An Islamic State?"

"The situation created by the demand for an 'Islamic State' and an 'Islamic Constitution' is so confusing and amusing that any attempt to clarify the issue should be welcome to the votaries of modern, progressive Pakistan."

Referring to the proposition for the institution of a Board of Ulemas to whom the legislators would look for guidance Mr. Beg writes:

"To bestow on this class the status they demand would be to kill democracy before it is born and destroy the foundations of Parliamentary form of Government."

Regarding the provision that the head of the State

must be a Muslim he opposingly quotes the remarks of Mr. P. D. Bhandara, a Minority Member. Mr. Bhandara had said in his speech before the Constituent Assembly that the provision in the Constitution was unnecessary because even without the legislation this exalted position was more likely to be filled by a Muslim, due to their overwhelming majority, than by any other.

"Mr. Bhandara has aptly summed up the position," writes Mr. Beg, "and it will be a pity if his plea for sanity is misconstrued as a plea for minority rights."

Some Turkish papers have criticised the "Islamic State" resolution. They point out that this chosen path is the one Turkey had to discard after half-a-century of bitter experiences.

Indo-Ceylon Talks

Commenting on the Ceylon Premier, Sir John Kotelawala's rejection of Premier Nehru's invitation to come to New Delhi to straighten out the issues which had tended to strain the friendly relations between India and Ceylon, the *Hitavada* writes that even if a broadminded view were taken of the affair and the Ceylon Premier excused for having commented on the invitation before dispatching an official reply to New Delhi, none could fail to note the heavy underlining of the problem of illicit immigration. "By stating that he would accept the invitation only after he had investigated this problem, the Ceylon Premier has left the unfortunate impression that the future of some 8 lakhs of Indians in Ceylon is a matter of small importance when compared with that of illicit immigration," India's anxiety to stop which had never been doubted, the paper writes.

The paper continues: "The indefinite postponement of the Indo-Ceylon talks and his (Sir John's) reply to Peter Kenneman's questions in the House of Representatives combine to show that the Ceylon Indians have a long time ahead of them for a final settlement of the citizenship question. Asked to give an indication of the progress made in registration of applicants under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act, the Ceylon Premier stated that out of a total of 2,37,034 citizenship applications received—and these cover nearly 8 lakhs of residents—only 56,669 have so far been investigated. This means that barely a fifth of the Ceylon Indian population know their future. The rest are still at the tender mercy of the officials in charge of the work of registration."

Lack of staff was the lame excuse, offered for this deplorable delay. Of the 56,669 applications considered, 6,903 had been approved—granting citizenship to 23,751 persons—8,298 applications had been rejected—involving perhaps the claims of over 20,000 persons—while 5,468 applicants had been asked to show cause why their applications should not be rejected.

Referring to these facts the *Hitavada* writes: "Can any fair-minded observer of this Indo-Ceylon problem any longer believe that the Ceylon Government is keen on a final and a satisfactory settlement of the claims of some 8 lakhs of Indians to citizenship? Would not such an observer be justified in concluding that all this emphasis on illicit immigration is but a device for further procrastination in dealing with the main issue."

It is superfluous to attempt an answer.

U.S. Bases in Pakistan

Recently the Press in the USA paid much attention to the proposition of a military pact between the USA and Pakistan. A few days before Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Governor-General of Pakistan, reached the U.S.A. the *New York Times* wrote editorially on November 5, that major part of the talks between the Pakistan's Governor-General and the President of the United States would "centre about exploring possibilities of a military alliance between Pakistan and the United States." A regional arrangement for Middle East Defence having failed, a bilateral arrangement with a single potentially strong country, such as Pakistan was very much in Pentagon's favour, the paper believed. "Eventually," wrote the paper, "a regional defence pattern may be evoked but a start can be made in the case of Pakistan, such as has already been made in the case of Turkey."

The Pakistan Government formally released this editorial to the Press on November 6. Diplomatic quarters attached much importance to this release by the Pakistan Government since the Government normally released only those Foreign Press editorials which were in keeping with the Pakistan Government's point of view.

Stating that the USA had first become "interested in the strategic possibilities of Pakistan more than a year ago when Admiral Radford, now Chairman of the United States Chiefs of Staff, visited Pakistan as Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet," Mr. Homer Bigart, *New York Herald Tribune* Washington correspondent wrote that formal discussions between the USA and Pakistan might start at the White House luncheon to Ghulam Mohammed; which "could lead to a military alliance and establishment in South East Asia of American air bases within easy striking distance of Russia's great new industrial centres behind the Urals." He also wrote that informal discussions had been under way for weeks both at Washington and Karachi and that Pakistan had announced her willingness to negotiate an air base deal provided the United States would supply arms for Pakistan's quarter million man army.

The State Department continued to deny reports of any such talk, but informed sources stressed that such talks had indeed been taking place informally.

The *Times* reported that while the State Department had denied any negotiations going on, a departmental spokesman had said that there had been "continuous conversations and considerations" on Middle East Defence and those talks could be linked with the visit recently of Gen. Ayub Khan, the Pakistan C-in-C to the U.S.A. (*Statesman*, 15th Nov.)

On November 17, Mr. Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of States, declared that no negotiations had been under way with Pakistan for establishing American bases in that country; but he added that he did not rule out the possibility of such a Pact with Pakistan in future. However on November 18, President Eisenhower, addressing a Press Conference at Washington, stated that the question of military aid and bases had not been discussed in detail when he had met the Pakistani Governor-General. This means that some such discussion had definitely taken place, Mr. Dulles' denial notwithstanding.

Meanwhile *Reuter* reported from Washington that high Pakistani sources in New York had informed U.N. delegates and others that Pakistan had indicated her willingness to grant America bases, if the U.S.A. armed her. The report said: "According to Pakistan and U.S. estimates, it would cost \$250 million to re-equip the Pakistan army on modern lines, especially since it was the aim to block potential land invasions at passes such as Khyber Pass."

On enquiry from the Government of India the U.S. State Department had made it clear that while India would be kept informed about the developments and her views would be taken into account, any decision might not necessarily require her compliance.

At a Press Conference in New Delhi on November 15, Pandit Nehru referred to the reports of negotiations of a military pact between Pakistan and the U.S.A. and said that it was a "matter of the most intense concern to us" and something which will have far-reaching consequences on the whole structure of things in South Asia and especially on India and Pakistan." He said that from all accounts it appeared that matters had advanced quite far. The way "this major development" was taking place surprised him, said Mr. Nehru.

Asked if Pakistan could give bases to the U.S.A. in Gilgit, the Prime Minister said: "So far as we are concerned, it is not open to them to do anything in Kashmir."

Commenting on Mr. Nehru's statement, Mr. Chulam Mohammed, Governor-General of Pakistan, said: "I was extremely surprised to see that Mr. Nehru has commented on these reports without first thinking to verify their veracity."

"I wish to make it absolutely clear that Pakistan will never be a camp follower of anyone." He characterised as "absolutely baseless and unfounded," reports of military talks between the U.S.A. and Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the East Pakistan Awami League had

strongly opposed Pakistan's making any "military alliance" with any country and had wanted the country to remain in the peace camp. The Pakistan Student Federation had also made known its disapproval of granting bases to foreign powers.

Characterising the U.S. move for military bases in Pakistan as a "challenge to India," the *Vigil* writes: "The U.S.A. had made this move with the full knowledge that it would be intensely resented by India for its disturbing effects both on the entire regional strategic situation and on the relative military strength of India and Pakistan." The consolation that India would be kept informed of the developments was hardly worth anything. India's verbal protest also was not likely to be an appreciable deterrent to U.S.A.'s moves, which indicated that "Apparently, the Pentagon and the State Department calculated that the advantages of a military pact with Pakistan would be greater than the disadvantages of any possible consequences of India's resentment at it." In this context the paper urges the Government of India to take the initiative for organising a South Asian resistance to it. And for that India should not mind giving up American aid, if necessary.

Commenting on these developments the *Hitavada* writes: "It does not require much acumen to foresee the effect that a U.S.-Pak Defence Pact will have on the Indian sub-continent in relation to the 'cold' war between the Communists and the West. Thus far the process of containment of Communism was confined to NATO, its eastern extension up to Turkey and to an arc running from South Korea and Japan, through Formosa and the Philippines to Indo-China. There was thus a big gap in this chain of defences, which the U.S. in particular were keen on closing. With the displacement of Dr. Mossadeq, Iran has now formed yet another link—weak though it be in comparison with those of Turkey and Greece. If the White House talks bear fruit, Pakistan will form the southern end of a defence arc, which starts in the North Sea and ends in the Arabian Sea. Allied air forces based in Greece, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan would thus be able to strike effectively at Russia's atomic and industrial plants sheltered by the Urals. From the Russian point of view these bases would naturally constitute the first targets to be destroyed in the event of hostilities breaking out. Should U.S. bases be sited in both West and East Pakistan, it would place India in considerable danger of being dragged in willy-nilly into the struggle. Apart from this consideration, a Pakistan Army armed to the teeth with American help would make for increased truculence on the part of Pakistan in her dealings with her neighbours—India and Afghanistan. Looked at from every angle the ceding of bases to the U.S. in return for equipment for Pakistan's army will be a step fraught with danger to India and the other Asian nations that have so far managed to keep out of the 'cold' war."

United States and Colonialism

Outlining the principles guiding the United States in dealing with colonialism, Mr. Henry Alfred Byroad, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, said in a speech delivered on October 31 before the World Affairs Council of Northern California that turning to international relations the "principal concern" of the U.S.A. was "the threat of Soviet aggression," to which only "secondary emphasis" was given by the dependent peoples of Africa, the Near East, South Asia and the Far East. In many of those areas the principal motivating force was the desire of dependent peoples to end foreign domination and achieve political and economic self-determination.

Mr. Byroad said: "This movement toward self-determination is one of the most powerful forces in twentieth century affairs," but there was "a paradox" in that fact. The Western nations, after a prolonged experience of sovereign independence were coming to recognise that self-sufficiency was a myth and several of the older nations were "now engaged in creating new forms of association in which portions of national sovereignty are voluntarily surrendered."

The movement towards self-determination had recently encountered an "even more strange and potentially more tragic paradox." While old-type colonialism was disappearing, a new type of imperialism—Soviet imperialism—was raising its head. But the dependent nations did not appear to be quite aware of this danger.

He agreed that the colonial policy of the U.S.A. had not been clear to many. He defined the basic policy of the U.S.A. to be the belief "in eventual self-determination for all peoples" and an "evolutionary development to this end."

"We recognise that self-determination will not always be exercised in the form of national independence. Some people may choose voluntarily to unite or associate themselves, on a free and equal basis, with the nations which have governed them in the past. The British Commonwealth of Nations and more recently the French Union, are outstanding examples of the kind of association which now nations may undertake without impairment of their powers to determine their own destinies."

Explaining why the U.S.A. insisted on a policy of "evolution" and not of granting dependent peoples "immediate sovereignty," Mr. Byroad said that it was a "hard, inescapable fact that premature independence can be dangerous, retrogressive and destructive." In his view, unless it was recognised "that there is such a thing as premature independence, we cannot think intelligently or constructively about the status of the dependent peoples."

If independence were granted to a country, unable to maintain it, it would only invite internal chaos and

external aggression. Moreover, "national independence is by no means a cure-all for the perplexing problems of Asia and Africa."

The U.S.A. frankly recognised her "stake in the strength and stability of certain European nations which exercise influence in the dependent areas." These European nations were the allies of the U.S.A. and shared many common interests with her. The U.S.A. was much interested in the role of these powers in the context of the international balance of powers and could not "disregard their side of the colonial question" without injury to her own security. To quote Mr. Byroad: "In particular we cannot ignore the legitimate economic interests which European nations possess in certain dependent territories. Nor can we forget the importance of these interests to the European economy which we have contributed so much to support."

These considerations led the U.S.A. to advocate a policy of "evolutionary development" for the independence of the colonial peoples.

Mr. Byroad wanted to make one point very clear that, "Despite our interest in European economic health, we most certainly do not propose that the rights of dependent peoples should be subordinated to this interest. What we propose is that all parties concerned carefully consider their own interests. This is not a question of preserving Europe's strength at the expense of dependent peoples. It is rather a question of finding ways to increase strength of both. An evolutionary approach to self-determination can help to preserve legitimate European interests in foreign territories—while at the same time giving these territories economic opportunities and benefits which would be lost by a complete severance of relations."

U.S. Investments in Asia and Africa

Direct American investments in the Near East, Africa, Asia and Oceania totalled \$1,300 million in 1950, compared with \$500 million in 1943, according to a survey released at the end of October by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

The survey, the fifth of its kind since 1929, covers only substantial private investments. These include investments amounting to 25 percent or more of the equity.

The survey does not include the China area. The investment figure has swelled through investments in Near Eastern Oil, the survey notes.

Investments in the area, exclusive of China, jumped from 6.5 percent of the world total in 1929 to over 11 percent of the total in 1950.

Total American investments in all areas of the world was \$11,788 million in 1950, the census reveals.

Investments in the Arab countries, most of it in oil, rose from about \$60 million to some \$680 million in the seven year period up to 1950. Oil investments absorbed \$844.1 million of the total \$1,300 million invested in the Near Eastern, Asian, African and Oceania area

in 1950; manufacturing received \$213.6 million; trade, \$81.4 million; transportation, communication and public utilities, \$53.6 million; mining and selling, \$56.5 million; and agriculture, \$38.7 million.

Countries specified in the 1950 census include India, \$37.7 million; Egypt, \$39.3 million; Siberia, \$82 million; Israel, \$14.8 million, and Pakistan \$7.8 million.

Quadruple Emissaries for U.N.

We have always held that children are the best emissaries of International amity. Here is an instance:

Gainesville, Florida, Nov. 24—The quadruplets born prematurely to a Palestine Arab student couple here neared the close of their first week of life today with a good chance for survival and a definite hold on the heart-strings of Gainesville citizens.

The outpouring of concern and affection for the tiny new neighbours has somewhat overwhelmed 34-year-old Wasfe Ahmad Hijab and his 33-year-old wife Abila, already the mother of a three-year-old daughter Nadia.

Classmates of the Hijabs at the University of Florida have set a \$5,000 goal for the cash fund they are raising under "Hijab Point Four Programme."

A group of local civic organisations have started another cash fund.

Local merchants are furnishing layettes, shoes and clothing. A laundry will give free diaper service for a year. Two milk companies are planning to contribute free milk. The hospital which is caring for the mother and quadruplets is giving free use of all medical equipment needed to help the babies live. Nor need the Hijabs worry about doctor bills.

British Guiana and the U.S.A.

The October 23 issue of the *Worldover Press* carries the following comments by Devere Allen on the part played by the U.S. authorities in the British Guiana affairs:

Fast-moving events in various parts of the globe are sufficiently alike in some respects to raise a fundamental question: how much, when, and for what reasons are great powers justified in any intervention in the affairs of smaller countries?

Did the United States, for example, have to be quite as speedy and unquestioning in backing the dispatch of troops and warships by the British to their Crown Colony, British Guiana? It may have aided U.S.-British relations, but it will damage Washington in many a Latin American land, no matter how ardently anti-Communist. It tended, too, to make it look as though the sole issue in British Guiana were Communism.

There seems little doubt that the people's Progressive Party led in British Guiana by Cheddi Jagan and his American wife has come under strong Communist influence. But could the Jagans, and their friends, have gained such power if the British, long ago, had intervened to see that sugar and mine workers were decently paid, and given the right to organize into truly

independent trade unions for collective bargaining? After nearly a century and a half of British rule, the Franchise Commission set up in 1944 reported that the colony was not ready for universal adult suffrage. The new constitution still maintained property qualifications for the vote, and required a minimum income of \$1,200 a year. Why has education so lagged?

In the case of British Guiana, there is at least one significant factor. There was no big local army, no appreciable armament, to create a problem for the British landing forces. Whether or not the elements struggling for independence from Britain wanted to be peaceful, they jolly well had to be.

There are many ticklish situations elsewhere, however, some involving the United States directly, where this is not so. Suppose the quarrel between Yugoslavia and Italy over Trieste, for example, should actually burst into combat. American inability to intervene on behalf of peace would be due very largely to the armament it has given away to both sides, and given, ironically enough, to safeguard the free world. If Tito let loose his troops, and U.S.-British forces took the side of Italy to back up the granting of Trieste to the Italians, it would be another instance of American soldiers killed with American guns and military equipment. And if Italians began the use of force, they also would be using U.S. arms.

In an unprecedented criticism of Guatemala, the State Department has castigated the Guatemalan government for allowing Communists to win too great an influence. But if the Communists should take complete power in that country, they would be capable of holding it for a strange reason—the armament given by the U.S. to the reactionary, cruel dictator, Jorge Ubico, during World War II. It is worth remembering that Ubico got more arms by far than comparatively democratic Mexico, though the latter had a population more than seven times as great.

For the Western world, this is no easy question. It believes it must arm the free nations, so-called, against the Communist menace. But the free world has a way of turning against freedom, place by place. No better illustration could be found than South Korea under Syngman Rhee. Rhee's virtual dictatorship threatens the peace. His agents have tried to disrupt the armistice, with Rhee's blessing. Rhee puts the U.S. in the unhappy position of supporting the very things we abhor in the tactics of Communism. But the stronger Rhee gets with U.S. arms, the more vital to us is his co-operation, the less we can control him.

British Action in Guiana

Though the British Conservative and Labour statesmen have been unanimous in denouncing the People's Progressive Party and its leaders, that by no means indicates that the British actions there were justified or that there was any Communist plot. As the London *Economist* writes: "The White Paper (pub-

lished by the British Government on British Guiana) contains nothing approaching 'proof' that a definite plan was being hatched, in order to overthrow the constitution and set up a Communist Government. This may simply reflect the nature of Communist plots, they are not easy things to track down. But since the Government's early pronouncements rested the case on the existence of a plot, the White Paper has not cleared up many people's doubts." (Quoted by *Vigil*, Oct. 31).

Indeed, "British Guiana has been a gigantic advertisement of the New Colonialism of Britain, supported by the United States of America. Dr. Jagan may go home—and perhaps to jail—a sadder man, but the world is deeply indebted to him for the wisdom that has been forced on it by the British action in Guiana, in response to the nationalist activities of the P.P.P.," writes the *People* editorially.

Continuing the paper writes, "Nationalist, we would emphasise, because not all the blatant lying and contemptible propaganda of the British masters can convince the world that either there has been a Red plot in Guiana or that there was the least little of evidence of potential and contemplated violence. The methods adopted by the P.P.P. have been quite peaceful. The world has admitted it."

"... Anti-Communism is providing a convenient mask for a super-colonialism, which would doom the Asian and the African races to perpetual slavery. Britain would not have dared to take the action she did in British Guiana if she had not been supported, in fact, instigated, by Wall Street and the State Department."

Concluding the *People* writes: "Dr. Jagan has done a great service to the world by proving the greatest danger which confronts it today—the unyielding European domination of Asia and Africa for the good of the holding powers, and for the material benefit of the Almighty Dollar, the over-all patron of the 'Free World'."

In reply to a question in the Council of States by Sri Satyendranarayan Mazumdar, a Communist member from West Bengal, Pandit Nehru told that India did not propose to take the Guiana issue to the U.N. In reply to another question by P.S.P. member, Pandit Nehru described the labour conditions in British Guiana as appalling. The Government of India is reported to be considering an early representation to the British Government about labour conditions in British Guiana, which affect a large number of workers of Indian origin.

Apartheid

The *Worldover Press* for October 23, gives a very clear survey of the position regarding race-antagonism in South Africa, by Clive Gray:

Johannesburg, South Africa: It is worth remembering that *apartheid*, or extreme race segregation, is not new. Even the word has been a part of Nationalist

vocabulary for a long time, and the policy is almost ages old. Before the Nationalists came to power in 1948, what is now called *apartheid* was so taken for granted that it needed no name at all. But it steadily built up resentment.

Thus it is untenable to say, as the United Party does, that it is only Nationalist extremism in carrying out *apartheid* which has antagonized the non-Europeans and caused the present racial conflict in South Africa. The awakening of Africans and other non-Europeans would have taken place just as inevitably under a United Party regime, though perhaps a few years later. The Nationalists have brought the question to a head, however, and not until recently were people on both sides of the color line inclined to regard segregation as a burning and dynamic issue.

As far as Johannesburg is concerned, the chief new factor is segregation in the main railway station. Previously, non-Europeans were allowed to go down the front steps into the main station area, and could watch the gold-fish in the tile-lined pools on both sides of the hall. Now, they can't go down the front steps at all, but after entering through the front doors, must veer sharply to the right and go around the balcony down to the trains on the other side.

In the public conveyances and conveniences, however, and in the residential areas, the schools, etc., segregation has existed ever since the city was founded in 1885. In this respect, Johannesburg was conforming to the laws and customs of the old Transvaal Republic.

In one vital particular, nevertheless, *apartheid* in Johannesburg is proceeding toward a definite goal, a step which is arousing great concern. The policy, which goes by the name of "Western Areas Removal Scheme," involves the transfer of 58,000 African residents of Sophiatown, Martindale, and Newclare townships in Western Johannesburg to a now barren veld area six to seven miles away, known as Meadowlands. The United Party drew up this scheme around 1937, at the instigation of European residents in newly developed European sections around the three African townships. Little action was taken on it until 1949, shortly after the Nationalist government came to power, when impatient European residents prodded the Minister of Native Affairs.

The Minister, sensing an opportunity to throw the United Party city council into turmoil, and to implement his *apartheid* ideology, asked the council what it intended to do. The council then swung into action, and by 1950 a Western Areas Ad Hoc Commission had prepared a report outlining the scheme. The Minister now has a commission of his own surveying details of the plan.

While the affair is complex, it is possible to summarize the motives and rationalizations behind the government's scheme. The Europeans think along these lines:

1. The presence of a native area near a thriving European community breeds racial friction and constitutes a danger to the community's welfare. 2. This nearness produces a rise in crime and lowers property values. 3. Slum conditions in African quarters have reached such an appalling state that the native community can be rehabilitated only by moving all 58,000 inhabitants to a newly built, scientifically planned township near the other native "locations" around Orlando. 4. And finally, according to the Europeans, freehold tenure, now existent in the three townships (natives in Sophiatown, etc., may own land as well as housing improvements) inevitably leads to slum conditions and rent exploitation.

It is pointed out by Europeans that of more than 13,000 families living in the area, only 350 own the land they live on, while two-thirds of the area is classified as a slum. Thus freehold rights must be taken away from natives who have them, and all must henceforth reside in municipal locations, where tenure is on a lease-hold basis, or where at best the native may build and own his own house, but can be forced to sell out and leave if he loses his employment in the city.

That African property ownership is the real issue is indicated by the fact that a "location," the "Western Native Township," was founded in 1918 before any Europeans were within several miles of it, and no one suggests moving its inhabitants out. Here, however, they are not permitted to own property. Yet the Western Areas townships whose residents are to be moved were established even earlier, in 1905 and 1912.

The Nationalists, ironically, argue that there is only minor opposition among the natives, yet in the next breath they say they will not listen to opposition spokesmen, on the ground that white left-wing agitators have put all these ridiculous ideas into the natives' heads.

If they go ahead with the plan to move the natives, the whites will be guilty of a breach of contract. They will heap up fuel for racial conflicts, for it is doubtful whether they can expel the Africans without provoking violence both from those who own their homes and the others who, not owning anything, still like to be near their jobs.

Housing is already a problem in the city, yet the removal scheme will require the construction of 13,000 houses for the Western Areas residents alone, even if some of the Africans do their own building. And of the 80,000 Africans now living in the municipally controlled slums of Orlando ("temporary shelters") and other shanty towns, not one will be re-housed, as it is, for several months, although the city promised in 1946 to have them all rehoused by 1951.

If the white authorities had not contented themselves for 15 years with dreaming of the removal project, the slum conditions might have been greatly alleviated. Health regulations could have been more

strictly applied. Many poor houses could be repaired, and the sound houses from which natives are to be moved are estimated to be now worth a million dollars.

In any case, the government has already bought the Meadowlands region, while with characteristic bull-headedness it has rejected all other programs for the Western Areas. The Transvaal Nationalist newspaper has even contended editorially that no counter-proposals exist! Meanwhile, before long, the Western Areas of Johannesburg seem destined to become a crucial sore spot before the public opinion of the world.

White "Democracy" in Kenya

Even after a year of brutal repression the British imperialists have been unsuccessful in their efforts to curb the urge for independence of the Kenya people. They have burnt large numbers of villages, bombed Kikuyu reserves, arrested thousands of Kenya patriots and have gaoled the leaders of the Kenyan African Union. Now the European community in Kenya has demanded the reservation of 'White' highlands for Whites only. In a political testament Kenya's European political leaders have demanded the continuance of British rule and the strictest control of immigration from the East for preserving "the Western character of the new civilisation of Kenya and the English language and culture, and protect its people from successive economic competition from abroad."

All-Korean Elections

Washington, Nov. 24—In an editorial entitled "An All-Korean Election" the *New York Times* said yesterday:

"President Syngman Rhee has sharply reversed his position on the question of an election under which Korea might be unified, and in so doing has greatly strengthened the negotiating position of the United Nations. He had previously held that, since his government was the legally constituted and recognised one for Korea, all that was necessary was for the North Koreans to fill the vacant assembly seats that had been reserved for them. He says now that he will not oppose a plan for a new nationwide election, north and south, that might choose himself or any other person for the presidency, provided only the choice is free."

"The statement does not alter some of the hard facts in the case. It is still to be determined if the Communists—Russian, Chinese and Korean—have any intention of permitting the unification of Korea on any terms whatever. The cynical, therefore, may say that President Rhee is on safe ground. Most persons familiar with the Korean scene would say also that he is personally on safe ground in any case, since there is little doubt that in a free election he would be returned overwhelmingly. To his countrymen he remains the first Korean."

"But when these discounts are fully recognised, the fact remains that President Rhee has made, not a

personal concession, but a great contribution to the cause we have espoused. The United Nations has repeatedly affirmed that its objective is a free, united and democratic Korea. The opponents of the United Nations—and of Dr. Rhee—have repeatedly asserted that what was ahead was a sinister movement to perpetuate a 'dictatorship' with the military support of the United States and to extend it to an unwilling North Korea. That this allegation was demonstrably false has not made it less effective in some quarters in vilifying the United States, Dr. Rhee and the United Nations' aims for Korea.

"Dr. Rhee's statement should clear out some of this underbrush and broaden the path to settlement, at least, as far as the United Nations is concerned. If unification proposals, including that of an all-Korean election, are made, the United Nations will not be obliged to face the retort that Dr. Rhee and his government would not permit such a course. There does not, therefore, need to be the insidious suggestion that the United Nations would be obliged to negotiate with the Communists on the one hand and with Dr. Rhee on the other.

"This should not imply that the United Nations has a moral right to make decisions for the Koreans without even the courtesy of consulting them. It does imply that it will be far easier to reach a ground of full agreement with the Korean Republic than has sometimes been supposed, and even declared.

"More than that, Dr. Rhee has put the emphasis precisely where it should be placed. A unified Korea is important and it is Dr. Rhee's constant goal. But it is no less imperative that this united Korea be free and democratic also. In stressing the criterion of free choice and his complete willingness to abide by it, the Korean president has strongly reaffirmed the philosophy and ideals of the free world."

Let us hope that the South Korean President continues in the same lucid frame of mind in all other matters germane.

A Lurking Danger

Sri Nehru is reported to have said at his Press Conference in New Delhi on November 15 that, in case, the Korean Political Conference was not held, the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, of which India is the Chairman, would probably have to place the differences before the two Commands and let the U.N. and Communist Commands in Korea decide for themselves what to do with unrepatriated prisoners.

Under the provision of the agreement on armistice the prisoners are to be released after January 22, 1954, even if no political conference is held.

Senator Knowland, leader of the Republican Party in the U.S. Senate, has criticized this statement as presenting the "free world" with "a grave and critical crisis." He has accused India of following the basic line of the Communists in Korea and has advised keeping India out of the Korean Peace Conference.

"In effect," said the Senator, "Mr. Nehru is proposing that these people be held in bondage indefinitely. There is no moral or legal justification for any such action."

He has urged President Eisenhower and the State Department to reject Mr. Nehru's statement.

The *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial on November 20 writes that Mr. Knowland was almost aggressively outdoing Mr. Dulles himself in his policy and activities. His war-mongering remarks might have been ignored but for his influence in the U.S. ruling circles. Refuting Mr. Knowland's criticism of Mr. Nehru's remarks, the paper writes:

"If, because of mutually conflicting attitudes stubbornly insisted upon by both sides, the terms of the armistice agreement fail of fulfilment, what else can the Indian command do than to refer back the whole thing to those who imposed its difficult responsibilities on India. How does it follow that Mr. Nehru, as Senator Knowland charges, proposes in effect, that the prisoners should be kept in bondage indefinitely, or that it is Mr. Nehru, who is presenting the 'free world' with a 'grave and critical crisis'?"

The Senator's statement signalled a greater international danger inasmuch as he had also laid down an Asian strategy for the United States, based on the exclusion of India, Burma and Indonesia, which were "neutralist" States. This plan was bound to fail; and the American Government could be wise to "induce Senator Knowland to learn the facts of geography and to open his eyes to the realities of the situation in Asia," the paper says.

These are trying times, we know, and passions are likely to run high amongst those who were directly concerned with the struggle in Korea. But people like Senator Knowland should know better than to further aggravate the situation. Here in India there were many well-wishers of Pandit Nehru who wanted him to keep well out of the Korean Affair. These were the people who knew the mentality of people like Knowland.

Bermuda Conference

It has been announced that the leaders of the three Western Powers, the U.S.A., U.K. and France will meet in Bermuda from December 4 to 8 for a discussion of "various matters of common concern to the three Powers." This meeting is being convened at the initiative of Prime Minister Churchill whereas the previous one, scheduled to have been held early in July but which had to be postponed on account of the ill health of the British Prime Minister, had been announced at the request of President Eisenhower. During the interval of six months between these two announcements, the international situation has assumed a somewhat different appearance. At the time of Sir Winston Churchill's announcement in May, the situation was pregnant with the expectation of a East-West meet and some hopes of success were also expressed in

view of the liberal gestures of the Malenkov Government in U.S.S.R. But now after several exchanges of notes between the Western Powers and the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet Union's finally turning down an invitation for a Four-Power meeting at Lugarno, hopes of an early East-West accord have damped.

There will be no formal agenda of the Bermuda Conference. But it is understood the problem of Germany will be the chief item. The representatives of the Big Three will try to co-ordinate their attitude to the German question as well as for a reconciliation of their diverging attitude to the Far Eastern situation. Continued stationing of American troops in Europe and the growth of Communism in Indonesia will also presumably be discussed in the Conference.

There has been little enthusiasm in Britain and France over the announcement of the Conference. The British diplomatic sources are sceptical of the outcome of such a meeting in any genuine bridging of Anglo-American differences of views and policies. The diplomatic correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* went so far as to suggest that the only reason why the British Prime Minister was journeying to Bermuda was because it was the only way he could try to see Mr. Eisenhower now that he had become President of the United States, reports the *Statesman*.

Reuter's correspondent in Paris reports that the French Premier, M. Laniel, had accepted the invitation with great misgiving. French diplomatic quarters were unanimous in their belief that the meeting of the Big Three would be used by the American and British statesmen to force from the French a promise to ratify the European Army Treaty in the near future or, failing that, to get them to agree to grant German sovereignty under the Bonn Convention, independently of what happened to the Treaty. The French Premier could hardly agree to the proposal of granting sovereignty to Western Germany before the terms of her rearmament had been agreed upon without risking the fall of his government. Moreover, both M. Laniel and M. Bidault are potential candidates for the French Presidential elections scheduled on December 17. Any commitment on the Treaty would amount to losing the anti-Treaty votes in the Assembly.

But, as the *Times'* Washington correspondent reports, the U.S. Congress "will be in an impatient mood by February, and is unlikely to accept any programme of military aid until it knows what is going to happen in France. As things look at present, the date of possible ratification seems to be approaching uncomfortably close to the date when Congress will want to go home to start campaigning. This will presumably be explained in detail to M. Laniel and M. Bidault in Bermuda." (*Statesman*, 12.11.53)

The French Prime Minister is likely to point out the fact how the Indo-China campaign was sapping French military and economic strength. He will pro-

bably advocate talks with Russia on all-Asian problems as the proper way to settle the Indo-China problem and end the costly campaign there.

French diplomatic quarters expressed the view that an outstanding feature of the Bermuda Conference would be an attempt by Sir Winston Churchill to secure to the approval of President Eisenhower and Premier Laniel for a lone visit to Moscow and an informal talk with Premier Malenkov.

Opening a debate in the Political Committee of the General Assembly on the Soviet proposal for measures to avert the threat of a new world war and to reduce tension in international relations, M. Vyshinsky, the Soviet delegate, said that the Bermuda Conference could only serve to intensify international tension instead of reducing it.

Replying to M. Vyshinsky Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, British Minister of State, told the U.N. Political Committee that the Bermuda Conference was a "normal and friendly meeting" between the leaders of friendly States and was not directed against anybody. The British did not object to Malenkov meeting Mao Tse-tung. Therefore he did not see how could the Soviet Union object to the Western Powers meeting to discuss their common problems.

Kuomintang Troops in Burma

M. O. Orestov writes that though the seventh session of the General Assembly had denounced the hostile acts of the Kuomintang troops against Burma and had called for the disarmament and subsequent internment, or withdrawal, of the Kuomintang gangs from Burma, it was learnt from the report of the Burmese delegation to the current session of the General Assembly that the Assembly's resolution had not been carried out, that not a Kuomintang soldier had been withdrawn from Burma, and that the tension in that area was even greater than before.

M. Orestov writes: "The Kuomintangists behave so impudently only because they feel that they have the support of the aggressive forces of the United States of America which are deliberately creating complications in South-East Asia and the Far East."

As a result of Burma's complaint to the UNO in March this year and following the recommendations of the General Assembly of the UN, negotiations had opened in Bangkok between the representatives of Burma, Taiwan (Formosa), Thailand and the U.S.A. But no solution could be possible as to quote M. Orestov, "Encouraged by the American diplomats, Chiang Kai-shek's delegates demanded at first that the Government of Burma should terminate hostilities against the interventionists on Burmese territory. Then they requested Burma to withdraw her troops in order to allow the Kuomintangists a 'safe passage' to Thailand. Not content with these impudent demands, they declared that the question of withdrawing the Kuomintangist troops could be settled only if Burma

would release about 1,000 Kuomintangists taken prisoner. Chiang Kai-shek's 'delegates' cynically alleged that the 'government' of Taiwan was not responsible for the conduct of the Kuomintangist troops in Burma, in general, and could not issue orders to them."

The "representatives of the Command of the KMT troops in Burma had declared from Bangkok that the UN resolution was 'unlawful' and 'senseless,' and that their troops had no intention of leaving Burma."

Convinced that the negotiations could no longer be fruitfully conducted, the Burmese delegate had left Bangkok on September 17. And from September 20 Burmese Air Force began bombing KMT strong points in Burma.

Commenting on the threats of relation by the Taiwan authorities U Pe Kin, Burmese Ambassador to Thailand, had declared on October 3: "Let it be known to those who still doubt that these men (KMT bandits) have been and are receiving supplies by air from the authorities on Formosa, and it should be clear to everybody that Formosa is not only an accomplice in the encroachment upon Burma's sovereignty, but that it exercises full control over the so-called foreign troops."

As late as on November 27, the chief Burmese delegate to the UN expressed his disappointment at the manner in which the question of the withdrawal of the KMT troops was being considered.

Philippine Elections

The recently held Presidential elections in the Philippines have come in for some comment in the Press of the world. Even as early as July the foreign press had been showing keen interest about the outcome of the electoral contest.

The victory of Senor Ramon Magsaysay of the Nationalist Party over his rival President Quirino of the Liberal Party does not signify any substantial change in the realities of the Philippines, as they exist today. The country is seething with discontent and President Quirino's defeat only brings that in bold relief. Even after about half a century of American rule and seven years of independence the Philippines still remains a peasant economy of low productivity. The peasants are in dire poverty and virtual slaves of the landlords. Modern industry is very small accounting for only 5 per cent of the national income. Before the war a quarter of the national wealth of the country was in the hands of the foreigners. Americans controlled about half the public utilities and most of the mines of gold, iron and manganese. And foreigners handled 80 per cent of the exports and imports. To quote Maurice Zinkin, the income of a Filipino "even in real terms was no higher than that of the poorest American class, the Negro share-croppers of the South." As a result there has been widespread peasant revolt in Central Luzon under the Hukbalahap (People's Anti-

Japanese Army), recently renamed Hukbong (People's Liberation Army). All the efforts of the Quirino Government to suppress the Huks have so far been unsuccessful.

Both the Nationalist Party and the Liberal Party represent landlord and comprador groups, contending with one another for power. As the *Statesman* writes, commenting on the Nationalist victory, the Nationalist Party "almost certainly still includes elements whose main desire is a change in the beneficiaries of, rather than an end to, the spoils of political office." These parties have strong American links. Until March, Senor Magsaysay had been President Quirino's Minister of War, "to which post," writes G. Levinson, "we have it on the authority of *Current Biography* (U.S.A.) he was appointed on direct orders from Washington."

The American influence in the political life of the Philippines has been sharply demonstrated by President Quirino's charge of their direct interference in the elections; *France Presse* reported that American dollars had been pouring into Magsaysay's election fund. President Quirino and Senor Eugenio Poreb, Speaker of the Lower House, accused American Government representatives of interference and President Quirino cited several instances; reports the *UPI*. He named Major-Gen. Robert Cannon of the U.S. military advisory group. The *Times* Washington correspondent reports that President Quirino had "also found in his possession a 'secret circular' issued supposedly by Maj.-Gen. Cannon to his officers in which, it is alleged, plans were set forth to ensure the election of Senor Magsaysay." (*Statesman* 22.11.53).

The correspondent of the *Times* adds that "Admiral Spruance, American Ambassador, said what Maj.-Gen. Cannon did was 'to ensure, so far as he could, that the elections would be held in a free and honest manner and without intimidation' and what was done was 'with my knowledge and approval.'" (*Ibid*).

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number are requested to send the next year's subscription quoting their respective serial subscribing numbers before the 28th instant by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immediately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as fresh packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

MANAGER, "THE MODERN REVIEW."

HISTORY'S WARNING TO INDIA

BY DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S.

MANY years ago, at the annual Congress session in Calcutta, when feelings were running high between the old Moderate leaders and the younger school of Extremists,—Pandit Motilal Nehru as an "Elder Statesman" was trying to apply persuasion by reading from a history book how a European nation had acted in similar circumstances. Bipin Pal bellowed forth, "Motilal, don't read history. Make history!" It was an idiotic interruption. But what of that? The audience cheered it to the echo. Pandit Motilal shut his book and sat down, feeling that it was useless to cast the pearls of human wisdom before the callow youths of Calcutta.

INDIA AND ITALY AFTER LIBERATION

I have been refused admission to Bipin Pal's school for being over age (70 years too old). There is no help for me but to join the followers of Pandit Motilal and recite a page from history here, because history has preserved the story of the past experiences of our race to serve as a guide or a warning to us. India in 1947 was just like Italy in 1862,—or rather worse off, because unlike Free India, the newly united Italy had no alien State within its natural borders, the sea and the mountain. But the ministers of New Italy brought ruin upon their country within twenty years of the death of Cavour.

Here is an inside view of Italy's government after liberation :

"A great cause had evoked great leaders, but the goal once reached, the tension slackened. No statesman of first-rate ability was brought to the front, and men of second rank were confronted with . . . problems which would have taxed the genius of a Cavour. . . . Some of the ministers (in 1876) were moved by personal ambition. They had little cohesion and less willingness to sacrifice personal aims to the common weal. . . . Face to face with the party of order [the Ministry] stood a body which was not so much an Opposition in the true sense, as a confused chaotic crowd, . . . ambitious youngmen struggling to rise, . . . without any political principle. Around these were grouped the derelicts of the shipwreck of old dogmas and lost causes,—[Ramrajya Parisad and Hindu Mahasabha even in Italy!]

"The finances of the State had been reduced to something very near ruin . . . by the great political changes between 1859 and 1863 and the wastefulness of the various provincial governments. . . . The story of Italian finance since 1870 is that of a grievous and increasing burden of expenditure patiently borne by a country poor in natural resources and young in the practice of industry.

"The people were losing faith in their rulers and, amidst the widespread disorder, the teachings of the extreme democrats [what are now called

Communists] fell on willing ears."—*Cambridge Modern History*, Vols. XI, Ch. 19 and XII, Ch. 8.

The maladies of that newly enfranchised nation have an ominous likeness to those of Free India today. First, Parliamentary Government could not work among a people accustomed to autocratic rule for six centuries; ministries broke up every now and then because there was no union on political principles but only groups or factions formed by selfish politicians greedy of power and gain. Look at our Pepsu and East Panjab—and at many other provinces, where the fire of selfishness has been merely covered up with a cane basket for a time. Secondly, in the frantic attempt to secure votes, large numbers of posts were unnecessarily created. The administration's pay bill was doubled or trebled, by giving posts to an army of political underlings. West Bengal though now reduced by Partition to one-third of its old area under British rule, has added 30 deputy ministers to its bloated ministry, and every now and then some of these are being pushed up to higher pay as "ministers without Cabinet rank." Dr. B. C. Roy is the greatest political physician of India, and his discovery—this infallible Vigour Pill for anæmic ministries has been taken with success also by New Delhi, the Delhi State, and Madras, not to speak of the lesser territorial fry.

From this followed the third evil,—administrative slackness and inefficiency, even corruption. Like the New Italy we seem to have gone back to the middle ages and the reigns of our Nawabs have come back, so far as the quick transaction of public business goes.

The fourth striking parallel with Italy is afforded by the rupture between the domineering North and the neglected South of the peninsula. There was widespread rebellion (concealed under the name of Mafia or brigandage) in the Naples province, against the insolent, selfish, and negligent rule of the Federal Government in power at Florence (afterwards Rome). The evil has been intensified in India, because the Italians had the same religion, language, and social system (*i.e.*, freedom from caste) all over that great peninsula. But what can the Dravida Kazagam find to its taste in what Nehru has aptly called "the imperialism of the Hindi language"?

The fifth point of the parallel is the megalomania that has seized our supreme rulers. New power like new wine is heady. On being suddenly raised to the supreme government of 350 millions of men and a revenue of 400 crores of rupees every year, they are trying to do everything in the grand style and to rub shoulders with the first-rate Powers of the world. The

ambition of the new Italian Cabinet to found a colonial empire like those of England and France led to the waste of money and lives in Abyssinia and the Adowa disaster. We have as yet escaped such a disgrace, but we are opening diplomatic agencies in every country of the world, and frequently raising our representatives in small countries of no close concern to us, to the ambassadorial rank, which means the highest grade of expenditure. We are being told by the Government Publicity Department that this Project of our Government is the biggest in Asia, that Dam is the highest in the world. A great American engineering authority who visited India a year ago, declared that it would be better if we undertook moderate-sized projects involving expenditure within our means, and that after these schemes had succeeded and we had gained experience in work and trained personnel, we should later embark on grander projects.

But this advice has been ignored as worthy of *banias*! And the natural consequence is being seen now. Finance is exerting its relentless pressure on our rulers' swollen heads. The grand Kosi Project has had to be dropped, but nothing has been done to save 6,000 square miles in Bihar from annual destruction. The Nemesis of all this in Italy has been State insolvency, and the currency (the *lira*) has sunk to the level of the German *mark*. For the collapse of the *franc*, the French Government can legitimately plead two World Wars which made the soil of France the theatre of their devastations. India's rulers have no such excuse to offer for their monstrous currency inflation.

ITALY AND INDIA TO-DAY

Away with the dead Past; even the Present has its lesson for us. The post-war condition of Italy supplies an exact parallel to that of Republican India, except in two respects. In consequence of the enormous resources of our vast continent-like country, state bankruptcy is not so near us, as it is to the sterile war-ravaged Italy; and secondly, only one party has been able to manage our Government during the last six years in contrast with the kaleidoscopic changes of Ministry in Italy. A profound and dispassionate analysis of the present Italian Government and the condition of the people under her new democracy is given in a book by an Italian Professor, of which the *London Times* has published a summary. No thoughtful Indian can read it without alarm verging on despair, because the parallel with our Government is so close that it looks like a faithful photograph of the Republic of India.

First, the Government of India like that of new Italy has created an immense number of new public posts to feed the mouths of its political supporters and election agents, because a democracy must be run by votes, and votes must be bought from a people

who do not possess the public spirit and political honesty which marked ancient Rome and modern England.

This doubling or trebling the number of State employees has not increased the speed or efficiency of the day-to-day administration, but has had exactly the reverse effect. The new officers have been selected for the purpose of extending party patronage or what is more properly known as nepotism, and not by any efficiency test, and hence, all work has gone slack, and files lie buried for months without being attended to amidst the confusion caused by countless departments and divided responsibility. The officials do little work, and yet they are discontented, because it is beyond the power of any State to pay adequate salary to such an inflated army of officers. The natural consequence is the offering of bribes by people who cannot wait indefinitely in getting their work done and the taking of bribes by State employees who must make hay while the sun shines.

Parties are forming and breaking up daily in the legislature among the Opposition and also among "rebel Congressmen," because there is no real fundamental difference of political principle among our Deputies, but only personal vanity and sectional interest. The Ministry itself issues a pompous communique or project of a plan one year and eats its own words next year—even next month, as in the cases of the sugar purchase, export duty on jute fabrics, food self-sufficiency and procurement policy, and so on. It is a revolving inconstant world, judging by New Delhi's antics.

Secondly, administrative inefficiency with its natural consequences of slackness and bribes offered and accepted, increases the cost of administration and most Government-sponsored undertakings are therefore running at a loss. In both these countries, Italy and India, the currency has not recovered stability after six years of peace, and their paper money has only a fictitious value in the international money market which has to be buttressed up by the control of imports and exports.

Thirdly, labour unrest has become chronic. Empty stomachs cannot be filled with leaders' speeches and promises of "wonderful good things" next season under the latest plan. Most consumer goods are beyond the reach of even middle class men. Every strike, every go slow movement, every forced lock-out, is economic waste; the country's resources in manpower and materials thus remain unproductive and this will inevitably increase the national poverty.

In Italy, owing to ever-changing ministries, all matters are left to drift and to take care of themselves, and no leader takes a strong, far-sighted action to prevent the drift. In the Indian Republic we have had one stable ministry for six years. But is there any difference in the result?

STATE BANKRUPTCY LOOMING AHEAD

Megalomania in the heads, inefficiency in the administration, and the triumph of the separatist spirit in every limb of the country, will have the inevitable consequence of reducing the income of the State, swelling its expenditure and thus bringing on public bankruptcy, and the insolvent State will break up or be sold up—to whom?

This is no imaginary danger. It is the interest of every sober Indian to read the signs of the time. The solvency of a person is measured by the credit he enjoys in the money market, or in other words, the rate of interest he has to pay in borrowing money. In July last, the Government of India raised a loan at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest, a part of which was needed for paying off an older debt of 3 per cent only. The old 3 per cent public loan has been selling at 20 per cent depreciation, that is to say those who trusted Government with Rs. 100 ten years ago, can now get only Rs. 80 by cashing their paper. This is an exact measuring rod of our present rulers' standing in the money market.

Most significant and sinister, is the conduct of the Madras Government. It advertised for a loan of $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores at 4 per cent, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores of which was required for repaying an older debt bearing 3 per cent interest; that is to say, the Madras Government will henceforth have to pay every year six lakhs as interest where it was paying only $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs before. Thus, the debtor's credit has suddenly slumped by $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

The cost of living today is four times of what it was in 1939, but has every one's income increased four times during these 13 years? Government is trying to make its own both ends meet by raising the court fees, railway fares, postal charges, and taxes. A journey from Howrah to Bombay now costs double of what it did in 1939; the registration of a letter costs three-fold, and the book-post rate is double of the old. But has our Government on its part raised the limit of exemption from Income Tax to four times the old amount of Rs. 2,000? No. Then how can we balance our domestic budgets?

An over-inflated bogus currency (of paper and nickel) and deficit budgeting are the danger signals on the economic line. Is it safe to disregard them? As Burke truly said, "The revenue of the State is the State."

UPLIFT OF THE MASSES, OUR SUPREME QUESTION

But apart from the all-overriding question of finance, the supreme problem before Free India is not political but social, in the widest sense of that term. I mean, the problem of problems for us is,—how to raise the poor ignorant backward people of the former Native States to the economic and educational level of the citizens of the advanced provinces of British India? How to give the Kashmiri or Rajput peasant, goatherd or craftsman, the school, hospital and economic oppor-

tunities which we enjoy in our older provinces? So long as this equalisation is not effected (not merely preached from the platform), democracy or representative Government for India as one unit will remain a cruel mockery.

Let me illustrate the point by means of a scene which has remained printed on my memory for nearly fifty years. I was then travelling through Malwa, and looking out of the railway carriage window saw a Rajput tilling his field. He was poor and had only one cattle; so he had tied his bullock to one end of the yoke and his wife to the other, and himself drove the plough. Is not this an exact picture of the political equality between the voter of Comrade Gopalan in Madras and the ever-starving God-forsaken, Kashmiri workman or the semi-servile Rajput tiller of the soil?

THE BRIGHT SIDE

Such a survey must not, however, fill us with despair, if only we could be assured of wisdom and strength in our leaders in the years ahead. Their past achievements can inspire us with hope. Our nation's gains during the last six years are obvious, in some respects actual achievement, in others only a beginning, the fruits of which time alone can show: (1) The political unification of India has been secured by the integration of seven hundred and odd Native States and small independent authorities. (2) Peace, within and outside, has been maintained, leaving our leaders free to work for the people's good and the people free to pursue their own interests. (3) Social reform has been actively undertaken, feudalism is being everywhere abolished by law, the land is being assured to the tiller, the equality of all the people under the law has been proclaimed in the constitution, and it has been openly declared that the avowed policy of our leaders is to make India a Welfare State in every respect. All this is in theory, however, and the full carrying out of such a vast and ambitious programme will take many years—probably many generations. But an earnest, almost breathless attempt is being made for the uplift of the depressed castes and the labouring classes oppressed for centuries.

All these are to the good. Also credit must be given to our rulers when we remember the suddenness and severity of two tasks thrown upon them at the very outset. The first is the Refugee problem. More than forty lakhs of uprooted humanity have been pouring into India from the east and the west, and our Government has generously accepted the task of settling them regardless of expense. It is an event far more harmful and sad than the mass migrations of tribes (*Volk-wanderung*) in the early ages of the world's history, which ended in the formation of new States and new cultures in virgin or thinly peopled lands. West Bengal's density of population is 880 per square mile and 25 lakhs of Hindus have fled to it from Eastern Pakistan since Independence Day.

Secondly, the stress generated in dissolving the feudal social and administrative system, a thousand years old, over fully one-third of India's land area,—is so immense that even the best governments may be convulsed by it. But this reform cannot be brought about by a mere vote of the legislature or a proclamation in the Government *Gazette*. Feudalism could be abolished in France only after the streets of Paris had been deluged with blood, and a long and murderous Civil War had raged in La Vendée. Free Italy had to wage a long war with the superstitious poor, ignorant, and neglected southern provinces, while its governing party was the enlightened progressive men of Milan and Rome.

THREATS TO OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Let me now turn to the dark side of the picture. Here the dangers threatening us are: (1) The separatist spirit of every province, linguistic group and even caste. Can federal India successfully fight this tendency to Balkanisation? (2) Financial collapse. Free India has made no attempt to check the inflation (prices raised four-fold in 12 years—1939-1951); hence follow popular suffering through hunger, unemployment and the inevitable decrease of private charity. This is at the root of the labour unrest raging throughout the country year after year. Half-fed labourers cannot fill their stomachs with political speeches. The mischief works in a vicious circle. Labour trouble diminishes production and in the same proportion increases the average cost. Thus Indian goods are less and less able to stand in the competitive markets of the world, and finally losses force factories and plantations to close and capital to be scared away from founding any new business in such a country. This aggravates unemployment and poverty of the masses. (3) Democratic government through the elected representatives of all the adult population of the country, is impossible in India today. Its pre-requisite is the existence of two parties each ready and strong enough to undertake the administration if called upon, by turns. But here we have only one vast party held together by a junta at the top, and ninety-nine splinter groups with only a fractional support in the country, who unite and dissolve their coalition every day. In fact, our electorate—that is the whole nation (male and female) has not yet passed through the centuries of political education and experience necessary for working democracy of the modern type. (4) The life of our political leaders depends on their securing votes. This has led to the creation of needless new posts, nepotism, administrative inefficiency—the combined result of which is corruption and delay in office works.

No sober thinker can fail to notice that the Congress Government has alienated the intelligentsia,

who held sullenly, almost contemptuously, aloof from it, though they do not oppose it. A few examples are significant: life-long patriots like Sarat Bose, Acharya Narendra Dev, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Dr. M. N. Shah (Fellow of the Royal Society of England) were opposed by the Congress Caucus when they stood for election to the House of the People.

THE REMEDY ?

The remedy lies in a bold stroke of statesmanly imagination, relentlessly pursued. Let our Federal Government follow a policy of strict retrenchment and austerity, and immediately start creating small self-contained ever-ready and expert units of welfare workers on the plan of the Commando Corps during the last War. At short notice, one such unit (with its leaders, workers, escort and stores for two months) will be quickly transported and dumped down among a people still living in mediæval darkness and feudal misgovernment. The new-comers, fully financed by the Central Government will immediately open schools, hospitals, cheap roads and training work shops among the local people and put them on the way to increasing their earning capacity and their sons on the path of leading a richer and higher life in the next generation. Voluntary social uplift workers (like the Ramakrishna Mission and similar devoted monks, or the laity of the Arya Samaj) will supplement the necessarily limited State-agency if they are subsidised and helped. Thus only can the plan be implemented within one generation at the earliest.

Historians have not failed to notice that "the political emancipation of the South (of Italy) was achieved in a few months; forty years have passed, and its economic emancipation is still to seek." (C.M.H.). Therefore, the true integration of India is not the changing of the colour-patches on the map of our country; it must be a *cultural and economic integration*. This task is a challenge to our statesmanship. The coming years will show how far the challenge has been met and the various parts of India have been assimilated into one organic whole. Only after this great feat has been actually performed, it will be legitimate for us to shout *Jai Hind*!

Pandit Jawaharlal proclaimed at Patna that the Congress Government would abolish poverty and unemployment, and nearly a quarter million of people cheered him. What a charming promise this! It looks like the twin-brother of a promise to extinguish poverty in France made by another ex-political detainee (from the fortress of Ham, a century before our political detainee from Ahmadnagar fort). His pamphlet *L'Extinction du Pauperisme* proved a best-seller and brought all France to his feet.

The promise was realised twenty-three years later—at SEDAN.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION : ON THE ANVIL

By IQBAL NARAIN, M.A.,

Department of History and Political Science, Agra College

"The government of a people by itself has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as a government of one people by another does not, and cannot exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in a human cattle farm, for the profits of its own inhabitants."—JOHN STUART MILL.

PEOPLE all the world over have loved self-government and struggled to achieve it. Philosophers have eulogised 'Home Rule', and poets glorified it in song and verse. Naturally, therefore, citizens in every country feel devoted towards their self-made constitution for it affirms and shields their right to be gods of democracy. And so, if on the one hand the English constitution has got its philosophers and poets, the American constitution too has its votaries and champions. Yet the Republican constitution of India—the hall-mark of our triumph in the struggle for freedom—has courted more criticism than praise. Many of our own countrymen honestly feel that the new constitution is 'no good' and that the earlier it is done away with, the better for India. For example, Sri Jaya Prakash Narain, the Socialist leader, wrote on January 26, 1950 :

"Let us not forget that the constitution that comes into force to-day and brings republic into being, is in itself a source of the greatest danger to both individual freedom and social justice. Therefore, at the earliest opportunity, a really representative constituent assembly must be convened to frame a new constitution that may become a fit instrument for social democracy."¹

Appraisal of the Indian Constitution thus is an issue of crucial importance. For it would mean a judgment on the toil of three hundred of our fellow Indians who sat for two years, eleven months and seventeen days to hammer out a Constitution for mother India. Has it all been a huge waste and does it deserve to be discarded? To find an answer to this question, an attempt has been made at an impartial analysis of the main attacks levelled against the Republican Constitution of India.

1. AN UNDULY LONG CONSTITUTION

At the outset we find that the bulk of our Constitution has been put to searching criticism. Critics hold that our Constitution is unduly long and it, therefore, deprives the body politic of that flexibility of limbs which is a pre-requisite of its healthy working.

Indeed what strikes one in the Indian Constitution as a document is its comprehensiveness. It is embodied in 395 articles, nine schedules and the First Amendment Act. Dr. Ambedkar did not draw a long bow when he

described it as the bulkiest in the world. If the French Constitution under the Third Republic was remarkable for "its brevity, its incompleteness, its lack of sonorous phrases and challenging principles," the Republican Constitution of India is a type by itself for its vividness, its exhaustive details and rich ideology which is imbued with a liberal, democratic and pacific spirit. If the god-fathers of the American polity left the Constitution, as Russell Lowell puts it, to be "woven on the roaring loom of time" through a process of trial, error and correction, consensually-gods in India have attempted to weave the entire fabric themselves and are now proud of its completeness and rich pattern.

On the score of length and comprehensiveness our Constitution does differ from the other constitutions of the world. Most of the other constitutions of the world only embody the general principles and broad rules for the working of governmental machinery. They leave the details about the procedure of administration to be filled in by the legislature as and when circumstances require. But in the Indian Constitution many such details have also been incorporated. The Indian Constitution does not merely define the organisation and functions of the three main organs of government both at the centre and in the units and lays down provisions about citizenship and fundamental rights; it also deals with such minor details of administration as provisions about finance, property, contracts and suits, trade and intercourse within the territory of India, the services, the elections, minorities, official language, etc., etc. And hence the bulk of the constitution.

The bulk and comprehensiveness of our constitution has been explained and defended on the following grounds :

(a) The vastness of the country, the diversities of its population and the varieties of its interests account for and justify this elaboration. India's 340 millions of people, their different religions, their varied languages, the presence of many minorities in the country necessitated detailed specifications.

(b) The bulk of our constitution is inherent in its very nature. Explaining this Sri Joshi has ably stated :

"Another reason is the nature of the Indian Union, which conforms to no accepted theory of federalism and which adopts the ingredients of

1. The Republic Number of *Janta*, dated January 26, 1950.

different systems of government (Parliamentary and Presidential) to meet India's peculiar needs and conditions and whose avowed objective is to achieve the Welfare State.²

Our constitution has been assigned a double role. It has to be federal in normal times and unitary in the days of emergency. To enable the Constitution to play this double role, a set of emergency provisions had also to be incorporated and these in turn naturally added to the bulk of the constitution. Not only this. The framers of our constitution have embodied in one political structure States with varied political development both in point of consciousness and governmental structure. British Indian Provinces, the Native States and the Chief Commissions' Provinces differed so much from each other that different sets of conditions had to be incorporated in the constitution. Thus the bulk of the constitution increased still further because it "contains not only the constitution of the union, but also the constitutions of the States which are of different categories."³

(c) The plant of democracy has become foreign to the Indian soil due to the age-long political serfdom of the country. India was thus not fit to develop healthy democratic conventions particularly because of its illiteracy, poverty, political backwardness and lack of national character. Detailed provisions had, therefore, to be made to pursue the hard-won democratic ideal. The fathers of the constitution did not want to take any risk in the game of self-government. They did not want that the new constitution too, like the Morely-Minto and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, should be deprived of its spirit and made soulless by the rules which may be framed by the civil service of the country. Dr. Ambedkar has well expressed this viewpoint in the words :

"It was only where people were saturated with constitutional morality that one could take the risk of omitting from the constitution details of administration and leaving to the legislature to prescribe them. Democracy in India is only a top dressing on the Indian soil which is essentially undemocratic. In these circumstances it is wiser not to trust the legislatures to prescribe forms of administration."

(d) It is also true that the detailed provisions have enriched our constitution as these embody the experience of the great democracies of the world where similar provisions have been tested and found to have survived the wear and tear of politics. As Sri B. N. Rau has stated :

"It is undoubtedly true that the Draft has borrowed from other constitutions and notably from the Act of 1935 To profit from the experience of other countries or from the past experience of one's own is the part of wisdom. There is another advantage in borrowing—not only the substance but even the language of established Constitutions; for, we obtain in this way the benefit of interpretation put

upon the borrowed provisions by the Courts of the countries of their origin and we thus avoid ambiguity or doubt."⁴

Yet the comprehensiveness of the Indian Constitution remains only a qualified blessing. At some places our Constitution, as seen above, goes into very minute details. This is uncalled-for by considerations of practical political wisdom. It is likely to hamper the hands and puzzle the heads of those who shall have to work the constitution in keeping with the needs of time and place. Life is not all theory; it has to be supplemented with practical wisdom. And so it is justly feared that the Constitution may become less responsive to the growing aspirations of the people and practical exigencies of time and place. It might render our constitution too rigid and consequently too remote from the run of life. True there is provision for amendment in the Constitution to adjust it to the march of progress. But alas man by his very nature takes things as they are and seldom bothers to change or improve upon them unless categorically warranted. Thus it has to be admitted that our constitution, though it embodies the concentrated political wisdom of the ages, ignores the basic truth that a real constitution is a living body of general and growing prescriptions carried into effect by living persons. Our Constitution in a word is not likely to be a living organism in its working and growth.

2. A BAG OF BORROWINGS

Another severe charge against our constitution is that it is nothing more and nothing less than a bag of borrowings—a fantastic and incoherent amalgam of the varied provisions of the different constitutions of the world.

It cannot be denied that the god-fathers of our constitution freely borrowed from other constitutions of the world. A few examples would illustrate this. The very democratic basis of the Indian Constitution with adult franchise as its cornerstone is a western conception.⁵ The parliamentary pattern of our Constitution is again all British. The chapter on Fundamental Rights corresponds to the American Bill of Rights. In the Directive Principles of State Policy one can trace a parallel to the Irish model. The President of the Indian Union is an enlarged copy of the French President. Our federal fabric has been designed after the American model. It is also true that our Constitution resembles the Act of 1935 to a great extent, and so it is claimed that our Constitution-makers have only aped the Act.

But it has to be noted that though India's constitution-makers copiously borrowed, they have well adjusted the borrowings to Indian conditions. Our Constitution is

4. Quoted by D. R. Gadgil in *Some Observations on the Draft Constitution*, Preface, p. ii.

5. This is a disputed point. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* (pages 23 to 186) has shown that election was a general feature of the Republics in ancient India.

2. Joshi : *The Constitution of India*, page viii.

3. *Ibid.*

not a wild jumble of the borrowed provisions of the Constitutions of the world. They have been knit together to evolve a coherence of their own. The framers of our Constitution did not borrow blindly but with their eyes open to the utility of the provisions for our country. "In other words, the wisdom of the members of the Constituent Assembly, lay in their realization that more was to be gained from selective borrowings than from blind originality."⁶ They did not feel shy in making departures in the interest of India and the Indian people. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, declared in a trumpet tone :

"We are not bound to have a constitution which completely and fully falls in line with known categories of Constitutions in the world."

A few examples will illustrate the truth of the aforesaid statement. Single citizenship and a single integrated judiciary are prominent deviations from the American Constitution. Again the principle of judicial review, has grown as a convention in the U.S.A.,⁷ but it has been expressly made a part and parcel of our Constitution by defining the structure and powers of the Courts in the Constitution itself. Not only this. If the framers of the American Constitution "were animated by a sleepless jealousy of Government power"⁸ in their desire to secure the rights and liberties of the citizens against State interference, our constitution-makers have aimed to harmonise the concept of individual liberty with the ideal of State security by insisting upon the individual that no rights are absolute and the best guarantee to the exercise of a right is its proper use in the larger interests of the community. Our Constitution thus safeguards the rights of the individual on the one hand and guards the State against the arbitrary play of these rights on the other. Moreover, our Fundamental Rights are not mere ideals. But these are ideals cast in a realistic mould suited to India. For example, the abstract ideal of liberty has been employed in our Constitution to give a sense of security to our brethren, particularly Muslims, who form a minority in our country. Similarly, the abstract dogma of equality has been used to better the lot of untouchables, the miserable outcasts of our society. Such examples may be multiplied to show that our Constitution is not a second copy of the American Constitution. Likewise, the chapter on the Directive Principles in our Constitution differs from its Irish model in so far as it incorporates the needs of India and does not repeat parrot-like the substance of the Irish Directives. In the same way our Constitution differs from the Act of 1935 in many ways. One significant deviation may be noted here. The Simon Commission Report, the Bible of the Act of 1935, held :

"Many of those who came before us have urged that the Indian Constitution should contain definite guarantees for the rights of individuals in respect of the exercise of their religion and a declaration of the equal rights of all citizens. We are aware that such provisions have been inserted in many Constitutions, not only in those of the European States formed after the War. Experience, however, has not shown them to be of any great practical value. Abstract declarations are useless unless there exists the will and the means to make them effective."⁹

And accordingly the Act of 1935 did not provide for any Bill of Rights. But the authors of our Constitution felt the incorporation of the Fundamental Rights necessary to awaken and enthuse people about the glorious vision of their liberty. And they did incorporate them. It is also interesting in this context to note that our Constitution is unique in so far as it provides for a flexible federal structure which can be stretched or bent so as to meet emergencies without breaking its framework and when the emergency has passed, it can slip back into its fold like a tree whose outer branches have been pulled aside to let a vehicle pass.

It has also to be mentioned in this connection that the critics who hold this view have perhaps a wrong notion about the goal that our consenbly members had set before them. They perhaps think that they were attempting an original Constitution. But the fact is that their objective was only to frame a good and workable system, whether original or otherwise. Besides, today, when constitutions of all kinds have so much developed, to attempt an original constitution would have, at worst, been an attempt to churn the sea and at best an utopian flight reminiscent of Plato's Republic which is too good for this world.

3. NOT A PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTION

It is also contended that our Constitution is the product of the labours of a Consenbly which was in no sense representative of the people. The members of this body were indirectly elected on a communal basis by members of provincial legislatures to which election had been held in 1946. The voters who elected these representatives comprised only eleven to fourteen per cent of the total adult voters. The Constituent Assembly became a statutory body after the Independence Act of 1947. After partition this body became a rump consisting of 307 members, of whom 235 came from the provinces and 72 from the States. The Socialist party declared that the Constituent Assembly was not the real political representative of the people as it was not elected on the basis of universal adult franchise and so the constitution, that it framed could not be regarded as an embodiment of the will of the people.

This argument loses its force when one realises that the political circumstances at that moment in India were such that even if a new constitution-making body were

6. H. Dicken Cherry : "The Constitutional Philosophy of India," *India Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, page 402.

7. Ferguson and McHenry : *The American System of Government*, pp. 62-63.

8. James Beek : *The Constitution of the United States*, p. 213.

9. *Simon Commission Report*, Vol. II, paragraph 36, pp. 22-23.

to be elected on the basis of adult franchise, the Congress party would have come to power and the Constituent Assembly would have had similar character, shade of opinion and ideals. Consequently our constitution would have also been similar to what it is at present. Even Sri N. M. Joshi, the veteran Labour leader, subscribed to this viewpoint when he stated :

"It has to be admitted that organizing elections on adult franchise basis would have taken some substantial time and perhaps even if elections on adult suffrage basis had been held, the Congress party would have secured a definite majority in the Constitution-making body."¹⁰

Besides, what makes a Constitution that "of the people" is the location of sovereignty in the people. Recognising the principle of popular sovereignty, the Preamble states :

"We the people having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution."

The New Constitution of India does not only provide for people's Sovereignty but also for people's rule. The Constitution envisages a democratic government in which the average citizen has direct access to the seat of authority. He now enjoys the right to political power—the right to elect and to be elected. All discriminations based on birth, wealth, colour, race or sex have been set aside. The introduction of universal adult franchise, the abolition of separate communal electorates and untouchability, the grant of justiciable Fundamental Rights and the institution of an independent judiciary—all these go to make our constitution essentially "of the people." In fact our constitution re-affirms with a refreshing boldness the democratic ideal laid down by Lincoln :

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

It has also to be noted in the context of the aforesaid criticism that the constitution of the U.S.A. too was not representative of the people in the sense in which the critics use the term. And yet it is a people's constitution. As Munro writes :

"Of course it can be argued and quite rightly, that the men who framed it (the American Constitution) were not chosen by the people, nor was their work ratified by a popular vote. But the fact remains that the document asserts itself to be an ordinance of the people and has been accepted as such for nearly five generations. Without the acquiescence of the people it could never have been continued in force during all these years."¹¹

4. EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY—A HASTY STEP

Under the Indian Constitution to-day every one above 21 years of age votes and votes alike. Critics hold that India is not yet fit for an experiment of democracy

on such a vast scale. In the vein of an undiluted pessimist they are honestly afraid of enfranchising all adult citizens of India who are as yet not literate and who have no experience of democratic government. Here again the critics err. They forget that democracy is its own school and it teaches through a process of trial, error and correction. To quote Carlyle :

"Democracy will itself accomplish the salutary universal change from the delusive to the real and make a new blessed world of us bye and bye."

5. THE DANGERS OF A SECULAR POLITY

Critics hold that on account of the secularism of our Constitution people might develop a gross materialistic outlook and great treasure-houses of spiritual knowledge, such as the Ramayana, the Bhagwat Gita, etc., might be ignored or treated with contempt by the Government and the people alike. As Sri J. P. Suda observes :

"There is, however, one danger lurking in the idea of a secular Indian State. The genius of our race has been spiritual. Whereas ancient Greece struck the note of intellectual greatness and contributed to humanity priceless intellectual treasures ; whereas ancient Rome struck the note of civic greatness and gave to mankind a wonderful system of law and administration ; ancient India struck the note of spiritual greatness and placed before mankind deep and eternal spiritual truths. These truths are preserved in the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the Bhagwat Gita. If the secular Indian Republic ignores these great treasure-houses of spiritual knowledge, it would do itself great and irreparable injury."¹²

But one need not harbour this fear. A secular polity, as Venkataraman writes in his famous book *A Treatise on Secular State*, is "neither religious nor irreligious nor anti-religious but is wholly detached from religious dogmas and activities and is thus neutral in religious matters." The secular State in India does not in any way imply the idea of irreligiousness. Moreover, religion and faith are matters of individual conscience over which the State has little control. The Gita and the Mahabharata which have survived the days of religious persecution can hardly suffer eclipse in the era of universal religious toleration which is the mainspring of secularism. They have an enduring grace of their own which neither the scissors of time nor the tide of human passion can effect.

6. A POLITICAL DEMOCRACY WITH CAPITALISTIC FOUNDATIONS

Lastly, it is urged that like England, India too enjoys a political democracy with capitalistic foundations. An Indian Laski may well say that the Indian Constitution "is the expression of a politically democratic government, it is not the expression of a democratic Society."¹³ We have no economic democracy which is

10. Blitz, dated January 25, 1950.

11. W. B. Munro : *The Government of the United States*, (Fourth Edition), Chapter V, p. 62.

12. J. P. Suda : *Indian Constitutional Development and National Movement*, pp. 521-522.

13. Laski : *Parliamentary Government in England*, p. 38.

the backbone of a democratic society. Our society is still divided between 'the haves' and 'the have-nots'. We do not have in actual life equal opportunities for self-development. Poverty is our greatest curse. Wealth and not merit is often a passport for individual progress and social esteem. India in these respects is hardly better than England and here also one has to say like Laski :

"It is, no doubt, true that wealth in Great Britain can purchase for itself access to the highest social place. But it is also true, that save for a favoured few, any serious approach to equality of opportunity does not exist."¹⁴

Critics go further and say that our Constitution is likely to perpetuate this state of affairs. It recognises people's right to property. It lays down that "no person shall be deprived of his property save by law." It also stipulates that "such laws must provide for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired."

There is much substance in this argument. Yet it has to be noted that in India we have gone one step ahead of England in the evolution of social democracy. The Zamindari and the Jagirdari systems, the outworn ramparts of the feudal age in India, are being demolished,

while the Lords still hold sway in England. Moreover in our Constitution itself the gradual evolution of socialism has not been completely ruled out. Instead in the "Directive Principles of State Policy" directives have been issued to the newly born infant polity of free India to approach this ideal. Our fundamental rights to equality are also steps on the road to socialism. The very fact that our Constitution-makers have provided for compensation in case private property is acquired shows that they are eager to abolish it. As Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar said :

"The Constitution is intended to usher in a Social Democratic Republic. This is the essence of the two conflicting ideologies prevailing in the world—the capitalistic democracy of the west and the Socialist dictatorship of Russia."

It cannot be denied, however, that the march to the El Dorado of social democracy in India will be long and weary due to the 'compensation clause.' Yet the compensation clause itself is not immutable and our political democracy, like every other, must some day grow into a social democracy. This change is in the very logic of 'evolutionism.' But the time spirit alone can determine whether social democracy will emerge as a 'child of evolution' or as a 'piece of revolution.'

14. *Ibid.*

—O—

PLANNING FROM THE BOTTOM

By PROF. S. N. AGARWAL

ONE of the Directives of the Indian Constitution is that "the State shall take steps to organise Village Panchayats as units of self-government." Gandhiji also laid great stress on the desirability of decentralising economic and political power in India through the revival of gram panchayats. His dream of true Swaraj consisted in the creation of "self-sufficient and self-governing village republics" throughout the country. Fortunately, almost all the State Governments have already enacted the necessary legislation for instituting Village Panchayats in their respective areas. Their constitutions and powers differ considerably from State to State. But they do contain potential seeds of rebuilding our new democracy from the bottom upwards on the basis of well-organised rural communities.

Village communities in India have formed an integral part of our national life from time immemorial. *Gramini* or the leader of the village is mentioned in the Vedas : reference to *Gram Sabhas* is found in the *Jatakas* as well. The *Dharma Sutras* contain frequent references to *Gana* and *Puga* which denoted village and town corporations in Ancient India. The Indian rural republics continued to

flourish during the Hindu, Muslim and Peshwa Governments till the advent of the East India Company. They survived the wreck of dynasties and downfall of Empires. As Sir Charles Metcalfe observed, the village communities "seemed to last where nothing else lasts." In the words of Sir Charles Trevellyn, the Village Municipalities "have stuck to the soil like their own *Kusha* grass." It was mainly during the British regime that these Village Panchayats gradually died down owing to excessive centralisation of administration and economic organisation.

It is being recognised by all the leading political and social thinkers of the West that modern democracy in order to succeed as a practical measure of socio-economic organisation, must be decentralised. "If men's faith in social action is to be revived," states Prof. Joad, "the State must be cut up and its functions distributed." Dr. Boodin also regards "small, closely-knit republics to be the true moral units of civilisation." Modern Sociology upholds the principle that "man is happiest when living in small communities." Analysing the drawbacks of modern States, Prof. Adams wants us "to go to the root

of the trouble and pursue a bold policy of devolution, of decentralization." Lewis Mumford, the well-known American Sociologist, recommends the building up of "small balanced communities in the open country." In modern America the small communities are yet playing a very important role in the revival of rural life and co-operative effort. *Kentucky on the March* is a romantic story of men and women working together for the common good of all in a small locality. Prof. Richard Peston, in his book entitled *Small Town Renaissance* emphatically asserts that "vigorous small communities provide the only atmosphere in which democracy can thrive and remain a powerful force." Dr. Borsodi has been trying the experiment of decentralised small-scale community in his School of Living near New York. Dr. Morgan's work at Yellow Springs, Ohio for the organisation of community life is also a heroic attempt to preserve and stabilise the democratic way of life.

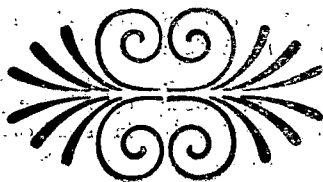
The idea of Village Panchayats is, thus, not a medieval conception: nor is it a relic of tribalism. As Dr. Radhakrishnan remarks: "Going back to villages is not to become primitive: it is the only way to keep up a mode of existence that is instinctive to India." Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee in his *Democracies of the East* points out how the village communities "will furnish the basis of a new type of polity which in its co-ordination of diverse local and functional groups will be more satisfying in the State constructions of the future than the centralise structure of the parliamentary pattern." Instead of being old-fashioned and out-of-date, this pattern of rural panchayats as the basic units of administration and economic organisation is in accordance with the spirit of this age of scientific progress. Science, with all its modern technological achievements, should make for decentralisation rather than for centralisation. It is also not right to think that village panchayats will lead to isolationism. Even in ancient times there was well-organised co-ordination at all levels. In fact, the progress of science and democracy must inevitably promote devolution of economic and political power in modern times.

National Planning under democracy can succeed only if we try to build and plan from the bottom and not attempt to force plans down the throats of people from the top. The essence of sound economic planning is, therefore, decentralisation in the form of well-knit rural and even town communities. We are glad to find that the First Five-Year Plan in our own country is aware of this need for decentralisation in the economic sphere. The scheme of Community Projects and the National Extension Service

is a step in the right direction, although there may be honest differences of opinion regarding the details. The plans for Local Projects are, in our opinion, the very heart of our National Plan. But these Local Projects can succeed on a lasting basis only if there are well-organised small communities in the form of Panchayats throughout the length and breadth of India. Our civil and judicial administration also can visibly improve if we seriously attempt to build the edifice of our *Swaraj* from the very bottom, i.e., the village community.

The ancient traditions of Village Panchayats in India have been in the direction of "composite" democracy as against the present type of "party" democracy. The voice of the *Panchas* was always considered to be the voice of God. "Panch Parmeshwar" was the ideal of these rural republics. Elections to the Panchayats were mostly unanimous: whenever it was not possible to achieve unanimity election was completed by means of lots drawn by the youngest child in the village. If we desire to rebuild the country from the bottom on sound foundations of democracy, we must resuscitate our Panchayats on the traditions of composite democracy. It is but proper that the Congress Working Committee has instructed the Pradesh Congress Committees, that, as far as possible Congress should not try to contest the Panchayat elections on a party basis. The Praja Socialist Party is also of the same view. It is hoped that other political parties in the country will consider this matter seriously and solemnly decide not to make the Village Panchayats an arena for party politics. We must all co-operate whole-heartedly in revivifying our ancient Panchayat traditions on the model of a broad-based, non-party, non-communal and enlightened democracy. Only then can we hope to reconstruct India according to the real genius of the nation.

Before we plan for a more systematic and well-organised establishment of Village Panchayats in the country it is very essential to collect all relevant data regarding the existing condition of the rural communities in different States. We must make a comparative study of the Panchayat Acts in various parts of India. The A.I.C.C. is planning to collect the necessary information and statistics in this connection and publish it as early as possible for the guidance and benefit of all those who are vitally interested in this problem. This publication will serve as the basis for future reforms in the working of Village Panchayats in India. We earnestly appeal to all concerned to help us in this important national task of planning the welfare of our toiling millions from the bottom upwards.



THE HISTORICAL RECORDS IN KOTAH

By DR. GOVIND S. SARDESAI, Hony. D.Litt.

A Saraswat Brahman from Maharashtra, bearing the surname of Pandit Gulgule, settled in Kotah and rose to be a jagirdar of that Rajput Kingdom. In the mansion of this family in Kotah city, known as Sarola House, a very large collection of old historical papers in the Marathi language (with a hundred or so in Persian) has been preserved, carefully arranged in bundles according to their writers. These are materials of first-rate importance to students of Maratha history and of North Indian history in general during the eighteenth century. Two members of this family,—Balaji Yashwant (in office 1724-1759) and his son Lalaji Ballal (1760-1821), successively held the important position of revenue collectors in Hindusthan under the Sindhias of Gwalior. As Kotah occupies a central place in the line of communication between Delhi and Poona, the Gulgules were naturally led into various activities, as bankers and agents for many other Maratha chiefs as well; they had to secure permits and supply escorts to travelling Maratha officers and pilgrims, purchase military stores and supplies, recover loans, trace offenders, and transact all kinds of financial operations in general. The correspondence naturally rising out of the discharge of these duties during so many decades, grew in the end into a huge mass of documents which have survived till now, with remarkably little loss.

The late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara was the first to draw public attention to this *daftar*, through his monthly magazine, named *Itihas Sangraha* (c. 1915), but none else cared to study them till 1927 when I paid my first visit to Kotah with my friend V. S. Wakaskar, and together we spent some ten days in studying these old papers. My preliminary note on them was published soon afterwards. In 1929, I paid a second visit to Kotah, this time with Sir Jadunath Sarkar (who explored the Persian papers and transcribed them). We jointly wrote to the Gwalior Government and drew its attention to the primary importance of these records for the history of the Sindhia dynasty. Next Sardar Anand Rao Phalke of the Gwalior Service took an interest in them and published three volumes of Selections, namely,

Vol. I containing 296 letters (published in 1929)

Vol. II containing 198 letters (published in 1930)

Vol. III containing 466 letters (printed in 1937 but published in 1946).

These made a total of 960 letters available in print, roughly one-six of the mass. Sardar Phalke touched only the fringe of the collection, and covered its beginning, while the main body of the papers remained unexamined. During the Second World War, Maharaj-kumar Dr. Raghuvir Singh (of Sitamau) at his own expense got all the Marathi papers, written in the old

Modi script, transcribed in Devanagari characters and typed in triplicate. He supplied me with a complete set of these typescripts during 1946-48, and I have now finished my intensive study of the whole mass. As research-workers in this field know, most of these old letters are without dates and sometimes the name of the writer as well is wanting. Patiently working through these large bundles, I supplied the dates through the circumstantial clues furnished by the subject-matter, except in the case of a hundred or so letters (mostly too short or fragmentary) which have baffled me. I have added a short English summary and description at the end of every letter, and in many places inserted explanatory notes and critical estimates in the margin in pencil. Thus the copy edited by me can at once serve as a press-copy if it is decided to print it; but before that event, my annotations will serve as a chart guiding earnest students most quickly to the topics that are of concern to them.

THE UNIQUE VALUE OF THESE RECORDS

My exhaustive study revealed many important features of this collection; facts and episodes previously unknown were here discovered for the first time, and numerous shrewd reflections on men and events by very keen-witted contemporary observers were found, which will prove of inestimable value to our future historians; linguistic, social, and economic peculiarities, the shape of trade and banking, of prices and rates of exchange, are correctly noted, so that this collection will stand as a mine of indispensable information to every one who wants to draw a correct and full picture of how our predecessors lived and thought and worked in the 18th century. Not merely the historian of dynasties and battles will be benefited. I enumerate below some of the important things which are brought to light in this collection only and some others which cannot be fully or correctly known except with the help of the information given here. This will serve as a helpful chart guiding future research-workers through this hitherto unknown continent.

1. Mahadji Sindhia's early career, up to 1767, is known from a few dim traditions only, but it can be reconstructed on the authentic basis of facts from the Kotah papers.

2. Many details of his later career are given here by eyewitnesses, which supplement and correct the current accounts.

3. On the last two years of Mahadji's life spent in Poona (1792-1794), and his patriotic but futile efforts to set the Peshwa's government in order, these records supply many additional and luminous details, which will correct the partisan writings of Nana Fadnis's followers.

4. The entire career of Yashwant Rao Holkar and his relations with other States can be traced step by step here.

5. There are almost day-to-day records of the doings of Peshwa Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia and their evil satellites. We also see, how many wise soldiers and ministers and patriots without office made a last effort to avert the ruin of the Maratha State, but were frustrated by such masters.

6. Many worthy persons,—Brahmans (particularly Saraswats), Marates and even humbler castes,—can be rescued from the semi-darkness or even oblivion with which history has shrouded them up to now. I draw particular attention to Ambaji Ingle, Lakhwa Dada Lad, Jagannath Ram Kerkar, Jivba Dada Bakhshi, Zalim Singh, etc.

7. Among the writers of these despatches nearly a dozen clerks stand out for their extraordinary ability in observing and reporting, and their mastery of style. The historian of the evolution of Marathi prose will find here indispensable material of precise date. A biographical dictionary can be compiled of our agents, diplomats, soldiers and business managers who appear on the crowded stage of these sixty eventful years, and most of whom were not hitherto known even by name. The two notable members of the Gulgule family from whom this historical store-house originated, lived in stirring times and were often at the pivot of affairs, they also rendered services to the Maratha State which

deserve to be permanently recorded in a full-length biography. This would be no unworthy subject for a thesis of original research.

HOW I HAVE ARRANGED THESE RECORDS

The Kotah Daftar does not deserve printing in its entirety. After rigorously excluding all commonplace business papers and formal letters and despatches of third-rate importance, I have selected for publication nearly 1800 documents or a little over one-third of the papers placed before me. On the transcripts themselves I have put the letter V in red and blue pencil at the head of every letter selected for printing and two zeroes at the head of those to be rejected. On the outer cover of each bundle I have noted the important features of its contents.

The documents that came to me numbered 4415, but Dr. Raghuvir Singh's list gives the number as 4750, evidently because he counted the sheets, while I counted the documents, some of the despatches running to more than one sheet.

In conclusion, I must state my great fear that if this valuable Daftar cannot be made available for study, it may eventually be lost to history. No private owner or literary society can bear the cost of printing the selection I have made. The State alone can do it, and the State unquestionably owes some gratitude to the memory of those who had kept it alive in the past.

KOTAH RECORDS, CHRONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Serial No. of bundles	Year	No. of letters recd.	No. of letters selected for printing	No. of letters rejected by me
1	1733-60	121	117	4
2	1761-70	233	184	39
3	1771-75	396	236	160
4	1776-80	592	374	218
5	1781-85	310	114	196
6	1786-90	250	133	112
7	1791	108	73	35
8	1792	142	89	53
9	1793	146	82	64
10	1794	179	65	114
11	1795	117	37	80
12	1796	147	25	122
13	1797	61	19	42
14	1798	80	10	70
15	1799	129	24	105
16	1800	124	8	116
17	1801	96	8	88
18	1802	278	34	244
19	1803	110	34	76
20	1804	155	71	84
21	1805	100	21	79
22	1806-57	234	10	224
23	Undated	317	0	317
Total		4415	1773	2642

Noticeable points.

Phalke has printed 54 of these.
Useful for Mahadji's early career.
British intervention in Poona politics.
First Anglo-Maratha War.
Mahadji and the British.
Wars in Rajputana.
Mahadji restores Udaipur Rana.
Sindhia-Holkar rivalry.
Mahadji attempts to reform Poona administration.
Mahadji's death and its sequel.
Madhav Narayan Peshwa's death and its consequences.
Search for a new Peshwa.
Baji Rao II comes to power.
Daulat Rao Sindhia losing ground in South.
Sindhia widows' war (3 years).
Rise of Yashwant Rao Holkar.
Daulat Rao losing ground in North.
Peshwa defeated, flees from Poona.
Details of war with the English.
Yashwant Rao Holkar blazes up.
Vanish Maratha glory.
Daulat Rao humiliated by his subordinates.
Requires further examination.

INCENTIVE IN AN AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

By BEPIN BEHARI, M.A., B.Sc. (Lond.) X

EVIDENCE is not wanting to show that the nations which did not work sufficiently hard to raise their production perished in the struggle for survival. A similar situation has arisen in India. India has the most fertile lands in the world, but the average yield is tragically low: U.S.A. yields 1,480 lbs., Japan 2,307 lbs., Egypt and Italy 3,000 lbs. while India produces only 731 lbs. per acre. India is the main source of the world's supply of ilmenite, manganese, monazite, zircon, and mica. Her iron ores have the highest metal content. India has enormous amount of untapped resources which are very useful for any civilised nation of the world; but the National Income of the country is as low as Rs. 255 per year. In order to exploit the natural resources of any country efficient organization and enthusiastic co-operation of the people are necessary. The first Five-Year Plan of India is an effort in that direction, but the problem of proper and adequate incentive to the worker still remains to be resolved.

Twentieth Century has weakened the capitalistic philosophy and there is socialist upsurge all over the world. Social consciousness has increased. People who continuously toil on fields and sweat with machines are acquiring control over the government. Right to work is accepted and everybody expects free health services. At present monetary incentives are of doubtful efficacy, and the failure of bonuses and Payments by Results (PBR) is evident. Influence of both the whip and the carrot has declined; the problem of human motivation requires a fresh analysis.

Mr. Balchin writing in the *Occupational Psychology* of July, 1947 started a very lively series of discussions regarding incentive to work under the caption "Satisfaction at Work." This discussion attracted the attention of psychologists, sociologists, industrialists, anthropologists, and economists.¹ In this article Mr. Balchin analyses three phases in the history of incentives and finds three main drives of human activities. In the society prior to Industrial Revolution the individual often for long hours did

exhaustive work. During this period beneath all complaints of the hardness of a ploughman's lot there was odd pride and satisfaction in the direct struggle between man and nature, and in using certain skill and knowledge to produce something of obvious tangible value. In the second phase of mechanization industrial workers had to work in complicated large-scale organisations and there was a very great gap between the effort and its tangible result. During this period though the satisfaction derived in the earlier period is lost yet the masochistic pleasure especially enforced by the religious dogma was a source of satisfaction. With the advent of industrial civilisation with decay in the religious faith the source of satisfaction altered. Labour and management together set out coolly and rationally to destroy the old sadistic-masochistic pleasure in effort and discomfort for their own sake and to make the point that there was no virtue in hard work for its own sake. Incentive was not satisfaction but the radio set was. Under the present conditions some of the old resistances are removed but no positive incentive is provided.

Mr. Balchin further goes on to analyse the factors of motivation for the individual. He states three conditions under which the individual works: either he must or he should or that he wants to. The first is very powerful in a community where the struggle for survival is very hard. 'He who does not work shall not eat' is much more emphatic under subsistence economy than 'He who does not work shall not have a radio.' In the second case work is just a duty. When the National Income is concentrated among a very limited section of the population, then the teeming millions of the industrial world will not have the ethical inspiration of unattached effort, especially under industrial discipline. Men might work for themselves, for their family members or for their friends or for the person whom they love. There is truth in the statement that nobody works for abstract society. In the third instance, it is assumed that the individual is an artist. But the assumption is of doubtful value.

Mr. Balchin concludes that if work and pleasure are much more integrated there will be greater enthusiasm for work. According to him, there is no harm in introducing the technique of the professional entertainer. "Why should the Devil have all the tunes?"—asked Martin Luther, when they accused him of setting hymns to the music of drinking songs; but the same can be the answer of the industrialists to the musicians. We should arrange for work to merge into human activities, so that it ceases to be a separate concept and yields at least as much satisfaction as any other part of life. A time may come

1. Prof. C. A. Mace: "Satisfaction in Work." *Occupational Psychology*, October, 1948

Adam Curle: "The Sociological Background of Incentives," *Occupational Psychology*, January, 1949

W. J. Goode and I. Fowler: "Incentive Factors in a Low Morale Plant," *American Sociological Review*, 1949

Raymond Firth: "Anthropological Background to Work," *Occupational Psychology*, April, 1948

A. Curle: "Incentives to Work: An Anthropological Appraisal," *Human Relations*, 1949

Charles Madge: "Payments and Incentives", (paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science on September 2, 1947). Reprint *Occupational Psychology*, January, 1948

when nobody could be demanding any labour from anybody if the work is not pleasant and enjoyable.

A statistical investigation was carried on in England just after the war to find out the popularity of different incentives.² A sample of 300 men aged 18-19 years, of various levels of intelligence ranked eight 'incentives' and also expressed their attitudes towards the same items by means of paired comparisons. The items ranked were Pay, Hours, Variety, Leave, Prospects, Security, Efficient Organization, and Good Workmates. These items were classified under two sections: Group A, consisted of Prospects, Security, Variety and Efficient Organization; Group B consisted of Workmates, Hours, Pay, and Leave. The persons under observation were classified according to their level of intelligence. The survey indicated that (i) the incentive for one person might be disincentive for the next group. Generalisations about incentives without prior measurement of intelligence might lead to dangerous conclusions. (ii) Intelligence, occupation and occupational preferences are conditions which influence the incentives most. Social conditions, age, marriage have important influence, but they were not considered in this investigation. (iii) Intelligent workers are more interested in long-term incentives associated with the job itself, and the lower intelligent groups seek short-term incentives and compensations for doing a job. They prefer social incentives rather than satisfaction in work. Group A (Prospects, Security, Variety, and Efficient Organization) is preferred by the intelligent group whereas the other group preferred Group B, (viz., Workmates, Hours, Pay, and Leave). (iv) Making the work more interesting for lower grade intelligence may spoil the whole work situation from his standpoint.

Mr. Balchin and Professor Mace both emphasise the importance of social factors for human motivation whilst the statistical investigations bring into relief the significance of individual characteristics. As a matter of fact, the problem of motivation can be properly analysed only in relation to the society. Under the present industrial system the relationship between the individual and the society is disrupted. Even the social consequences of Industrial Revolution is noted with disappointment.³ As early as 1829 Frederic Le Play, a French engineer (who toured from the steppes of the Eastern Europe to the Atlantic shores of France, and whose observations are recorded in six volumes published between 1855 and 1879) doubted whether technical and industrial develop-

ments were at all beneficial to the various European communities. Le Play stated that in simpler communities there is social stability and there is willing participation of every member of the community in social activities. With respect to the modern and characteristically industrial community the situation is entirely contrary: there is extensive social disorganisation, social code is ignored, peace and stability has definitely waned. Remarkably similar observations were made towards the end of the nineteenth century in France by Durkheim in his *Study of Suicide* published in 1857. He showed that the difference between a modern and technically developed and the simple ordered community is that in the simple community the interests of the individual are subordinated to the interests of the group. The individual number of this primitive society can clearly anticipate during infancy and adolescence the functions that he will fulfil for the group when adult. The anticipation regulated his activity and thinking in the adolescence and culminates in a communal function and a sense of satisfaction when he is fully grown. In a technically improved community there is a tendency of disruption between the individual and the group collaboration. In extreme instances, Durkheim goes on saying that "we may find individuals who have lost all sense of social relationship or obligation—the melancholic, the suicidal, the 'lone wolf' or the criminal." In modern industrial society we find two symptoms of social disruption, viz., the number of unhappy individuals increases and secondly, there is disruption of the relationship between the individual and the society. In a civilised world with industrial, mechanical, and physio-chemical advance there has been destruction of all the historic and personal relationship.

The effect of industrial development was primarily to take the individual out of his social and family setting and to place him all alone confronting the gigantic mechanized organization where the individual pales into insignificance. What was important in the industrial revolution was the beginning of an industrial discipline which was impersonal and inhuman. The workman was summoned by factory bells; his daily life was arranged by factory hours; he worked under an overseer imposing a method and precision for which the overseer had in turn to answer to some higher authority; if he broke one of a long series of minute regulations he was fined, and behind all this scheme of supervision and control there loomed a great impersonal system. The individual had no initiative. He had no satisfaction of seeing his own tangible product going to the consumer, and there was no security of his employment. He had to work hard because he had to. Unless he worked harder than his fellows he would be the first to be eliminated in the

2. L. T. Wilkins: "Incentives and the Young Workers," *Occupational Psychology*, October, 1949.

3. Elton Mayo: *Social Consequences of an Industrial Civilisation*. (Though the books of Durkheim and Le Play are not translated into English, yet those who cannot read the original may find a good description of their account in the chapter: "The Seamy Side of Progress" of this book.)

economy drive. The whip was the most powerful incentive.

Agricultural workers have a different life to live. The rhythmical seasonal fluctuations have enabled agricultural workers to live very near to nature. The influence of nature in the diurnal life is considerable in reducing the fatigue of hard work. Life moves in rhythm, and the monotony of repetitive jobs is not soul-destroying. Peasants work hard when there is need for it. He has complete leisure when his labour is not required. Life is philosophic and influence of religion is great. Agriculturists start their sowing and their harvesting on auspicious days, and they believe in the sanctity of tradition and of religion. Promise of future heaven had been a greater inspiration than the rivalry or the competition of his fellow workers. In spite of hardness of a ploughman's fate, there was pride and satisfaction in the direct struggle between Man and Nature and in using a certain skill and knowledge to produce something of obvious tangible value. He worked according to tradition and any deviation from that would bring stigma to the individual. Harder work could be possible because the harder the work the greater the respect among his compatriots and the greater the reward in life after death.

In a simple society where mechanisation has not proceeded very far and where money does not play a very significant role, the relationship between the members of the group is regulated according to basic human impulses. In such a society advantages of the idyllic life are present but there are certain incentives for the individuals. These incentives are based on the understanding of human emotions and their feelings. The inherent desire in mankind to excel his compatriots has played an important role in such a community to encourage and to induce people to hard work. A typical situation exists for example in Tikopia, a remote island community on the fringe of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.⁴ The people some 1,300 tall, fair-skinned Polynesians live on a diet of fish, fruit and vegetables. They wear a rough cloth made from bark of the paper mulberry, and they use steel tools obtained from occasional exchange with the few European vessels that call. Of internal exchange of the ordinary kind there is very little. Goods do exchange hands frequently but nearly always by process of ceremonial gifts and counter gifts. In such a community fishing of bonito is a very trying task, it can be taken only with very strong rods and line and by a very expert hand. When the day's fishing is over any fisherman who has obtained a good catch—of ten or more—is entitled to stand his rod up in the stern of the canoe as he comes inshore. Such a man is known as "man of bonito"—a label

with some prestige to it. He can get poems composed in his praise and get that sung in the community. The symbol of putting rod up against one's canoe or making a song about one's own self so highly prized, is simple, yet it is precisely in these non-material ways that the human beings in a society finds some of his most cherished goals. It is the opinion of his fellows that gives value to these simple tokens, which helps to spur him on.

The pattern and the values of the present Indian Society are changing. In less than a century the economic structure of our country has changed so fundamentally that the leaders of the Sepoy Mutiny would not recognise the final texture of our present society. India is undergoing transformation. Mechanical developments and agriculture, both have sway over the Indian economy at present. India has one of the most fertile lands in the world; food crops occupy 80 per cent of the cultivated area and one-third of the rice production of the world is grown in India. She is one of the largest producers of sugar, in tea production and export she ranks first. India's rich forests grow nearly 4,000 varieties of fine timber useful for almost every use. India has the largest monopoly of lac production. It is the second largest producer and exporter of raw cotton. Agriculture supports about 70 per cent of the entire population. Though India had been primarily an agricultural country and though agriculture still remains the premier source of national wealth, yet the speed of industrialisation and the scale of industrial expansion have been colossal. Cotton Textile is by far the largest industry of the country. As a cotton-producing country India occupies the second place in the world. Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur are now the largest steel works in the East. The leather industry of the country is eating into the European markets. Rubber, cement, match, glass, soap, automobile, electrical equipments, drugs, and pharmaceutical industries and chemical industries are gaining favourable grounds in the national economy. India's tea, sugar, match and vegetable oil industry are among the biggest in the world. India ranks fifth in the world in volume of trade and is one of the largest industrial countries of the world.

Because India has a highly capitalised industrial growth and because agriculture still holds a greater sway over the Indian population, the pattern of Indian life can neither be a true replica of the Western life, nor of the old agricultural community. We are in a changing society: the advantages of old social groupings are vanishing. Now a child born in a Vaisya family is not necessarily expected to perform the duties of a businessman. Under the old caste-system (or social groupings) the society expected a certain type of performance and efficiency from the individual and the individual equipped himself to come up to

4. Professor R. Firth: "Anthropological Background to Work," *Occupational Psychology*, April, 1948.

social expectations. When the new society is taking its shape, the old social groups are breaking away and the individual is left all alone to take his own care. He gropes in darkness for his settlement in life. His vocational selection is mainly guided by glamour of the profession and parental wealth at his disposal for the requisite training. Furthermore, there is not much co-ordination between education and vocation. Unless the man and his training are suited for the job, it would be impossible to think of happiness at work.

Agriculture, even today, is mainly an inherited profession. Peasants have neither adequate training nor sufficient money for mobility to the industrial centres. Their lives are guided by social regulations. Any deviation from the beaten track might lead to social ostracism. The same rotation of crops and the method of cultivation persists in the same region. Sowing and harvesting are guided by heavenly phenomena—either the nautical almanac of the village priest is consulted for the beginning of sowing and harvesting or the advent of the monsoon rains regulates the course of events. Gods, priests, stigma, social ostracism and communal relations still regulate the agricultural community of India.

Industrial labourers are drawn from villages and their course of action is mainly guided by agricultural requirements. Demand for agricultural labour is seasonal which influence the mobility of labour from agriculture to the industrial centres. There is horizontal mobility among the agricultural and the industrial labourers. There are two principal cropping seasons: *kharif*, the summer rain cultivation and *rabi*, the winter rain cultivation crops. *Kharif* crops are sown at the outbreak of monsoon and is harvested in September or October. *Rabi* crops are sown in October or November and is harvested in April or May. At the approach of Dashara holidays the industrial workers leave their factories and move homewards to help agriculture. The same principle applies during the period of Holi holidays. There is a swing of workers from industries to agriculture when agriculture needs help and when the pressure of work has subsided they swing back to industries. This explains seasonal growth of absenteeism among the industrial workers. In India, there is no watertight division between the agricultural and the industrial labour.

Any incentive scheme in India must depend upon (a) a co-ordinated growth of the individual and the society, (b) education of the masses, (c) industrial organization, (d) morale boosting, and (e) the philosophy of work. Le Play and Durkheim both had very strongly emphasised the disruption in a mechanical society. A secured membership of the group is necessary for the healthy growth of the individual.⁵ The

individual is judged healthiest by psychiatric standard if he is capable of establishing the most secure and reciprocal relationships with others. Such relationships in the modern society is lacking. In Western civilisation lack of security has caused rampant neurotic anxiety; whilst in India insecure individuals seek relief in religious superstitions regarding life after death. It is one of the problems of the modern society to find freedom from neurotic anxiety. Neither virtues of poverty nor the terror whips can, nor should, goad the workers for hard work. An understanding of one's responsibility for psychologically adult persons is a sufficient stimulus for harder work. In a truly democratic State personal needs are subordinated to a reasoned appreciation of the needs of other individuals to whom one to knit by ties of associations. When the individual can discriminate between personal wants and the social requirements, restrictionism in work which was present even at the Hawthorne works in the year when the company had reached its peak of activity⁶ would be greatly diminished.

It devolves upon the State to arrange for security and for the provision of opportunities for the expression of inherent potentialities of the individuals. Free Health Service and Full Employment are the basis for any happy society, but the State has also to encourage the establishment of institutions which would facilitate the expression of creative faculties of its members. Only when the members lead a fuller life then frustration and monotony in one direction may be compensated by relief and happiness felt in another direction. Under such a situation work is not a separate function, it becomes the spontaneous expression of creative instincts of the person.

Let these ideals do not appear Utopian education of the masses must be directed towards liberal and technical aspect of the training.⁷ Lessons in fundamental civics are imperative for the understanding of social obligations. Neither the religious teachers nor political leaders need such training but the 'swinish multitude' who controls seats of the government requires lessons in fundamental human rights. When individuals are aware of their status in the compli-

Harold J. Laski : *Grammar of Politics*, Chapter I, "The Purpose of Social Organisation"

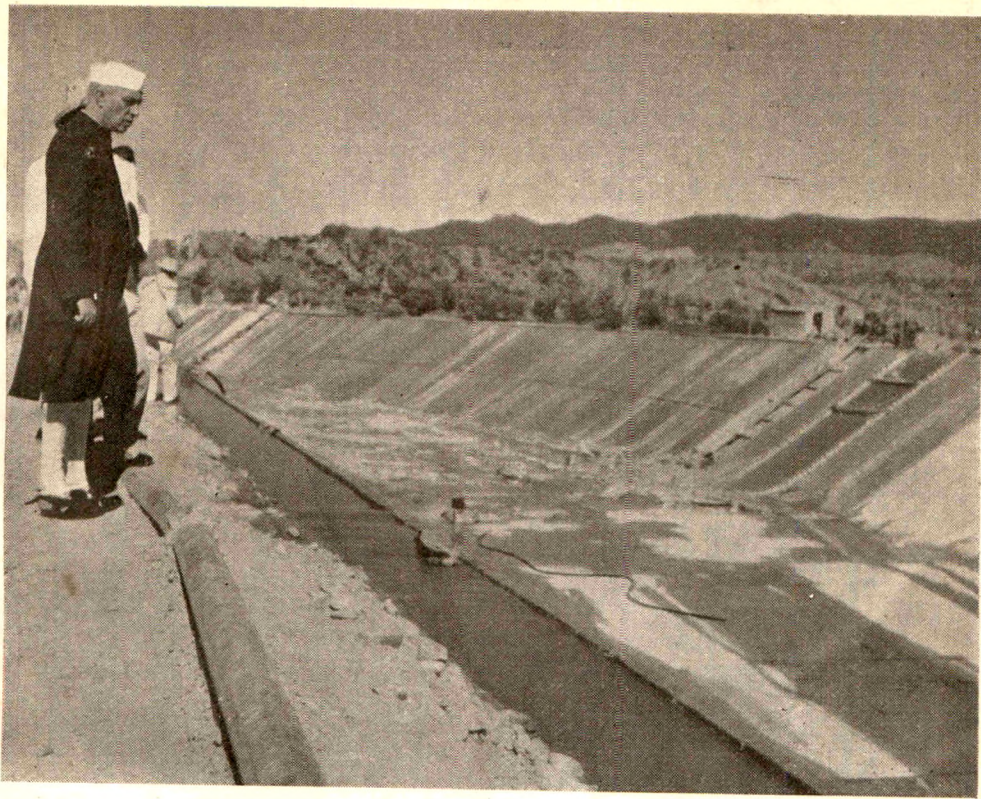
Ian D. Suttie : *The Origins of Love and Hate*, Chapter VIII "Origin and Nature of Society"

(The last two books may be consulted for the economic and psychological description)

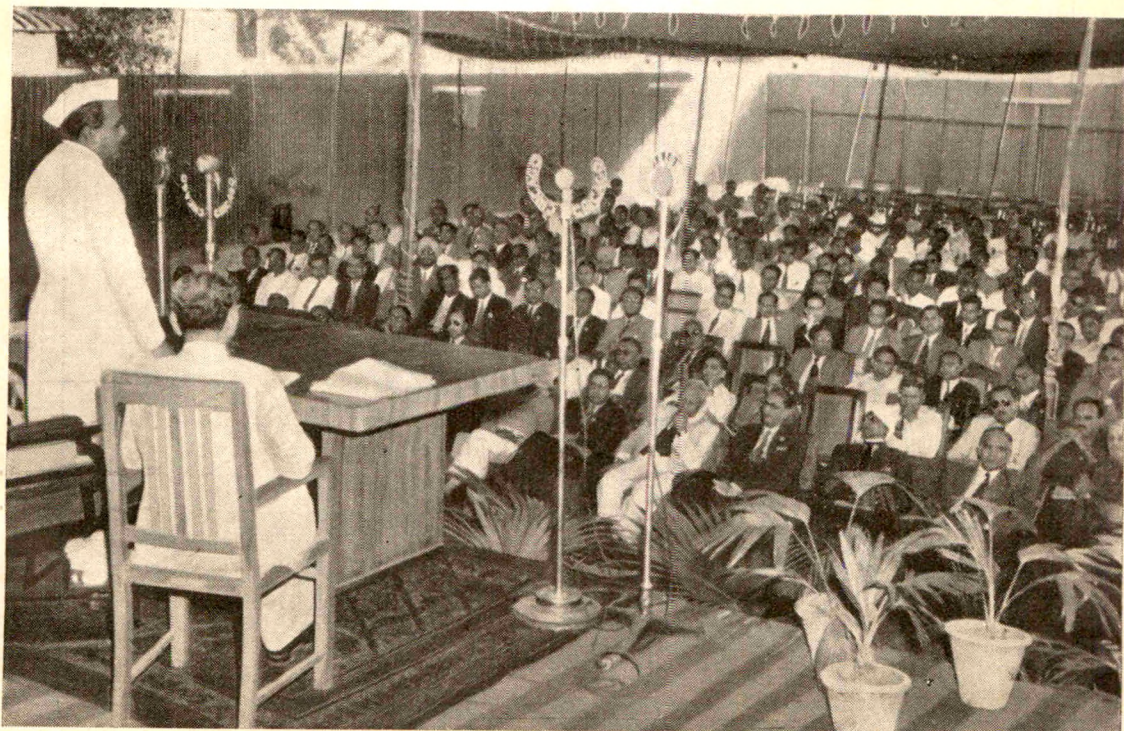
6. F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson : *Management and the Worker*. (Reference is made to the classical Hawthorne experiment to test effects of changes in rest periods and hours of work under controlled conditions. Year 1929 was the year of maximum production, but tendency of restricting output under the pressure of informal organisations were detected there as well)

7. Prof. Ronald S. Edwards : "Industrial Technologists and the Social Sciences," *Economica*, November, 1951, (Need for social sciences is stressed for technologists).

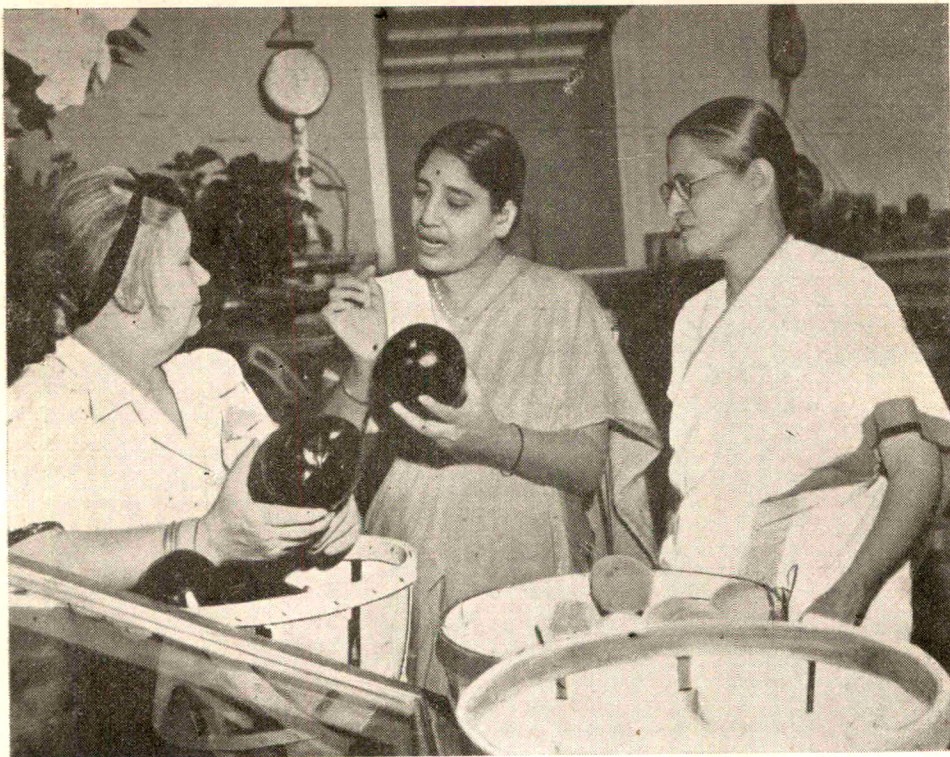
5. Adam Curle : "The Sociological Background to Incentives," *Occupational Psychology*, January, 1949



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspected the Nangal Hydel Canal during his visit to the Bhakra-Nangal Project on November 8



Sri Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Communications, inaugurated the Indian Telegraph Centenary Convention of Engineers at the Open Air Theatre, Exhibition Grounds, New Delhi, on November 2, 1953



Two well-known social workers from India, Sm. Kuppuswamy (centre) of Mysore and Dr. Krishnabai Nimbkar of Poona visit an American farm-women's market in Bethesda, Maryland



Teaching Art on Television

cated social pattern, the sense of responsibility may propel them to enthusiastic performances of their duties. Moreover, technical training is very necessary for the technicians. A blending of social sciences and technical training is very necessary. Those technicians who expect to be in charge of workers must have a good training in human psychology, technical know-how of the job and theoretical grounding in the fundamental principles of the trade. A planned education and direction of individuals to various vocations may be of great advantage in the long period. Bertrand Russell in his *Scientific Outlook* prophesied a situation when even births will be regulated according to requirements of the society and the persons from their birth would be kept under conditions best suited for the especial jobs for which they were born. Whether this is just a dream of a visionary or a thing to come is not right for us to predict but it is true that the attitude of the entire life depends upon early days of schooling. So the attitude we want to foster to our children should be decided a long period ahead. This will greatly smoothen the relationship between the employer and the employed.

The educational system must be co-ordinated with the planned industrialisation. It would not be very convenient to find jobs and technicians at distant places. Work and the worker must be close at hand. A decision about the location of industries is another assumption for co-ordination of the work and the workers. Mahatma Gandhi while emphasising the need for cottage industry looked as a prophet to the future of the national economy. India is an agricultural country and its social structure revolves round seasonal agricultural fluctuations. During slack periods there are workers who are not usefully employed. If they get some work to look forward to after the end of their agricultural work, they could work enthusiastically for both. The principle that "there must be something in the tray, if you want the worker to work harder" can be successfully adopted in Indian community if agriculture and cottage industries are synchronised. The cost of production will be much lower than in many other countries.⁸ The workers who are migratory in nature will be stabilised and this will give a firm basis for social reconstruction. The relationship between the individual and the society will be closer and the individual will be expected to discharge their share of obligation in producing the quota. If the individual does not come up to the expectation, there may be apprehension of social stigma which the individual would like to escape. He would work harder to come up to social expectation.

There are certain industries where large-scale establishments are very economical, their concentration at one place might be beneficial. Where the scale of industries is to be large in order to gain economies of scale it is necessary that the State should regulate the localisation of firms. It has been found that sometimes it is harmful to keep all eggs in the same basket. Different types of firms should be encouraged to settle in the industrial estates. Localisation of different firms in the same region would produce external economies. An industrial community may grow in that locality. Technical skill and working habits will be imbibed among the younger member of the community. Moreover, external economies and various other advantages would cheapen the cost of production. The community and the country would gain from it. Workers of the region could watch the tangible result of their efforts and they could even know the importance of that region in the entire national economy. This may satisfy their ego and they may feel secure in their industrial community.

A harmonious relation between the workers and the managers is always a very great asset for the country. Selection of workers is as important for the industry as the training as how to order the subordinates. A harmonious relationship between the workers and the managers should be effective to break the factory walls: if within the four walls of the factory, the workers do not feel imprisoned, then the social adjustment of the workers and of the factory is perfect. Factory becomes just another place where the individual experiences the fulfilment of his personality. The worker who frankly frets and frowns at his job and sweats feverishly in his garden will take greater delight in working even for the soul-destroying repetitive works, if the barrier between the work and the life without is destroyed. Under such a situation there may be physical fatigue, psychological fatigue which is more annoying than the first will be completely absent. If the attitude to work can change, half the battle will be won.

There are various devices for boosting morale in an industry.⁹ The use and control of emotions could greatly aid to increase the co-operative tendencies of the individual. The efficacy of these devices is great in an agricultural community. A lower standard of intelligence and the lack of proper schooling provide very suitable opportunity for the success of morale-building factors. Use of the morale-building technique is accentuated for certain other reasons too. Agricultural industry is not very compact, it is very loosely orga-

8. B. Behari : "Bilayati Bazar aur Bharatiya Arthik Unhati ke Upaya," *Sahitya*, October, 1951.

9. Ordway Tead : *Human Nature and Management*, McGraw Hill Book Co.

B. Behari : "Technique of Morale-building in a British Industry," *The Modern Review*, June, 1952

nised. Mechanisation has not proceeded very far in agriculture. Poor peasants are ignorant of the improved techniques of cultivation. If these persons are taught their importance in the national economy and if they are taught better methods of cultivation, they are bound to react very favourably. A casual visitor to any cultivated field is aware of the carelessness of the peasants in sowing the crop. If the crop is sown at regular distances and economy in seed is made, the increase in yield is bound to be more than 15 per cent. We have been trying hard in this country to raise our production but do we consider that the yield can increase by a slightly greater attention even to the old system? The Publicity Department of the Government can be a very effective help in this direction.

For sustained effort the value of philosophy is very great. In ancient times the workers worked for his community, he worked harder than his fellows because he wanted a better reward for life after death. Even when the industrialisation was in its early days the workers derived sadistic-masochistic pleasure in the discomfort of hard work, sometimes the workers struggled hard for his personal end. Now the old values are crumbling into pieces. The State is satisfying most of the basic human requirements. Monetary incentive is not very effective. There is need for a new philosophy of life where the relationship between the individual and the society is considered afresh. If a reciprocal relation is established between the workers and the society, if the individual does

not feel frustrated, there would be happiness which will make him well adjusted at the work. We need certain social philosophers to set up a new standard of human expectation out of life and of ourselves.

CONCLUSION

We cannot forget human nature in our pursuit to raise production. The individual should be considered as a human being and the working group should be considered as a society not, as a host of idiots. It is necessary to take personal life into consideration for understanding the individual reactions.¹⁰ With the abandonment of the carrot-donkey-stick treatment is necessary to accept complexity of personal motivation. Strength of groups is recognised. By reinstating individuals in the proper setting of the society and by fostering a high social expectation individuals would be happier and more conducive to harder work. By gaining co-operation and by raising the morale of the people we can help the individual, can help the society and can raise the productivity of the country. We can survive in the struggle for existence if the individuals and the society work in close co-operation for the common good.*

10. Russell Fraser: "The Incidence of Neurosis among Factory Workers," *Industrial Health Research Bulletin*, U. K. -Rep No. 90.

* This article was written under the guidance of Prof. H. H. Fraser, Professor of Psychology, St. Andrews University, United Kingdom; under whom I was doing researches on Industrial Psychology. I have gained very much from discussion with him, but only I am responsible for the ideas and opinions expressed in this article.

—:O:—

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF CONFUCIUS

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG,

Lecturer in History, University of Delhi

PHILOSOPHY, indeed if it is to be the systematic manifestation of thought, must necessarily find expression in the writings of private individuals. Prior to Confucius, there were no such writings. Confucius himself did not write any book; but what his disciples have recorded of him and the *Five Classics* edited by him, were the first step in the development of a true system of thought. Confucius is, therefore, the first individual to be studied in the history of Chinese political philosophy, because prior to him, there existed, in all probability, no system of thought worthy of being called philosophy.

In Chinese we speak of Kung Fu Tze—"Guru Kung." Confucius is largely a western name. He was born in 551 B.C. in the State of Lu (the present Shantung province in north China). When he was nineteen, he married, and at the same time, he was appointed a Director of the Public Lands by the King of Lu. At the

age of fifty, Confucius reached his highest post as Chief Minister of Lu. He held this post for about four years. After his resignation in 497 B.C., he was accompanied by many of his disciples when he set out for wandering which were to last for 13 years. There had been many feudal states of China undergoing many hardships and dangers. At last he returned to his native state, where he spent the last three years of his life engaged in literary studies and in teaching his disciples. He died in 479 B.C., and was buried in the district of Chu-Fu (Shantung province, where his tomb is still to be seen.

To know what Confucianism is, it is essential to study its sacred books. They are commonly referred to as the "Four Books." These are: (1) *The Analects*, that is to say, the sayings of Confucius as recorded by his disciples, (2) the *Great Learning*, a treatise, written probably by Tseng-tze, a disciple of Confucius; (3) the

Doctrine of the Mean, by Tze-ssu, a grandson of the Sage, and (4) the *Works of Mencius*.

The *Five Classics* are: (1) The *Yi-Ching* or *Book of Changes* used in divinations, (2) the *Shu Ching* or *Book of History*, (3) the *Shih Ching* or the *Book of Odes*, (4) the *Li Chi* or the *Book of Rites*, and (5) the *Chun Chiu* or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

The root of Confucian political philosophy lies in *Jen*. Without understanding the meaning of this word, one will not grasp the political idea of Confucius at all. Chinese ideograph for the word *Jen* represents two men in relationship to each other. Confucius once defined *Jen* as 'to love all people.' He also said that 'to subdue one's self and return to propriety is *Jen*. To be a man of *Jen* is to reach the highest of human possibilities in terms of the complete fulfilment of the mutual good. In *Yi Ching* or the *Book of Changes*, it has been said: "The superior gentleman reared in the virtue of *Jen* will nurture people." The passive aspect of *Jen* is *Shu*, the ideograph for which is a combination of 'Like' and 'Heart.' It means putting oneself in another's place. It is a principle of inference, the basis of the Chinese Golden Rule. When Tze Kung asked whether there is one word which could serve as a guide for action in one's life, Confucius answered, 'Shu,' and explained it to mean, "Don't do to others what you would not wish done to yourself."

From the standpoint of Confucian teachings, knowledge and virtue are closely connected. In fact, the purpose of education in ancient China was to cultivate a virtuous life. Tze Hsia, a disciple of Confucius, put it this way: "The superior men must learn in order to cultivate the highest moral principles." Only virtuous men should govern the state. Confucius wished to see politics based on ethical principles, which explains why he emphasized that virtue must be the foundation of government. He said:

"He who exercises government by means of virtue may be compared to the north polar star which holds to its place and all the stars turn toward it."

Again Confucius said:

"The moral character of the ruler is the wind; the moral character of those beneath him is the grass. When the grass has the wind upon it, it assuredly bends."

There is then only one ethical principle for both the individual life and the public life. If you are a good man, you will be able to be a good ruler, but the basic thing is to be a good man.

The ideal state of Confucian political thinking is that every man should develop his morality to the maximum degree, and so construct a world in which the doctrine of *Jen* rules. This is called the Grand Union. A full description of this is found in the following quotation from *Li Chi* or the *Book of Rites*:

"When the Great Doctrine (Tao) prevails, the world is a Grand Union. Officers are elected according to their wisdom and ability, and mutual confidence and peace reign. People regard not only

their parents as parents but also their children as children. All the aged will be provided for, and all the young employed in work. Infants will be fathered, widows and widowers, lonely orphans, the disabled and the sick will all be cared for. The men will have their occupations and women have homes. No goods will go to waste, nor need they be stored for personal possession. No energy should be retained in one's own body, nor used for private advantage. Self-interest ceases, and banditry and rebellion are not known. Therefore, the gates of the houses are in no need to be shut. This State is called the Grand Union. (Ta Tung)."

Judging the above passage there follow three things. First, it conceives of a super-national organization having



像孔聖石縣李西楚

Confucius

the whole world as its scope. No hereditary rights are recognized, but government is established by direct popular election and its administration is based on the spirit of *Jen*. Secondly, the tribal family is the unit of society, but its spirit transcends family considerations. Only biological differences are recognized, while emphasis is laid on "all the young men employed in work." The old and the children are all supported by the labour of those who are young and strong. Thirdly, natural wealth is exploited to the utmost but not for personal gains. The sacredness of labour is instituted, but no one is to work for his selfish end.

The Grand Union is the fullest expression of the perfect personality of the Universe. But the Universe will never reach its ideal; if it is realized, it would no longer be the Universe. And yet in this incomplete Universe what should human beings strive for? We should strive with all our energy to make the Universe approach its ideal

perfection one step nearer. To accomplish this, we must develop our fellow-feeling among mankind. In a situation where fellow-feeling is inactive, the first step is to awaken it to life again. There is a simple method for it, namely, to begin with one's personal relations—parents and children, brothers and sisters, husband and wife, the ruler and his subject, and friend and friend. These represent the five dimensions of life. These five relationships may be grouped into two, the solid relationship within the family and that without the family. The first three relations are relationship by blood or marriage, whereas the last two are relationships by righteousness (social or political ties).

When the five human relationships are properly observed, the two solid bodies necessary for the promotion of the family and the society and the relation between the former and the latter become complete. Therefore, Confucius held that harmony with the family is the root of good government in the State. The *Book of History* states:

"Some one asked Confucius, saying: 'Why? Sir, are you not in, the public service?' The Master answered: 'Does not the *Shu* (the *Book of History*) say concerning filial piety: Filial piety and friendliness towards one's brethren can be displayed in the exercise of public service? These qualities then are at the root of public service. Why should only that idea of yours be considered as constituting public service?'"

Are there any moral rules for the family and for the government? These are contained in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* which was edited by Confucius himself. It is the political Bible of China. To each statement in the book, Confucius implied his approval or disapproval. The manner of recording is cryptic and the contents are not narrations but rather rules of approval or disapproval. The influence of the book doubtless has been very great. There is a proverb about this book: "His one word of approval and disapproval is as severe as the killing by a halberd and a battle-axe."

Here are samples of the statement found in the book of *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

(1) First year, Spring, the Imperial January.

This is one of the statements in its entirety. It was interpreted by the commentators as meaning the first year of the ascension to the throne by Duke Ying of the State of Lu (the present Shantung province). The year thus refers to this great event in the State of Lu. But the month refers to the Imperial calendar of the Chou Empire (1122-256 B.C.), of which Lu is merely a part. This recognition of the Imperial calendar denotes submission of all feudal lords and their subjects to Imperial authority.

(2) Fifth year, Spring, the Duke went to Tang to observe fishing.

This statement implies that this is an act not appropriate for a Prince. When the Duke proposed to go to observe fishing, one of his ministers told him that hunting during the four official hunting seasons can

contribute to the national defence and that consequently during these times it was proper for the Prince to appear. However, a small thing like fishing is beyond the scope of government and should not be attended to by the Prince.

(3) Second year, Spring, Imperial January, Sung-tu murdered his King Yu-Yi and his minister Kung-Fu.

The killing of a king by a subject is the greatest crime that can be committed. Confucius used the word *Shih* meaning crime-killing, instead of the word *Sah*, for killing.

(4) Hsuan-Kung—12th year, the Baron of Chu laid siege on the State of Cheng.

Summer 6th month. The Army of Chin led by the Commander Sin-Lin-Fu and the Baron of Chu fought in Pei and the army of Chin was defeated. Kung-Yang, commentator on this statement, said that Chu, while generally considered to be a state of barbarians, this time was favoured by Confucius. He made this personification of Chu in the name of the Baron, because the Baron's conduct in battle was up to the Confucian standard of culture. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* emphasised the distinction between the Chinese feudatories and the barbarian tribes, and Chu, with this exception, came under the latter.

I do not wish further to multiply the examples of statements in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It is enough to say that the murder of a ruler was regarded as one of the greatest crimes and that incest was equally bad. The barbarian tribes, when they attacked a Chinese kingdom, were condemned by Confucius. Even when a Chinese kingdom committed an attack on its neighbours without any provocation he recorded the event with disapproval.

This manner of recording, according to Mencius, made the rebellious ministers and villainous sons tremble. This technique was borrowed from Confucius by later historians who distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate dynasties. A dynasty which was founded by a minister who had taken advantage of a period of disorder and had murdered the king was considered illegitimate. Tsao-chao was one who had taken such an advantage of the rule at the end of the latter Han dynasty (25-221 A.D.) and in the name of the Han Emperor had extended his own sphere of influence. Later his son built up his kingdom of Wei (220-265 A.D.) which became one of the Three Kingdoms. But Wei was styled the Usurper Dynasty.

Liu-Bei, ruler of the kingdom of Su, was considered the legitimate king, because he was the descendant of the Han royal family. Such distinctions between legitimate rule and usurper or puppet government exercised a very great influence upon the minds of the Chinese people, when they were asked to choose one of them to follow. This moral attitude persists till today.

We would like to mention that during the last Sino-Japanese War, the moral support by the people to

the Chungking National Government springs from two psychological motives: one is that the Japanese, from the viewpoint of a Confucian, are a barbarian tribe which should be expelled, the other is that the Chungking National Government is the legitimate government but that of Nanking sponsored by Wang Chin-wei is a puppet government and therefore is illegitimate.

Readers may come to know now, why the twenty million Overseas Chinese abroad as well as the nine million Chinese in the Formosa Island are still supporting the Chiang government, and even the Chinese POW in Korea want to go to Formosa. This is not to mean that we Chinese people are still looking forward

to the leadership of KMT, but we sincerely follow our great Guru Confucius's teachings.

If you try to trace this mental attitude, you will find the source only in the book *Spring and Autumn Annals*. So you see how deeply rooted is the influence of this book on the Chinese mind. One who wishes to understand the political psychology of the Chinese can only find it out by reading the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

We may conclude this article by saying that the victory of the Confucian school was achieved not merely through the support given by the emperor but also through the real contribution which this school made to the Chinese culture and civilization.

—:O:—

A PROBE INTO INDIAN PRICE TRENDS

BY PROF. V. K. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A., F.R.ECON.S. (Lond.)

EARLY economists of the 18th and 19th centuries utterly disregarded the importance of consumption. The rise of Socialist thinkers and the Welfare school of Economics has brought to the fore the problem of 'wants and their satisfaction.' Satisfaction of human wants is now obtained indirectly through the system of money-exchange, split into two parts—sale and purchase of goods. The system of money-exchange works through price-mechanism. By price is meant the value-in-exchange of goods expressed in terms of money. Every one of us is a consumer. The man in the street always thinks in terms of rupees and annas. If he was buying one loaf for one anna before 1939 and now if he is required to pay two annas for it, he will at once conclude that 'bread has become dearer.' However, the economist thinks of the rupee as having a more or less fixed purchasing power. Purchasing power of money depends upon the total quantity of 'exchange-media' as related to the volume of goods and services produced in a country. Price-changes occur, when other things being equal, there are any changes in any of the two factors or in both in the opposite direction.

War or peace, both may equally account for causing disturbance in the price-system. A boom is as good as a slump. The last Great War and the period of depression in the 'thirties, were enough to teach the world a good lesson on price-control. In the case of the U. K. and the U.S.A., which had drawn upon their previous experience, prices did not rise as high as in several other countries. All leading economists of our country are alarmed at the rate of fall in the purchasing power of the Indian rupee. The main causes of the fall are (i) the Governmental financial policy, (ii) huge war-financing, (iii) the new 'created' money, (iv) production crisis, (v) restricted imports, (vi) depression psychology. Other factors

which accentuated the rise have been the continuation of deficit financing, the policy of decontrol and the continuous increase in salaries, wages and dearness allowances. The continuous spiral of rising prices may be better studied with the help of the following data:

Index Number of Prices and Cost of Living

Year	Base 1914	
	General Index	Cost of living Index
1939	137	113
1940	120	115
1941	149	139
1942	238	188
	Base 1939	
1945	242	231
1947	302	285
1948	383	292
1950	409	298
1951	434	314
1952	415	325

The following important conclusions may be arrived at from the study of the above data:

- (i) Inflationary conditions had not assumed serious form as late as 1941.
- (ii) Prices rose considerably since 1942 and the spiral of rising prices went on till the end of 1951.
- (iii) The Index number showed decline from the beginning of 1952 to May 1952.
- (iv) Since May 1952, there has been a slight increase in the general index which remained almost constant till 15.9.1952.

Prices were almost stable during 1947 but in 1948, the rises were significant for every month from January to July. These rises coincided with a policy of decontrol of food and cloth. However, some economists do not consider decontrol as the villain of the piece. In their opinion, the stable relation between the money supply and the goods exchanging against them was established at a general index level of about 382.

The unhappy position of the Government finances starts from 1946-47 when deficit-financing was undertaken and a surplus on India's account, both revenue and capital of Rs. 276 and Rs. 248 crores in 1944-45 and 1945-46 were converted into a deficit, which in the year 1947-48 was Rs. 228 crores and in 1948-49, Rs. 224 crores. The index of effective money-supply increased from 116.3 in 1939-40 to 532.2 in 1948-49. While money-supply was the means by which high prices developed, the passive factor which was low production was also equally important.

In the country itself, there are sharp variations. Kanpur with the cost of living index at 466 is the dearest place. Nagpur had its index at 381, Calcutta 363 and Madras 328. Delhi, Jabbalpur, Jamshedpur and Ludhiana are comparatively cheaper. The un-weighted retail price index numbers for 18 urban and 12 rural centres have been given in February 1952 issue of the *Indian Labour Gazette*. In the urban centres, the index numbers for all articles of food showed a clear downward trend. This downward trend was due to a fall in the prices of miscellaneous articles of food, e.g., gur, potatoes, onions, chillies, and brinjals. There was a fall of 10 points or more during December, 1951, as compared to the year 1944 in the index numbers for Agra, Bareilly, Banaras, Patna, Howrah and Raniganj. In the rural centres, however, the index numbers for all articles of food recorded a rise of 15 points on account of rise in the prices of *jawar*, *bajra*, onions, kerosine oil, match-box, *dhoti*, shirting, *sari* and tobacco in the rural centres. However, there was a general fall in the prices of cereals, including rice.

The trends of wholesale prices for six major countries, namely, Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. did not reveal any upward march up to June 1952 except in Australia. The data available in respect of these countries have been compared to 1948:

Year	Australia	Canada	Italy	Japan	U.K.	U.S.A.
1948	100	100	100	100	100	100
1949	112	103	95	163	105	95
1950	132	109	90	193	120	99
1951	163	124	103	267	146	110
1952 (June)	171	122	99	279	108	108

The living costs as compared to 1948 base year are 162, 124, 111, 166, 122 and 110 in Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. respectively for January, 1952. Evidently, living costs have revealed a rising tendency in all the countries except Italy.

It has been realised, however late, that the rise in prices cannot be followed up by a continuous rise in wages and salaries. Inflation is a serious handicap to Government budgets, production estimates as well as individual budgets. Labour leaders have realised that although they have succeeded in getting increased wages for the workers, they are not better off

because of rising wages. Inflation leads to hoarding of commodities and the tendency causes an artificial scarcity of essential commodities and the poor people have to suffer in consequence. It is believed that production increases when the prices fall. But continuous rise in prices must involve continuous rise in the cost of production. There are also difficulties of obtaining capital equipment, coal and raw material. Labour unrest, transport difficulties and the partition have also accentuated the production crisis in the country. The businessmen are able to gather mere paper fortunes since the value of each rupee in terms of goods is less. The middle class with a fixed income is the worst sufferer. Commodities of everyday requirements go up in prices and their income does not rise in proportion. Consequently, the middle-class people either live on their savings or reduce the standard. The relation between the creditor and the debtor gets disturbed. In this way, inflation affects the very basis of economic life.

The Indian Government, as the guardian of the free people, had great responsibilities. Partition of the country had created new problems of rehabilitating not only the uprooted people but the entire economy on a new basis. Millions of starved, naked and homeless people looked askance at the Government. Thousands of journalists, educationists and lawyers who were in the first rank of fighters for freedom became overnight the worst critics of the Government policies. Persons who were expected to become nation-builders became groaning spectators. When there was the need for curtailing and restricting Government expenditure and increasing revenues, the Government had to spend on schemes of social and educational developments. They had to increase the central grants to provinces. They had to undertake long-range schemes. They had to implement the abolition of Zamindari and the policy of prohibition. On the other hand, taxes had to be reduced. Naturally, this accentuated the pace of inflation in the country.

On the 4th October 1948, the Government of India enunciated the following broad policies:

(i) To take all possible steps to keep the Government expenditure as low as possible;

(ii) To make a concerted effort immediately to ensure that there is no further rise in prices and the cost of living;

(iii) To order future policy so as to secure the shortest possible time progressive reduction of prices to reasonable levels and the supply of increasing volume of goods and services; and

(iv) To curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any further addition thereto.

Balanced or surplus budgets, stopping of financial assistances to provinces, intensification of campaign for small savings, limitation of dividends, restriction on credit and price controls were some of the measures

which the Government of India adopted to meet inflation.

Now, the Government of India has launched the first Five-Year Plan. The normal result of development expenditure is that, to the extent that it is not met by the redirection of resources, it is inflationary. This argument has been set aside by the Government on the ground that the net expenditure abroad is so great that there is a tendency for rupee surpluses to emerge in the sense that the rupee receipts are in excess of rupee expenditures. The *Eastern Economist* has taken into consideration the question of the diminution in our assets and consequently the need for foreign aid. Great emphasis has been laid upon price policy, through which the fullest mobilisation of the available resources and their allocation has to be made so as to secure optimum results. The aim should be to maintain a structure of relative prices which will bring about an allocation of resources in conformity with the targets stated in the Plan. The Commission feels that financial and physical controls are necessary in order to secure these ends. In the early stages a development plan

necessarily increases the money income faster than production. There is, therefore, the inherent danger of inflation. The instruments of monetary and credit policy have to be used to obviate these dangers. The new Central Budget indicates optimism, yet it is the 'actuals' that will prove it. J. D. Sethi has estimated that our revenue has been inflated to the tune of nearly Rs. 31 crores. It is bound to increase the amount of deficit financing provided for in the capital budget as expenditure is generally considered to be rigid.

However, it may not be wise to raise an imaginary ghost. Prices are not the ends. As it is said, prices are only the means to guide and facilitate economic activities for greater welfare. The science of prices has undergone a wide change in the hands of Chamberlain, Mrs. Robinson and others. The experience of the Great Depression and the N.R.A. Episode have led us to take into account a variety of factors, e.g., trade practices, barriers, concentration and product-differentiations. The pure 'economic analysis' may at times fail to evaluate price-norms. No doubt, finance is only a wizard's game.

—:O:—

YOUNG BENGAL DISCOVERS INDIA

By NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI, M.A.

THE emergence of the "Young Bengal" or the English-educated middle class Bengalis was a more important event than the great Sepoy Mutiny in the history of British administration in India. The history of the growth of nationalism in India is the history of the movement initiated and ideas propagated by this community.

The adoption of English as the medium of instruction was followed by a conflict between the English-educated middle class Bengalis and the English in this country. This conflict started on questions of racial prejudice and excessive pretensions of non-official Britishers in this country, whose example in this respect was followed by other European communities, the Armenians, Jews, etc., domiciled here. Gradually the volume of Indian resentment increased and as political consciousness arose relations between the educated community and European Government officials were affected. For a time, the educated community made a clear distinction between the English officials of the Government and the Government of the country, but within a few years, as an intelligent and independent Press began to function, the older sentiments towards the Government began to change.

The real cause of the change, of the extension

and aggravation of the spirit of conflict, was much deeper and was to be attributed to the complete reversal of the old policy of the British Government in this country. A secondary cause was the undermining, as a result of governmental measures, of the implicit faith of the politically-minded community of this country in the Proclamation of 1858.

A great change came over the Indian policy of the British Government after the Wahabi and Sepoy rebellions. This change was mainly due to the emergence of the English-educated Young Bengal school and its attitude. For fifty years British politicians considered carefully the probable effects of the introduction of English education in India and in 1835, the Government adopted English as the medium of instruction. That the apprehensions of the critics of the Government were not baseless began to be perceived within a generation. Many members of the Young Bengal school became thoroughly anglicised; some of them adopted Christianity, but the total result of it was that the Young Bengal school discovered India, their motherland. As soon as the watchful English rulers got an inkling of this fact they considered it necessary to modify their older policy in dealing with the educated middle class

Bengalis. From that time this community came to be suspected and distrusted by the British Government. This was the first change in their policy.

The second change was the change effected in their old policy towards the Indian Moslems, whom they considered it prudent, to accord preferential treatment and use to balance the growing power of the numerically preponderant Hindus. This and other considerations of prudence, namely, the unity and fanaticism of Indian Moslems and Britain's relations with Moslem States in Asia, Africa and Europe, dictated this change of policy. Again, they realised that if it was advisable to balance the Moslems against the Hindus, it was equally advisable to balance the numerically preponderant but ignorant tenants against the landlords. The principal reason for which the Permanent Settlement was made, namely, creating a body of influential supporters of their rule, had lost its force after the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny, when all doubts regarding the strength and stability of their rule were removed. Henceforth they began to take greater interest in the tenants. This was the third change in the old policy of the British Government and it became clearly manifest in Bengal under the regime of Sir John Campbell.

The Indian policy of the British Government, as reshaped by these great modifications in the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, remained unaltered up to the end of British rule.

To come to the attitude of the Young Bengal which necessitated such vital changes in the Indian policy of the British Government.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Hindus of Bengal were full of gratitude to the English who had saved them, as they thought, from Moslem misgovernment, Mahratta raiders, Thugies and lawlessness prevailing in the country. This period was followed by a period of infatuation and destructivism after the introduction of English education. The cultural revolution which took place next largely helped the educated community to regain their mental balance. A revulsion of feeling against the English set in and a spirit of revolt took possession of the Young Bengal school. Educated Bengalis abandoned the old humility and servility towards Englishmen lording it over them, refused to *salam* any and every Tom and Dick they met in the streets and demanded to be treated as equals to the Englishman. Such was the personal aspect of the revolt.

To the Government of the country they made known their claim for appointment to the same high jobs as the English, and a larger share, in other ways, in the administration of the country. The monopoly of the high posts in the public services by Englishmen, their monopoly of the trade, commerce and industries of the country, the oppressions of European

indigo and tea-planters, discriminatory treatment of the European offenders in the law-courts, the arrogant and humiliating treatment of the children of the Englishmen attracted the attention of the educated middle class community. The progressive Bengali newspapers which acted as their organ began to discuss these topics and vehemently attack the English. Their attacks were met by the *Friend of India*, *Van Fair*, *Hurkaru*, *Pioneer*, *Daily News* and other English-conducted newspapers of the time.

How the relations between the educated Bengalis and Englishmen had changed with a few years after the Sepoy Mutiny will be seen from the following extracts at random from a few contemporary Bengali newspapers :

"Enmity between the English and the natives seems to increase. An Englishman will never slip an opportunity to attack a native and a native is sure to return the attack. This custom has been much practised since the Sepoy Mutiny, of the English and the natives trying to outstrip each other in pointing out one another's fault. I am content with abusing each other they have dragged women too."—*Som Prakash*.

"The English regard themselves in the presence of the natives as worthy of the worship of the gods. They think that their own heads are heads indeed, the heads of the natives are but the broken pots at the kilns of the potters. The object of a native's birth is to obey, to serve, to endure chastisement at their hands, their birth is to fulfil the work which delights in."—*Barisal Vartavaha*.

"The English come to this country for money and only seek how they can take wealth out of India. If a native has at any time an opportunity to strike an Englishman all have unmixed pleasure in it. If any misfortune happen to the English they inwardly rejoice. Being deficient in strength and intelligence they cannot do anything, they nurse the spirit of rebellion in their hearts. Genuine loyalty is not to be found in the midst of most people now."—*Sulabha Samachar*.

Long-drawn hostilities commenced between English officials, non-official Englishmen in this country and Anglo-Indian newspapers on the one hand and Bengali newspapers on the other. The latter kept a careful watch on all instances of misdeeds of Englishmen in tea gardens, indigo factories, Government offices, in the domain of district administration, in the railways and brought them to the notice of the public, and criticised the offending parties. It is possible to give a factual and impartial sketch of the progress of political thought and political work in Bengal with the help of extracts from contemporary records. This sketch, as it proceeds, will touch on the various trends in the development of nationalism in Bengal from twenty years before the birth of the Indian National Congress.

Those who may be entrusted with the work of compiling the history of the Indian struggle for freedom should not ignore the details of the pre-Congress and pre-Swadeshi chapters of this history.

MODERN DANISH SCULPTURAL ART

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

[The artistic genius of Ejner Trellund manifests itself through chunks of wood and lumps of root.]

VERY few in India, not even perhaps members of the artists' fraternity, have heard the name of the great Danish artist, Ejner Trellund whose unique artistic gift has led him to seek his moulding material in the vegetable kingdom. His instruments are few and primitive and he has gone back to the obsolete Middle Ages in carving

created in pure wood Tamerlane, Atilla, Asoka, Socrates, Abdul Hamid, etc. Other fantastically wonderful creations of his are, an Uhlan, a Matador, a blind Arab, a Teuton Kaiser and lots of other different representative types of men.

As I have said in the beginning, his grand total of



Kalmuk. 1946

human heads from wood. His efforts extending 20 long years, have resulted in his creating in 50 'heads' so far. His representations include a wide and representative lot, including a Kalmuk, a Russian, a Russian Pope, a Mandarin, a Buddhist Lama, and several other types of people. Of the historically-famed personages of the world, he has re-



Caucasian. 1944

wooden heads is only 50 so far, as he has, of late, practically given up pursuing his hobby in the aforesaid direction.

Those connoisseurs of art who have seen his wonderful executions in wood bewail his inexplicable desire of drawing himself within his shell.

What sort of man is Ejner Trellund and with what

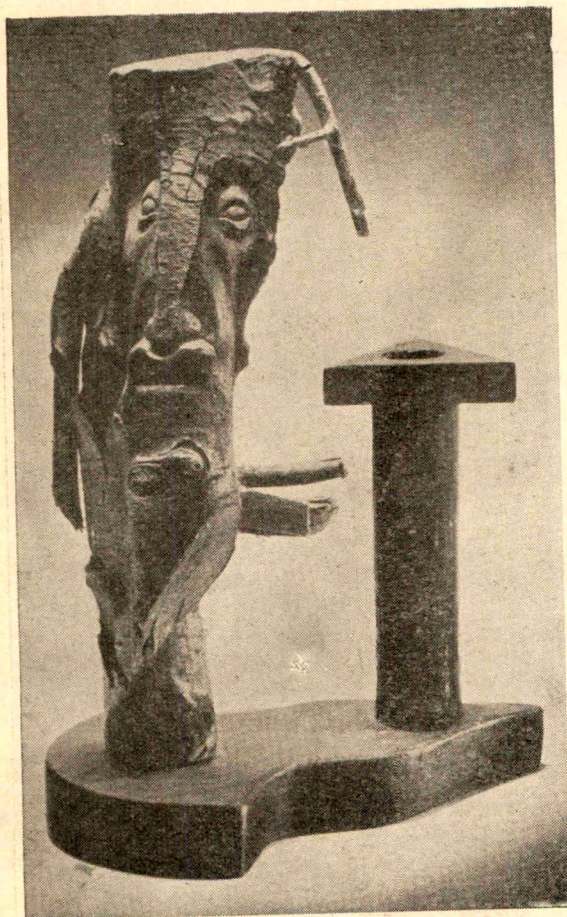
degree of realism he has been able to unfold the creative impulses of his mind on woods?

Ejner Trellund is a middle-aged man of few words having a particularly gnarled countenance, which clearly bears the stamp of awful vicissitudes of fortune through which he had to pass. But there is something in his impassive face which eloquently expresses an indomitable will within, bent, as it were, on conquering all the hard knocks of life.

of life and has been able to totally abjure the pomps and vanities of life.

This ascendancy of his art over circumstances and environments gives him the will and determination of a savant to carry out in toto the promptings of his inspired mind and see through to a finish the work he has in his hands without turning round or looking back for public applause or division.

Though he seriously believes in the dictum, art for



Hermit. 1942

His marked reticence is occasionally succeeded by a gentle flush of childlike enthusiasm when he is drawn into a conversation about art and philosophy. He is a straight talker and once engaged in expounding his extremely individual attitude towards life, he is in the habit of going straight at the root of the matter instead of trying first to clear the tangled mass of superfluous foliage which cover up the core of the matter.

A perceptible weak under-current of irony runs through his talk and the grimness of his rugged exterior and the steel-like ring of his manly voice, gives one the inescapable impression that this great man of new ideas in the field of art has risen far above the sordid desires



Darduce. 1941

art's sake, and steadily goes on giving shapes to his unique artistic ideas, he is always conscious that he owes it to himself to help his fellow brethren in pulling themselves out of the rut of a drab and dreary existence and help them understand the real values of life through a realistic expression of his thoughts through the medium of man's oldest and best friend—the wood.

Many critics of art find fault with Trellund's wooden faces, which always do not conform to the standard rule of art and, in certain cases, fall short of realistic excellence. They find in these a certain amount of crudity, which they think, takes off the edge of a realist and artistic enjoyment of his creations. These are

critics though fully conscious of his originality and the whole-heartedness of his efforts in trying to give expression to his burning ideas, nevertheless, cannot quite understand, why an artist of his stature should not try to arrive at a greater degree of perfection in his art by being a little more conventional.

The wooden images which he has carved out of the stumps of ordinary maple, poplar, birch, elm, oak and other common trees, have strange outlandish features and these seem to have come from another world, except for the fact that all these 'heads' have a sad human look,

to be and is content to convey only a realistic expression of his thoughts and feelings.

Many critics say that Trellund's method of carving reminds one of pastoral art of the Middle Ages, employed in ornamenting wooden pipes and bowls. But this analogy is totally misleading. Trellund's art is not the childish effort of engraving a piece or stem of wood with flowers, butterflies, birds or other cheap pictorial representations but altogether a novel way of giving shape to profoundest human thoughts, feelings and sentiments through the medium of any ordinary lump of



Apostle. 1938



Emperor Abdul Hamid. 1941

reminding the critics that these are not mere phantoms but humans—very true humans, just as ourselves—only of the different yesterday or of the quick-changing to-day.

What marks him off from the rest of the so-called 'finished' artists of the world is his spontaneity of expression, shorn of all orthodox rules and conventions. His ideas are altogether different from those of the more orthodox school of thinking. He does not believe in hammering away at his piece of creation in order to make it look lovelier and brighter than he actually intends it

root or block of wood. He tries to make these 'heads' as near to life as possible and to bring upon the observer the feeling of a close human presence and never allowing him to think that he is judging only the beauties or flaws of lifeless, inert wooden images.

His 'heads' seem to think, feel and be capable of instantaneous action like us when we are just awakened from a deep and refreshing sleep and are drowsily looking before us.

Johannes V. Jensen, the art-critic who personally knew Trellund, once said in talking about Trellund's art



Ejner Trellund, Danish Sculptor

as being "the art of caprice, the art of the mood, subjected to the power inherent in the materials, the forms and colours, to awaken the inner vision and the visionary's urge to reveal it to everybody."

Sometimes we see landscapes and figures in mosaic floors, in cloud formations and in the patches of damp on ceilings and walls; they appear so clearly that we are tempted to think that a few more strokes would suffice to fix the impression permanently.

Trellund who worked on roots and branches of trees had to have men with gnarled and twisted features, but all the same these do not suffer from a lack of animation or the fire of life.

Though none of his works are tastefully pretty, as we would want them to be, yet nobody can deny the unique visionary power of Trellund and the spontaneity with which he creates his images. His whole creations represent a conception of art which in profoundness is worthy of the highest ideals of art. This visionary—nay prophet, moulds his thoughts and canalises them in a way so that these are able to fashion their own beauties often kindling into strange beauteous shapes. The rhythm of poetry and the voice of prophecy seem interlaced in a miracle of design and craftsmanship in his creative art.

Trellund's art is the product of the profound intuition of genius rather than only the adroit manipulation of the artist's chisel.

—:O:—

THE JUANGS

By L. N. SAHU,

Member, Servants of India Society, Cuttack

THE Juangs are a class of tribesmen who inhabit Keonjhar and Pal Lahara in the State of Orissa. Their population in 1931 was 15,024. They are short in stature, thick-set, copper-coloured, and rather ugly-looking, with curly hair, broad nose and thick lips. They are generally peace-loving.

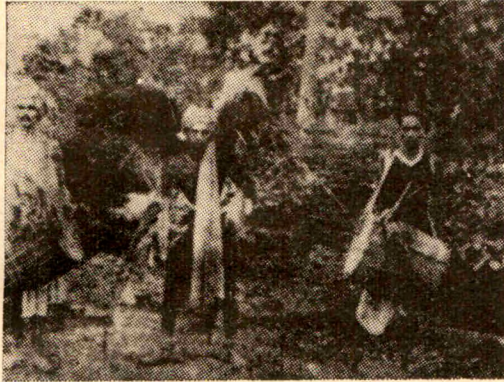
They call themselves children of a saint (*rishiputra*). One of their ancestors was a man of forceful character and whatever he uttered bore fruit. He was therefore called a saint. According to tradition, he had hair on his tongue and it was because of this that he possessed such extraordinary powers. His enemies tried hard to deprive him of his powers by giving him various kinds of forbidden food, but their efforts failed to produce any effect. However, when he was forced to eat the

dhamana snake, the hair on his tongue fell and his powers disappeared. This is the traditional story of the first Juang. Even to-day the Juangs get angry if anybody calls them "eaters of the *dhamana* snake."

The Juangs wear few cloths. The women have tattoo marks on different parts of the body and go about with their breasts uncovered. They used to wear a leaf apron round the waist; but this is now seldom used since the introduction of cloth in 1868 by Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of the Orissa Division when the leaf dresses were burnt. According to tradition, the Juangs were originally completely naked and it was their founder referred to above who advised them to adopt a leaf dress. Another tradition states that it was a deity who cursed the naked Juangs to

put on leaves or suffer destruction. The leaf-wearing Juangs may be identified with the *Patra Sauras* (*Patra*, leaf and *Sauras*, aboriginal) of tradition, whose goddess according to the *Sadhanamala* is called *Parna Savari*,

married boys and girls. Adultery is punished by divine vengeance and the adulterer is sometimes stripped naked and paraded through the village with a heavy stone tied to his genitalia. Another interesting feature



Patra Saura

the protector from cholera, small-pox and other diseases. As for ornaments, the Juangs wear heavy brass bangles and cowries. Their necklaces are sometimes very broad and even touch the ear. They wear in the nose iron or brass wires which look like elephant tusks.

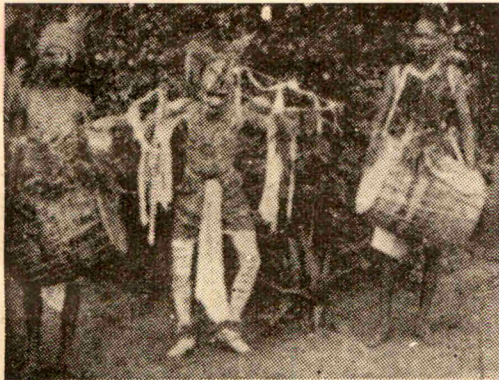
Originally the Juangs had a food-gathering economy. But now shifting cultivation is the prevalent form of food production, and the hoe and the axe have replaced the digging-stick and the bill-hook as chief implements. They eat beef and the flesh of dead



Patra Saura dance

of Juang life is their dancing. Men and women dance together with forward and backward movements, like the Gadabas, after having drunk their home-made beer. Their favourite musical instrument is a tambourine called *chamba*. The animal dances of the Juangs, like those of the vulture, bear, deer and peacock, are justly famous.

The Juangs call themselves the first produce of the human race. They also think that they are sprung from the earth; so they do not sleep on beds. In the



Patra Saura dance

animals. Their method of killing cattle is very interesting. They tie a cow to a big tree, then cut round the tree till it is about to fall and leave it to the cow to bring it down with its dragging motions, as a result of which it is killed. The Juangs do not put salt in their food, but keep a lump of it in the middle and lick it by turns.

They have well-organised youth dormitories for un-

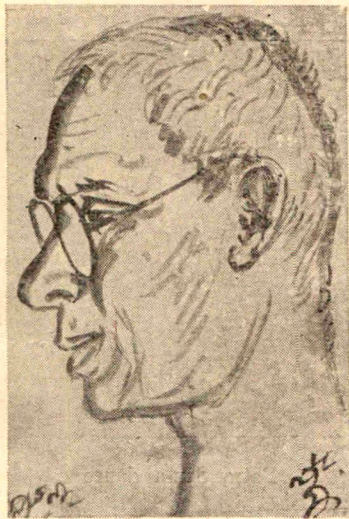


Patra Saura dance

winter they sleep in the open and put fire all around to keep off wild animals. They make attractive wooden combs and often remarkable carvings in the shape of breasts, etc., on the wooden door-posts of their youth dormitories. They are also good at knitting and making mats of date-palm leaves. Their culture shows some traces of the influence of the Panchasakha

Vaishnavas of Orissa. They have a distinct tribal language of their own, of which a specimen is given below :

Alpa misitian badmaharagian misan etadiyan



The writer

kanade tileyikya khos arem aksariyan kibi kipika
(Translation : After a few days a great famine broke out and the child suffered terribly from want of food.)

The Juangs have also developed the art of song,

—:O:—

an example of which addressed to the daughter-in-law by the mother-in-law is as follows :

O, my dear daughter,
Do not wash the pot ;
Black will soil your hand.
Do not pick cow-dung ;
It will soil your hand.
I love you, dear daughter.
I want to keep you happy and well.
Love my son and make him happy too.

The Juangs do not possess private property in land. The area available round a village belongs to the whole community. Each takes as much as he can manage. In some Juang villages everyone pays the same amount of tax, whereas in Juangpir in Keonjhar taxes are paid by the village as a whole and not by the individuals. It was the grandfather of the present Raja of Keonjhar, Sri Dhanjaya Narayana Bhanja, who introduced a tax of one rupee per plough.

This is, in short, an account of the life and institutions of a fascinating tribe in eastern India. No doubt there are many gaps in our knowledge of their culture and it is to be hoped that anthropologists would soon proceed to record it in detail before it disappears under the impact of higher civilisations.*

* Thanks are due to Sri G. N. Das, M.A., LL.B., Research scholar, for help in preparing this paper. I am also indebted to Professor Banambar Acharya, Christ College, Cuttack, for much of the material supplied to me.

UNITS IN KOREA

Field Post Office Renders Efficient Service

A quiet bunch of twenty-five men under the command of a good-humoured and mild-tempered officer, Major L.A. Freitas, are rendering selfless and efficient service to the 6,000 Indian troops in Korea. They comprise the Field Post Office which receives and sends letters, bridging a distance of about 5,000 miles and bringing friends and relatives, families and dear ones together.

On an average over 6,000 letters are sent every day from "Hind Nagar" and over 14,000 are received in each delivery from India. The 'dak' goes five times a week from Korea and flies back from India with equal frequency through different air services. The tie up is with British and American A.P.Os.

From the 56 A.P.O. in New Delhi, where mail from all over India is collected, mail bags fly to Tokyo

and are taken by train to Kure in Japan, then to Iwakuni from where they are flown by the Royal Australian Air



Troops line up to purchase the special stamps issued for use in Korea

Force to Seoul—the capital of South Korea. Through the American courier service Indian mail bags are delivered at the U.N. Warehouse situated just outside the Demilitarized Zone. There our postal boys collect the mail and bring it to the Base A. P. O. with the Custodian Force, located in the heart of Hind Nagar.

In addition to the Base A.P.O. there are two other Sub-Post Offices. One with the NNRC in Shanti Nagar called the 741 F.P.O. and the other—the 739 F.P.O. —with the Brigade Headquarters in Raj Nagar. Attached to these are a number of energetic and enthusiastic unit post orderlies who run up and down the unit lines and the post offices, collecting and delivering the much-awaited letters.

With the exception of receiving VPPs and insured articles, for which no adequate provision can be made here, the Indian F.P.Os in Korea transact all the normal business of any Post Office covering money orders, savings bank accounts and life insurance facilities. Telegrams and cables too are accepted. They are sent

through Seoul to Hongkong from where the wires radiate messages throughout the world.

It takes about seven days for letters from India to reach Korea. It has been the constant and earnest endeavour of the F.P.O. here to reduce this time but the difficulties are great many and the modus operandi tedious. In fact this is truly considered quick delivery.

All transactions of the F.P.O. here are made through Indian Postal stamps giving the men a feeling of being at home. The Post Office is fully equipped with a large quantity and variety of Indian stamps. In addition they distribute two free field air mail letters per man, per week. These are a great boon to the Indian troops who accept them with cheerful gratitude.

Said the O.C. of the Sixty Indian Field Ambulance Unit which has been in Korea since 1950, "Postal arrangements have been efficient from the day the Custodian Force landed in the Demilitarized Zone. As far as this Unit is concerned it is the first time the personnel are getting mail regularly after about three years."

—:O:—

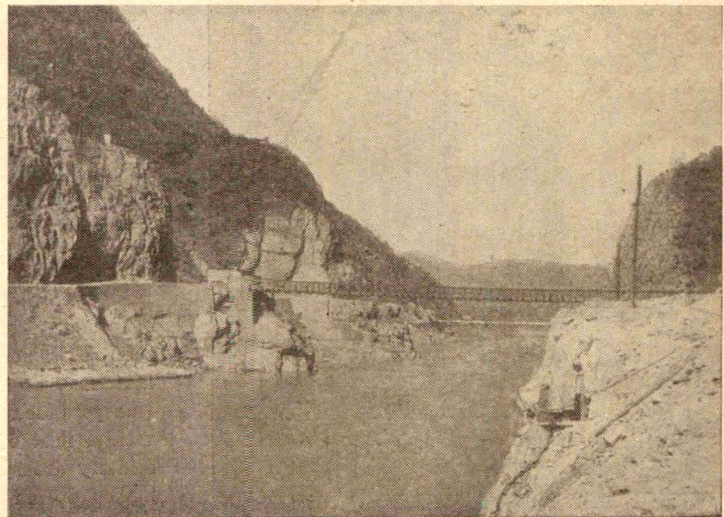
THE BIG PROJECT OF THE PUNJAB

By BALESHWAR NATH, B.Sc., C.E. (Hons.), M.I.E.

The Sutlej is said to be the oldest river of all those traversing Indo-Gangetic Plain, and brings down to this mortal world the ever-purifying effluence of Mansarovar, from the very feet of Lord Shiva. In its valley today is growing up a new civilization unfettered by its traditional past. Just where the pre-historic river emerges out of its mountainous course, it flumes out of the clear-cut gorge and gravely meanders down to Rupar (East Punjab), where many decades ago, during the last century, it was barricaded across to enable the off-taking of the Sirhind Canal. The clear-cut gorge has, however, attracted attention of the Punjab administrators and engineers for a long time and it now forms the crucial point of the Bhakra-Nangal Project of the Punjab.

The scheme envisages building up a cement concrete gravity dam across the gorge thus empounding 7.4 million acres feet of water in the Sutlej Valley, the submergence extending to about 45 miles up-stream. This, when completed, will probably be the highest concrete dam in Asia. A subsidiary dam at Nangal, about 8 miles down-stream (already completed), will enable a 38 miles long concrete-lined Power Channel

to flow out to the left up to near Rupar, after traversing a difficult tract needing very many cross drainage works of great magnitude. From its tail, the used water will gravitate into the newly projected Bhakra Canals System. Two Hydro-Electric Power Houses involving 90 feet drop each are under construction on the new channel, which is also well under way. Their power output is rated at 72,000 kilowatts each, installed capacity. A separate canal to serve some area in



The Sutlej at Bhakra Dam Site

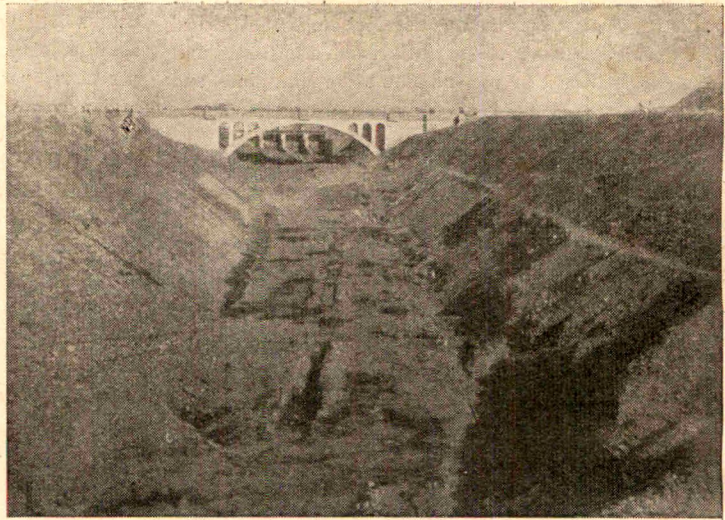
Beas-Sutlej Doab and aptly called Bist Canal, will take off to the right from Rupar, depending for its supply on the pondage created with the construction of dams. Bhakra-Nangal Scheme is, therefore, a multipurpose project, promising plenty to the enterprising people of the Punjab.

NANGAL TOWNSHIP

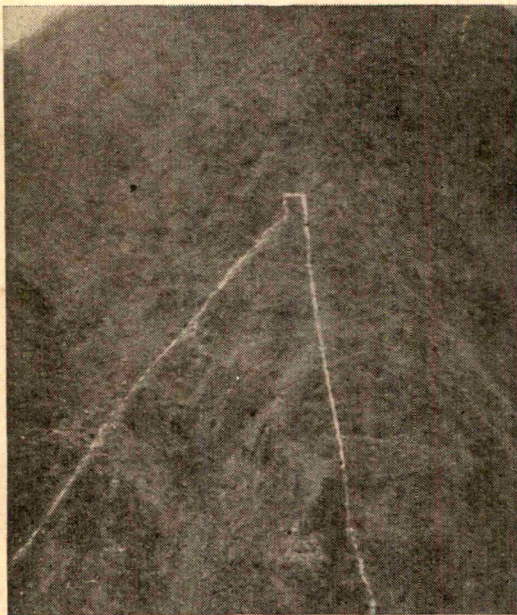
Nangal township is the focal point of all activities. The railway destination is the Nangal Dam Station on the newly extended Rupar Nangal link of E.P.R., now a part of Northern Railway. As one reaches that far-off end, a feeling of cheer and alacrity greets the mind. Here is something going on. Probably, the red tape has turned saffron in this land of Guru Govind Singh. Driving from the railway station to the township is across an active engineering set-up. Beaming faces of Punjabi youths with their gestural mode of conversation and the alert demeanour of workers and craftsmen attract attention at every turning. The township itself is a well-laid-out colony. It is electrified and water-laid. Apart from cheerful living accommodation, there are a hospital, a school, a club, a bazaar and good connecting roads. A field hostel takes in visitors and guests. The pano-

ramic setting of Rest House No. 2 is beyond praise. This is a double-storeyed building and is uniquely placed on a convex water-front. The township in itself is indicative of a liberal and broad-based attitude with which the Punjab Administration deals with the officers and engineer-personnel engaged in the accomplishment of the great project.

There is an Engineering Workshop at Nangal, which is an acquisition of a great order. It is said that



A cement concrete Arch Bridge as built on the newly excavated Power Channel



The profile of the proposed dam as marked out at site on hillsides

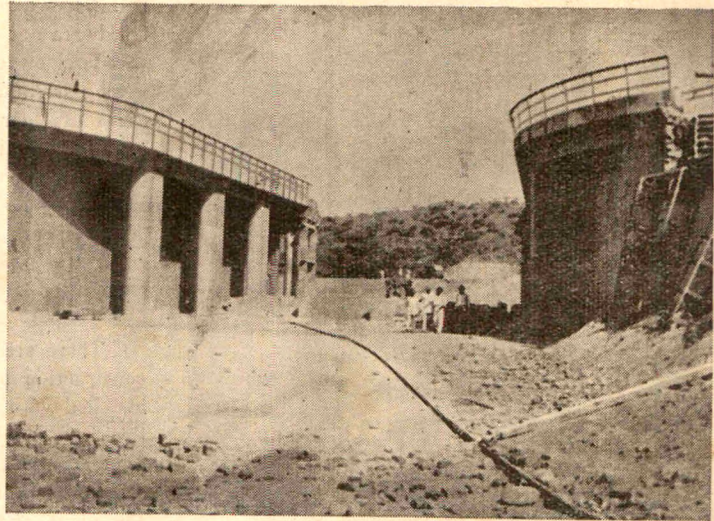
the vast equipment installed therein, including the extensive aircraft hangers, which accommodate the workshop, had all been acquired from disposal dumps. In that installation there are many pieces of great constructional utility and of rare availability, particularly in this country. The Punjab engineers undoubtedly grappled the situation well, when under a long-range planning directive they dug out from disposal dumps and acquired for themselves these invaluable pieces of equipment, in odds and bits and in a neglected and mutilated state. They have mostly been renovated and put into operational condition, and now make up a workshop worthy to meet the needs and requirements of a great constructional project. A broad-gauge railway siding connects the workshop with the rail-heads and other significant constructional points. The department owns some locomotives and wagons too, which considerably facilitate carriage of heavy materials, both across short and long distances. A transport section in the workshop looks after the departmental fleet of motor vehicles and is run almost on a military transport-unit basis. In short, the workshop makes up an impressionable asset of great utilitarian value, and undoubtedly renders the task of builders both assured and expeditious.

AN ENGINEERING TREAT

The dam site at Bhakra is about 7 miles up-stream on the river. It has been rendered approachable by a black-topped motor road built to double traffic width. A railway siding has also been laid along the mountainous course and has even been tunnelled across a precipitous location. As one approaches the site two suspension bridges thrown across the gorge catch the eye first of all. And, then the tunnel openings on both flanks of the gorge come into view. To be led across the constructional activities inside the tunnels involving superb engineering feat is really a treat. These are fifty feet diameter tunnels, each about half a mile long and will form diversion outlets for river water, even during floods, while construction of the main dam progresses along. The rock being sand-stone interspersed with indurated clay or shale, the tunnels are to be lined inside with cement concrete. This is a difficult engineering operation and is being carried out efficiently with the help of shuttering gantries and numerous other engineering devices. Cement concrete for the purpose is fed from suitably installed batching and mixing plants, and is mechanically pushed on to pouring locations, through leading-in pipes. Inside the tunnels, one is faced with slush and muck all round allied with a rattling noise of pneumatic appliances, serpent-like hissings from leaky pipes and nozzles and reverberating loud reports from explosive charges and rock-blowing operations, which combine to present a literally shaking experience to a casual visitor. To an engineer, however, the experience is thrilling to the core and is, at the same time, instructive and inspiring and educative.

Emerging out of the tunnels one can see a profile of the proposed dam marked out in white on the hill-sides of the gorge. From foundations to top, it will be a massive concrete structure almost 650 feet high. Looking to the apparent outcrops of rocks on either side of the gorge, which at places show up shattered sand-stone and visioning to oneself a gigantic structure of great dimensions resting thereon, a feeling of scepticism flashes across the mind. A re-assuring thought that the project must have been based on expert geological and engineering advice, however, lets one regain his composure. Construction of the dam will require laying of about 45,00,000 cubic yards of cement concrete and this will take a couple of years to get completed. Besides, the work involves technicalities of

a very complex nature, which needs must be taken care of during the construction of the dam. The administration has, therefore, requisitioned services of some foreign experts, who also stay at Nangal township. When a coffer dam is built across the stream, river water is diverted down through the tunnels, dam foundations are exposed and actual work on the dam is in progress, it will be a sight worth seeing; it will be the first work of its kind in the Himalayan range, and will be

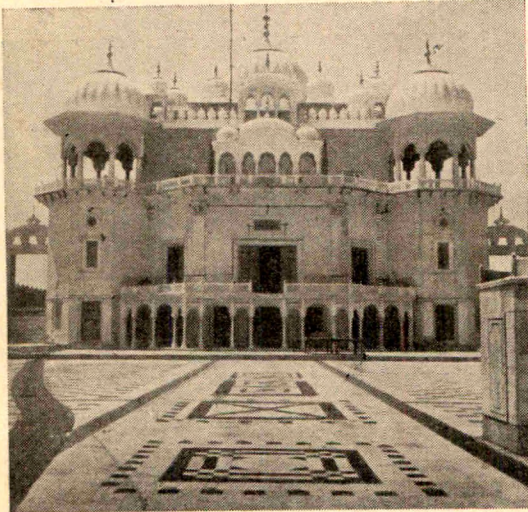


Inside view of the aqueduct over Do-nala

singularly significant for its appurtenances and technique. Along with the construction of the dam two Hydro-electric Generation stations are also come up at Bhakra, with a generation capacity of 2,40,000 kilowatts. This energy when available will make Punjab a powerful State with power enough to meet its own agricultural and industrial requirements and have even a surplus to spare for its needy neighbours.

As the Sutlej winds down from the dam site, a few hill streams join the main river on its way to Nangal. At Nangal, the river gets confined within high banks almost in a canalised shape. This reach therefore affords an ideal site for putting a dam across, which has almost been completed. This dam will enable effective control being exercised over river supplies. In its construction can be noticed some marked deviation from old conservative ideas, governing designs of Hydraulic structure. Across and just above the head of the new Power Channel and below its entry level have been located silt excluders, which will tend to wash down into the river heavier charges of silt and shingle and will let in only comparatively clear water into the new channel. An instructive model of the dam and its appurtenant structures exists at site, which depicts in plan and cross-section an easy overall picture of the work. An observation pavilion

with glazed windows all round, stands significantly at the left hand down-stream end of Nangal dam. From within it, one gets a comprehensive view of the river, particularly on its down-stream side. A watch tower of that description is undoubtedly an asset to public works of that magnitude, for it affords to casual visitors a neat place from where to see and scan the works.



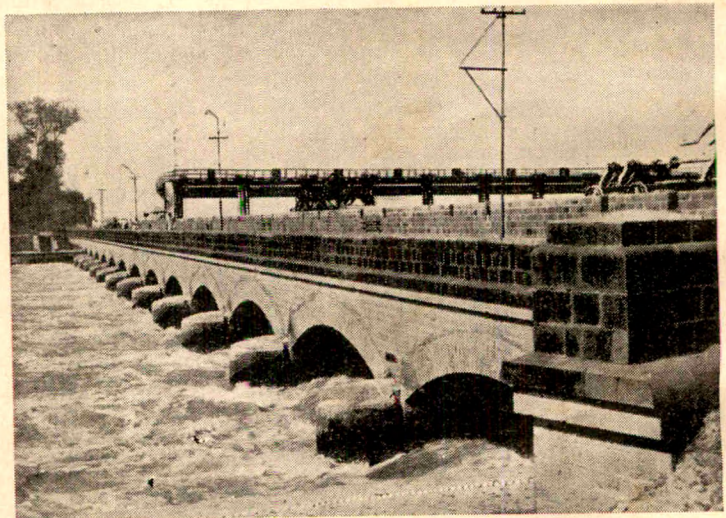
The Gurdwara at Anandpur Sahib

THE CRUSADING SPIRIT

Offtaking to the left from Nangal dam is the proposed Power Channel, also called Nangal Hydel Channel. A strikingly new cement concrete arch bridge built across the excavation and visible from the channel head is the first of the series of many interesting items of construction that one comes across, while driving along the venturesome enterprise. Alignment of this 38-mile channel is across an undulating and dented country along the foothills of the lower Shivalik range. Many a hill-torrent runs into the Sutlej, which follows a course almost parallel to the new channel. All these have to be negotiated with cross-drainage works of varying magnitude and of varying designs. While the aqueduct at Do-nala carries the canal across over a reinforced concrete flume, another stream is to be crossed over in the full section of the canal with even the outer slope lines intact. The whole channel length almost arrived at site and erection of machines on is to be lined with cement concrete along its entire Power House No. 1 will be taken up towards the

wetted perimeter. A casual visitor is hardly competent to comment on the course and the design adopted for the channel. Nevertheless, the crusading spirit with which the work is being carried on in the entire front will evoke admiration in the mind of even an apathetic individual. Maybe the historical background of the tract inculcates a spirit of adventure in the hearts of the builders. This is the cradle land of crusaders, who under the valiant leadership of Guru Govind Singh led a dauntless guerrilla struggle against the Moghul marauders almost three centuries ago. The magnificent Gurdwara at Anandpur Sahib magnificently adorns this land of retreat and tells a tale of manful mobilisation of human effort against the revengeful manoeuvres of their Moghul masters. The struggle is now against the misery of hunger and sloth. Looking across the active front one feels that the youth of the Punjab is shaping its destiny and is hammering out a prosperous future for his tormented and sheared-off homeland. He is working hard and it is indeed enlivening to look into his determined eyes and at his hopeful face.

There are two Hydro-electric Power Stations under construction on this Power Channel. They will be installed with 3 sets of 24,000 kilowatts each. Work on the first one is well under way, while the other foundations are being excavated. These Power Houses are being built to designs laid down by suppliers of the plant. Natural difficulties encountered at the site have been overcome efficiently. A special feature of the work is the cellular reinforced concrete foundations. It is said that the equipment for these Power Stations, which had been ordered from abroad, has



Head of Sirhind Canal taking off at Rupar

is to be lined with cement concrete along its entire Power House No. 1 will be taken up towards the

close of the year 1953. Electric energy available from these Hydro-electric Stations will bring about a phenomenal change in the countryside and will provide the much-wanted stimulus to cottage and other industries in the Punjab. Long distance transmission on Bhakra Project will be done at 220,000 volts bringing in almost the entire State within its orbit, including the neighbouring tract of Delhi, with its vast and ever-expanding capital town of New Delhi.

ANOTHER CANAL

Rupar is the next place of interest. The lower Shivalik range ends here. And, as though nature made a gift to man, the Sutlej at this point affords an ideal site for a canal head. This was built long ago and the off-taking Sirhind Canal is one of the oldest in the Punjab. On its banks at Rupar, can be seen joyful crowds of the young and the old enjoying bathing and doing their washing. The controlling weir is so happily located that neither any extensive river-training work is called for nor does the river ever try to break off the collar. With additional water available in the river from the proposed pondage in its upper reaches, it will become possible to take off another canal at the same site from right flank capable of commanding an extensive area in Beas-Sutlej Doab. Rupar had already been

a significant place but Bhakra Project has brought in so much activity within its precincts that it may soon outgrow its boundaries and may develop into a flourishing metropolis of a promising tract. And above all, it will have the unique honour of heading three important canals of the Punjab, namely, Sirhind, Bhakra and Bist.

This narration is in no way a complete or even a partial account of the big project. It represents only some rambling impressions of an engineer visitor. There may be in it some facts not quite adhering to the latest plans and policy. Nevertheless, it has to be stated that in the present-day factious atmosphere of the country, with politics getting the upper hand in everything, Bhakra Project is a commendable broad-ventured venture on the part of the Punjab engineers. Their cumulative talent has brought about in East Punjab an aromatic fragrance of progress and promise, in spite of an ugly stinking mess of internal turmoil. Apparently, the Administrative set-up of Bhakra Project enjoys high-power immunity from secretarial stinkers, from internal haloblasts and from individual angularities of high personages. It has thus been able to harness engineering potential of the State to its best advantage, and to convert a land of retreat into a land of marching forward.

—:O:—

THE PRESENT LONG-STAPLE COTTON CULTIVATION

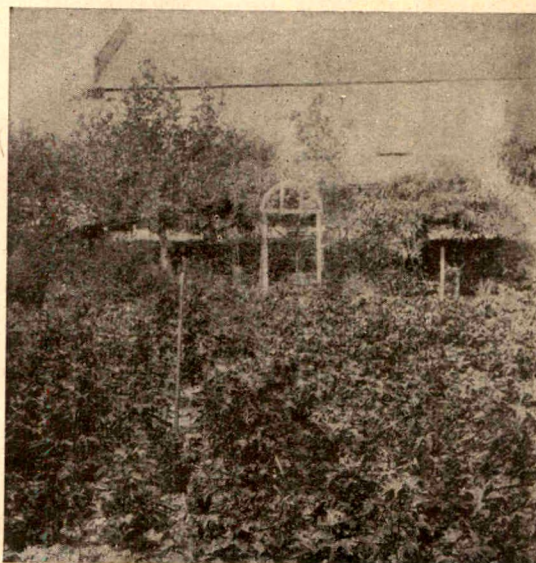
Observations on Works in West Bengal, 1953-54

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

INDIA was deprived of its principal cotton- and jute-growing tracts by partition. The exchange policy of Pakistan made the problem very acute and necessity of increasing production in the Republic was keenly felt. Several meetings in Bombay and Delhi had been held in 1949-50 to find out ways and means to increase cotton production and the Central Government contributed about 40 lakhs to the Indian Central Cotton Committee for the work.

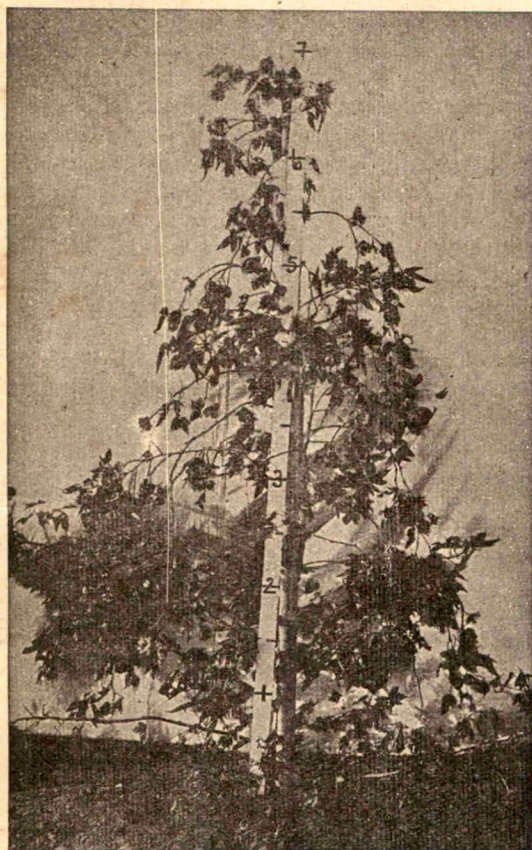
The suitability of Bengal for long-staple cotton had been proved by the working of different Government schemes in Bengal before partition. For some defects in the management it failed to impress the cultivators. From my long experience in cotton cultivation in Bengal, as agricultural officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, I had pointed out the necessity of improving and economising its efficient cultivation by use of some labour-saving agricultural implements and their practical demonstration. This I had widely published through many popular papers and magazines since 1940 by illustrations and by other means. Further, I had been from 1935 growing the superior Egyptian cotton every year, in different parts of Bengal, which in spite of many difficulties, I had succeeded in acclimatizing, with the help of the

Calcutta University. The Head of the Department of Botany, Prof. Agharkar, and his Mycologist, Dr.



Dacca Egyptian cotton

Banerjee, considered it a fit subject for study by their Post-graduate students. The quality of cotton produced by me, till now, is almost similar to that of its place of origin and according to opinions by experts spin warps of 80s with staple length of 1-7/16 inch. The increasing demand for such superior cotton by mills in India, for which they have to depend entirely on foreign imports, induced me to preserve seeds of this acclimatized superior cotton. As a refugee from East Bengal, I was without any employment, and had to



Dacca Egyptian grown in the fields

struggle hard, to maintain this strain, as the only grower of this cotton. I regularly published results of my works, with reports on the same by experts in papers and magazines and also of my difficulties. This moved a similar enthusiast Sri G. D. Naidu of Coimbatore to contribute Rs. 500 which he sent by Telegraphic Money Order. Such voluntary contribution from unknown persons is rare in India.

By the end of 1950, the secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee, came to West Bengal and inspected some cotton fields grown with American varieties. He visited my cultivation of Egyptian cotton also and was convinced of the suitability of the cultivation of both

these varieties. He recommended a scheme of work for 3 years for the cultivation of American variety (Perbhani) at a cost of nearly 4 lakhs to be contributed by the Central Government and the State. The scheme was to be managed by the Agricultural Department. Another scheme for seed-multiplication of Egyptian cotton was also formed. I was to cultivate as an honorary worker, an acre of land, the cost of which will be contributed by the State. The report about the quality of the cotton by experts was very encouraging. It was found suitable to spin 80s warp with staple length of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " as stated before. That this cotton is indigenous to Bengal was proved by the fact, that from half an acre of land cultivated very carelessly in 24-Parganas, last season, 1952-53, a yield of 6 maunds of seed cotton was obtained, though the field remained water-logged for a month in the rainy season. The field was shown to the Chief Government Officers-in-charge of cotton works in Bengal. It is mysterious that the Agricultural Department had never succeeded in its growing till last season, 1952-53. They have all along disregarded rules laid down by me for its cultivation, specially about treatment of the seeds before sowing as advised by the Calcutta University and about the time of sowing which have to be completed in April or latest in early May, after a sinking shower, or after irrigation if necessary. This I have published widely in several papers and magazines. It may be stated that till last season, 1952-53, I was the only successful grower of this variety, which, if it can be introduced among cultivators, will mean crores to West Bengal.

The Agricultural Department, for reasons best known to them, stopped their contribution towards cultivation of an acre by me from this season though my produce has maintained its superior quality, which had been supported by experts. They have, however, taken the risk of growing it themselves, in several of their District Agricultural Farms, with the hope of success in at least one case. I have supplied them with seeds collected from the most healthy plants, and I learn that the seeds had been treated according to methods suggested by the Calcutta University. In my anxiety to see its cultivation successful, I had when supplying the seeds, requested them to inform me about the condition of the plants from time to time, which they had not done. They have a well-equipped Research Institute, which, though it has not studied the same during periods of my growing, may now undertake scientific investigations and study of the plants in different stages of their growth. As yet it has done nothing beyond what has been done by the Calcutta University before partition. The University has also been neglecting Research work on this important cotton after Professor Agharkar has retired from service. Nowhere in the world such indifference to render

scientific help and study of such an important valuable strain can be seen.

As regards the working of the cotton scheme under

the direct management of the Agricultural Department for introducing American cotton (Perbhani) in West Bengal, though it has worked three years, it has totally

failed to interest the cultivators. Responsible and extensive growers of the first year like the Jhargram Agricultural College, Messrs. J. N. Roy Chowdhury & Co., Baikunthapur Farm, etc., abandoned its cultivation from the second year. In the first year 3,500 acres had been sown with cotton from which crops from 1,000 acres could be collected. Nearly 8,000 cultivators participated in its growing. The cost of cultivation was Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per acre and the average yield was on an average 3 maunds of seed-cotton per acre which, sold at Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per acre, comes to Rs. 100 only. Thus there was a great loss to cultivators. If the amount spent in preparing soil and sowing of 2,500 acres is taken into consideration, from which no cotton could be obtained, the loss is tremendous. The working of the following two years was equally disappointing. It may be mentioned here that the working of similar schemes for ten years before partition did not succeed, and the same officers are in charge of the working of the present scheme also. The working of the present scheme has,



Dacca Egyptian cotton. Staple length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{9}{16}$ in. Writer of the article standing by the cotton plants to indicate the height of the plants



Dacca American cotton. Staple length $\frac{7}{8}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{16}$ in.

however, succeeded in proving the suitability of this cotton both as regards quality and quantity of yield. The cotton can spin yarns of 30s to 40s and the yield in some cases had been 20 maunds of seed-cotton per acre.

REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF GOVT. SCHEME OF COTTON

CULTIVATION IN W. BENGAL AND ITS REMEDIES

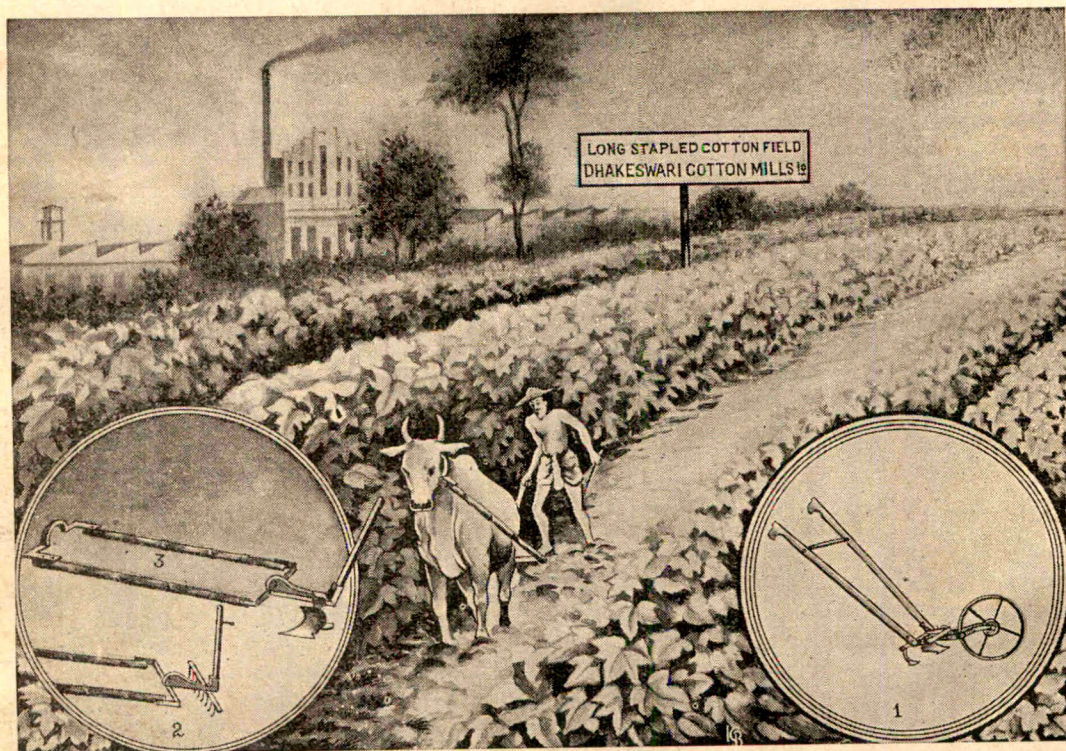
Cotton is not a sow and reap crop. It requires many times more labour and care to grow than other crops generally cultivated here. Though most of the works are of minor nature, as can be done by children, cotton requires sufficient water for three months after sowing. So seeds are sown in well-cultivated prepared soil at regular intervals, after a sinking shower just before the rainy season in the end of May or in early June. Frequent use of hand hoes and ploughs in the first two months after sowing in loose soil and of one-bullock-driven ploughs and harrows after that, when soils grow a bit stiff due to protracted rains, is indispensable. I have been since 1940 advocating the use of the above implements in cotton cultivation, through many papers and magazines. But as yet, nothing has been done by the Agricultural Department to introduce them. Use of such implements will economise labour and increase yield by clean cultivation.

Long-protracted rains encourage rank growth of weeds in the rainy season. It becomes difficult and

costly to control them by hand labour. It may be noted that labour in this period becomes costly and difficult to procure, due to their demand in jute and paddy fields. As work has to be done in periods of dry days during rains, opportunities for work are also rare and that also is often missed due to sudden appearance of rains. So growers in most cases, in despair, destroy the cotton plants and prepare the field for other crops. This is the reason why out of an area of 3,500 acres originally sown with cotton 2,500 acres had to be destroyed in the first year's work under cotton scheme.

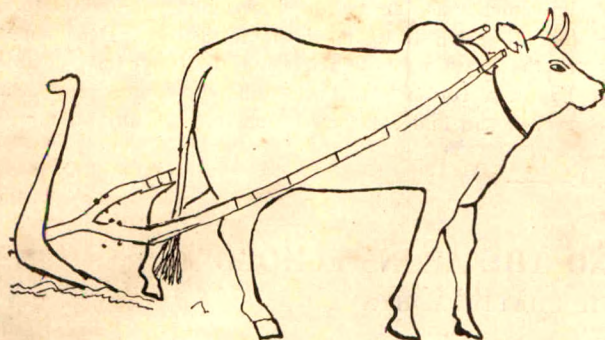
It is advisable to grow cotton as mixed crop with *aus* paddy, ground-nut, etc. The spaces between cotton lines being filled by a crop for which harrowing and weeding will be necessary, the field remains clear, weeds cannot easily grow. A few ploughings and cross-ploughings, after paddy or ground-nuts have been harvested during autumn, when soil remains moist, conserves moisture in the soil and encourage speedy development of the cotton plants.

The Agricultural Department will do well to work a Demonstration Farm on an economical basis. Both American and Egyptian cotton will be grown there as single crop and as mixed crop with *aus* paddy, ground-nut, etc. Labour-saving agricultural implements men-



Interculture implements used in cotton cultivation by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills: (Fig. 1) Hand hoes and cultivator. (Fig. 2) One-bullock-driven harrow, 30 ins. wide. (Fig. 3) One-bullock-driven light plough

tioned before, on models as are used by small cotton plants in one's household lands, every family can get cultivators in America have to be used. The management shall have to be trusted on persons who may become self-supporting, regarding supply of their own guarantee profitable working of such a farm. The clothings. The Charkha, though it may engage one



One-bullock-driven plough
Hand-driven plough



Community Development Department may also take up such work about which I sent my suggestions. In Fulea area, crops generally cultivated there, are not paying. The agricultural labourers suffer very much from unemployment, specially during slack periods of the agricultural year. Cotton cultivation, if it can be introduced there as a mixed crop with *aus* paddy, will much increase the value of the crops. Further, it will keep them engaged in the collection of cotton, ginning and spinning. The Commissioner, though appreciating it, did nothing to work out the same.

Successful working of such a farm at a comparatively small cost, and results of working in details in chronological order with income and expenses of growing, if widely published, will do more to enthruse people to its cultivation than thousands of acres of growing, as is being done now.

Cotton cultivation, if it can be introduced, will make cotton easily available in the State, and will do a good deal to revive *charkha* and spinning among the people. In all cotton-growing tracts in India, children even take to spinning as play and enjoyment.

Mills have to spend 60 per cent of the value of cloths in purchase of cotton. By growing a few cotton

in periods of unemployment, cannot be sufficiently paying. But by such work in periods of unemployment, need of one's clothings may be met without any loss in earning. It is a matter of great regret to observe that Congress members and Government have lost faith in Mahatma's *charkha*, else they would have utilised all opportunities to introduce it in the State. Of late, Government has been freely distributing rations, clothes and money in many places, as relief to needy people. If there had been any regard for spinning, such distribution on condition of daily spinning a tola or a half of cotton, would easily help to revive spinning in the State. Officers-in-charge of such distribution may be advised to treat such free distri-



Children spinning

bution as subsidies towards spinning of cotton. Besides improvement in cotton cultivation works, Government may arrange an annual conference of successful growers of cotton for discussion among them about ways and means of improvement in cotton cultivation. There are cotton-growers' associations in almost all cotton-growing tracts of the world, through which wonderful improvement has been made in cotton cultivation and their

various requirements. The Government, as constituted now, seem to judge merits of their officers by the amount they can spend in a scheme, and not on the merits of results achieved. As one anxious to see cotton cultivation well established in Bengal I earnestly appeal to them to give my suggestions a fair consideration and act accordingly, by ignoring which, they have courted their previous failures.

The Indian Central Cotton Committee may also take up the working of a small Demonstration Farm on a

strictly economical basis and prove its great possibilities by results of the cultivation. Both American and Egyptian cotton may be grown in this farm as mixed and single crop with some labour-saving agricultural implements as can be purchased by poor cultivators, The Research Institute of the Agricultural Department of the State may be requested to study the valuable Egyptian cotton plants at different stages of their growth and find out correct rules for its cultivation.

—:O:—

A STANZA FROM "AND THE AEONS ECHOED"

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Hell's blood-red gates were barred
 Resembling scarlet fires opaque and hard,
 Congealed in the cold storm-blast of thy breath!
 From outer world no more could wondering death
 Enter at will and lure the unborn seers
 Beyond the red gate and behind the white,
 Into its realms of shadows and of tears
 Caught in the ruthless cyclic grip of years
 Gradually passing into fading light.

The white gate opened inwards with a calm
 Movement as of thy slowly opening palm,
 Revealing through sweet airs of myrrh and musk

Ancestral congregations in the dusk
 Of the unborn, waiting to dribble through
 Like starry emanations through the Blue
 Of the transparent body which awaits
 Their passage through such unpremeditated states
 Since thou behind the inevitable Forget
 Of all creation, dost remember yet
 The detailed process of created things.

When suddenly I heard
 In the interior spaces, an ominous Bird
 Beat its own unborn hunger into Wings,
 Glorious and regal, paradisaic-nude,
 Sculptured to pure protective amplitude
 Of presence that became
 Divine self-offering of scented flame!
 Under their glimmering shadow then
 Began the natal day of soul-superior men
 Invisible yet in tunnelled twilights streamed
 Through hollowed ivory through which in silence ran
 The only road of journeying brute and man,
 Heavenward and undiscovered, at whose end
 Just at the wind-swept bend

Lotus-allured, they linger for a span
 And finally in a last splendour noise ascend
 To there where I perceived, though could not see,
 The passing into naught of memory.
 A million million ancestors were they
 Who rose and trod the way
 Mile-stoned with whitest lotus in a wheel
 Almost ascetic-still, although in drunken reel.

—:O:—

"Trade, Agriculture and Industry in West Bengal (1200-1625 A.D.) as found in the Persian and Arabic Sources"—a paper read by Prof. N. B. Roy in a meeting (November 2) of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta :

"The principal fact that emerges out of a careful and minute study of the contemporary Persian chronicles and Arabic epigraphs (1200-1625) is that West Bengal as at present constituted was a flourishing and prosperous region, drained by navigable rivers which offered facilities of inland trade and sea-borne commerce. Areas like Kajangal (north-west Murshidabad from Suti to Sekherdigi), which now present aspects of desolation, were hubs of an active and vigorous life. Equally interesting is the fact that both the banks of the Bhagirathi were dotted with thriving hamlets and villages, as attested by the revenue contributed

by the various *Mahals* during the Akbari age—and Sarkar Mandaran in Hughli district had a diamond mine out of which small bits of the precious metal were quarried out.

"In *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* would be found statements about the liking of the Chaghtai monarchs (e.g., Babar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan) for the fruits of this province. Fishes swarmed in the Bengal rivers, and both Viceroy Islam Khan and Mirza Nathan had a great relish for them.

"Among the pursuits of the people, boat building and plying was the most important. Next in importance to this industry was the craft of the builders and the masons, the technician and the architect, the engravers and the artists who left memorials in such superb edifices, as Sona Masjid, Dakhil Darwaza and Firuza Minar.

THE LION-HEARTED LEADER

An Intimate Impression of Syama Prasad Mookerjee

Article Four

THE LION ROARS

By St. NIHAL SINGH

IX*

ALMOST half the sands of 1942 of Judea's Anointed One had run out. India had been dragged by power-intoxicated imperialist agents astride the country through crisis after crisis. They had been helping themselves to men and materials they required in any part of the globe for the prosecution of hostilities, from the outbreak of the (world) war (two), without morally strengthening themselves by obtaining legislative sanction. That callous, high-handed action had roiled politics possessed of the least spark of manhood.

Resistance had been gathering. Largely through the persistent efforts of the high-souled Mohandas Karamchand ("Kaba") Gandhi, the opposition remained almost wholly non-violent.

Being patently in the wrong, the authorities, lacking the sanction that consent gives, had armed themselves with engines of repression that their wits, razor-sharpened mostly at Oxford and Cambridge, overworking all the time, could devise. These had been applied with ruthless savagery, particularly in Bengal, against the resisters who sought to awaken their countrymen to the enormity of executive lawlessness. A procession of publicists who spoke out what was in their minds were steam-rollered from platform to jail.

The curb was applied to pencil, pen and typewriter in newspaper offices. This offended the dignity of the users of these tools in the service of the nation. A surprisingly large number of them struck out against the ukases issued by the bureaucrats who had neither been put into power in any part of the Motherland by any Indian legislature nor owed any responsibility to any representative body in the Motherland.

Finding that even the courts set up by themselves administering laws that they had placed upon the statute book would not convict persons on the evidence trumped up by unscrupulous policemen hankering only to line their pockets with gold by pleasing their alien bosses, the officials dragooned workers in the nation's cause into detention without charge or trial. Such

arbitrariness more than any other species of oppression roused resentment in the breasts of even timorous Indians. Pent-up passions by what was to prove to be the middle of the war were seethed and sizzled.

X

At the moment when the climactic of the Indian struggle for freedom was none too far off, the loom of destiny clicked and clanged day and night in the Government House at Calcutta. The imperialist shuttle had been placed in the hands of a youngish Briton. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Arthur Herbert¹ had had the best of both worlds—the New and the Old. His mother was a Rhode Islander, bred and born along the United States of America's Atlantic sea-board. When he grew up he attended the oldest American University (Harvard).

His father, a sprig of an aristocratic Monmouth family, had gone into the British Diplomatic Service. He had been sent from capital to capital and was entrusted with missions of great importance requiring knowledge of foreign languages and of the people who spoke them and the most patient, tactful, delicate handling. That he performed these assignments to the satisfaction of the Foreign Office was attested by the bestowal upon him by the Sovereign of a G.C.V.O., and also by his appointment, in the evening of his service, to the legation at Mexico. There for reasons best known to him he politely declined to go.

The son might have done likewise and gone into the Foreign office. "Kaiser Bill's" troopers, who blasted their way to Brussels in the autumn of 1914, changed his course of life. Just then John Arthur Herbert was coming to man's estate. He answered the country's call—and the call in his blood, for he was of fighting stock,—by volunteering. Passing through the portals of the Military Academy at Wellington, he was commissioned in 1916 a lieutenant in the Royal Horse Guards. Five years later he became Master of the Foxhounds for his county—a dearly prized privilege, that pronounced him a skilled rider

* The section numbers are continuous with those in articles 1, 2 and 3 in the September, October and November, 1953, numbers of *The Modern Review*.—Editor.

1. Herbert is the family name of many peers. Among them are the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Powis.

and an intrepid huntsman. What more could a lover of sport desire?

More—much more—was waiting for him round destiny's corner. In 1926 he had the good fortune to find favour in the eyes of the Viceroy-designate, the Baron Irwin. I had become conscious of him when, in 1921, he, as Major Wood, became the Under-Secretary for the Colonies and told us ink-slingers in London not to "Major" him. "The war is over and done with," he said. So it was—temporarily.

Taken on the Viceroy's staff, the young, personable, pleasant-mannered officer spent two years at the Viceroy's "House." Of this only a little earlier Alice, Countess (later the Marchioness) Reading had been talking to me. "It is far, far too big," she said. "Who will be able to afford it?" India's money bags seemed to the imperialists to be without bottom.

Political storms raged all round Dame Britannia's Indian hub during Captain Herbert's stay there. He had the opportunity of watching his chief's way of handling Swarajists and the still more troublesome non-co-operators. This, in the eyes of men in power in Britain, must doubtless have helped to educate him in the ways of holding in some sort of check an enslaved nation in a bitter, rebellious mood.

What was, perhaps, more important from the imperialist angle of vision was that he saw something of the Muslim Leaguers. Under Mahommed Ali Jinnah's lead they were throwing monkey wrenches into the nationalist machinery.

At each pitching their demand went up. Now they negotiated with the Nationalists. Sometimes they took advantage of the good offices of the Liberals. All the time they were coaxing, cajoling and brow-beating the British into bettering the terms offered by the Indian (or, to use their word, the Hindu) side. I cannot recall off-hand if Gandhiji had as yet presented his fellow-Kathiawadi the "blank cheque" of which the world heard so much: but the generous impulse existed in the Mahatma's heart.

After his return "Home" and receiving his Majority, Herbert married, needless to say into a noble family. By 1934 he, then Lieutenant-Colonel, decided that he had had enough of soldiering. His thoughts turned to politics. In conformity with his background and with his own conservative inclinations, he stood for a Welsh constituency in Tory interest and, without any difficulty, entered the House of Commons.

2. I have seen this ancestral house. It is situated in the heart of that small peninsula, once again called Saurashtra as it was in our ancient forbears' time. The town—Dhoraji—is of some importance and was in Gondal State, now an integral part of the United States of Saurashtra.

An M.P. with his antecedents and experience, with his shrewdness and virility, is ever in the good books of the party leaders. John Arthur Herbert was soon promoted. Having no need to take the people's money, as did many of the poor Labourites—he elected to serve as an "unpaid" assistant whip.

While India's constitution was being hammered out on the British Parliamentary anvil, he bestirred himself to contribute his mite towards securing the acceptance of the Tory objectives. These were to whittle away, as much as possible, the powers to be transferred to the Indian electorates and to design provisions that would hamper the Indians who would, in due course, be sworn in as ministers.

Who would have a better chance to be assigned the superintendence over the working of the new legislation than he? That he should have been placed at the head of perhaps the most difficult province in the "Dependency" showed that his Majesty's Government of the day, presided over by the amiable if not brilliant gentleman from Birmingham, bearing the illustrious name of Chamberlain, reposed faith in this parliamentarian.

XI

The loom of destiny that John Arthur Herbert was set to mind was the oldest in India. Clive built it, in fact, in the early days of the "John Company." Fumes from the powder blown at the field of Plassey still filled the air. Not only did he design it but he actually sat at it and worked it. The shade of Umi Chand is really needed to pay tribute to the skill with which the founder of the British Empire in India manipulated it.

Since then Fort William had witnessed many changes. Among these the most important was the shifting of the Capital from the banks of Ganga *Mad* (Hooghly) to those of her sister Yamuna (Jumna) at Delhi.

The loom had, in consequence, to be rebuilt. It ceased to be the master-mechanism that it had been. It became semi-automatic. Impulses sent from Delhi by a secret process operated it: but not wholly.

A minder was needed in Calcutta (during the summer in Darjeeling) to keep it in efficient working order. In view of its age that, in itself was for him no light task. Besides the subtle Bengalis might throw grit into it if they got the chance. He had to be sleeplessly vigilant. With the development of local needs certain operation supplementary to the Delhi-impelled ones had to be carried out.

A description of these constitutional respon

sibilities is given in the Government of India Act, 1935. This can be scrutinised at will by any one who has the curiosity to do so.

The language employed by the constitutional pandits is, however, mystic. It may mean nothing or everything. This depends upon the ingenuity of the interpreter, particularly the interpreter given by the Act itself more than ample powers to enforce his own reading.

XII

Barrister that Syama Prasad Mookerjee was and with experience of working so large and so complex an organism as the Calcutta University, he must have understood all the implications when his Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert administered to him the oath of office. This was done in the "House" in which the loom of destiny was kept well hidden from prying eyes and secure from meddling hands. So the Finance Minister never actually saw it at work or otherwise.

His Chief, Hon'ble Moulvi Fazlul Huq, had passed through the executive mill and was a qualified lawyer. Apart from this he had everything to gain and nothing to lose by working in concert with the non-Muslim wing of his Ministry and, in particular, with Syama. His existence as Bengal's Premier depended, to no small extent, upon such co-operation. They believed that so long as they all pulled together, they should be able to rule while his Excellency, like the wearer of the British Crown, only reigned.

In forming that expectation reason was on Syama's side :

Firstly, while the coalition was in being, the ministry enjoyed a majority in the Legislature. It could count upon sufficient votes to carry through any measure it desired.

Secondly, these constitutional advisers of Sir John Herbert's (as they were in terms of the Statute and as they regarded themselves) knew that he had been an assistant whip of the Conservative Party when the Act was pushed through both Houses of Parliament. Also that Lord Linlithgow, now in the seat of the Mighty in Delhi, had had much to do with the final shaping of the measure. It was, therefore, safe to presume that they would be interested in its working smoothly and successfully or at least strive to avoid a breakdown.

Thirdly, the Indian National Congress had accepted office in the provinces in which the electors had placed its candidates in a majority only upon coming to an understanding with the tardy, if not unwilling British agent in India. This was taken by them to imply that the Governor would function only as a constitutional

ruler—in other words, he would not intervene in the day-to-day administration by ministers responsible to the legislature.

Fourthly, in the autumn of 1939 these governments had been withdrawn by the Congress High Command because of the arbitrary manner in which that agent had rushed India into the war without obtaining legislative sanction. It was all the more advisable that the area of trouble be not further extended.

Fifthly, there had already been a breakdown in Calcutta. The Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din (of whom more a little later) suddenly found out-manoeuvred. He no longer could command enough votes in the legislature to carry on.

The reactionary elements in the "Writers' Buildings" gave him all the support they could muster. This they did with a shameless disregard of constitutional propriety. The Governor was wholeheartedly at his back. Quite openly, too (so Syama had assured me at that time).

Sanity, if not the safety of the province, left his Excellency no choice in the matter. Being the one man who, with Syama's and Syama's colleagues' adhesion, could carry on, Fazlul Huq should not be let down, particularly in the parlous conditions then obtaining in Bengal.

XIII

The probabilities were not with Syama, however reason was with him. These I shall list.

Firstly, the loom of destiny at which his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel Sir John Arthur Herbert sat was only semi-automatic. The patterns were produced by waves sent out from Delhi, which, in turn, was subordinate to the one in Downing Street. He might vary the colouration, strengthen or weaken it. He might use thicker or thinner thread. He might produce flimsier or coarser material. Change of pattern, however, he could not attempt.

Secondly, there were the Governor's own proclivities, prejudices and passions. There was his inheritance. There was also his experience—experience in the Army—experience in the Viceroy's House when he was on the staff of the Marquis of Halifax (as Lord Irwin, upon succession to his father's title and estates, had become)—at Delhi—experience he had acquired while seated on the Tory benches of the House of Commons and more especially in the Conservative Whip's office during the days when the Indian constitution he was now working was in process of fabrication.

Thirdly, there was the great Khwaja. He had tasted the "sweets of office." He liked it. He yearned for more of it.

This he could have only if somehow or other Fazlul could be downed—driven out of office. He had not the knack nor the tact to cohort with the non-Muslims of the Syama type. Or (was it?) that they, because of his separatist creed, would not touch him with a ten-foot pole. And this Fazlul sat in the seat second only to that occupied by the Governor—and, according to the letter of the law, of fundamental importance.

Yet the good Khwaja had advantages. They were great advantages, at least to Sir John Herbert's way of thinking.

(a) He was of the same kidney as the Governor—a bit of an aristocrat.

(b) He had received education not so very dissimilar to that which the Governor had been vouchsafed. From the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh he had gone to the Dunstable Grammar School in England. I remember that he was at Cambridge in my early days of British journalism.

(c) Most important of all, he was Mohammed Ali Jinnah's No.1 in Bengal. The imperialists might not have loved the generalissimo of the Muslim League. He had an annoying habit of posing—attitudinizing. He had a sharp tongue that could sting worse than any whip of scorpions known to man. One never knew when he would use it.

Without his manoeuvres, however, the Congress, bad as it was in their estimation, would be wholly insufferable. It could not be held down without Jinnah's counterpoise. He was, in the circumstance, indispensable. They knew, too, that that astute lawyer-orator-organizer could be trusted to split and to splinter India when India became too hot for the British.

For all these (and perhaps some other) reasons, the Khawaja (though he had, for the nonee failed his great leader) was the apple of the imperialist eye. The Governor and his bureaucrats were, as noted already, none too discreetly paving the way for him to win back the premiership, if only to squelch Fazlul, who was playing into Syama Prasad Mookerjee's hands.

XIV

There was one scheme that the Fazlul Cabinet was pressing for all it was worth, it was believed at Syama's instigation. The ex-guardsman sitting at the loom of Bengal's destiny, in fact, regarded it as more mischievous than any project or recommendation of his government, if not all the other added together.

Taking advantage of the situation that the westward push of the Japanese had created, they were asking him to organise the "Bengal Home

Guard." In his view this involved the reversal of the military policy that had been pursued since Thomas Babington Macaulay had penned his notorious diatribe (the "cowardly" Bengali). Only once had his people assented to allowing the *bhadralog* (Bengal's genteel classes) to enlist. Just a battalion had been raised. This was done as an experimental measure. That the experiment was not repeated told, at least to him, its own tale. He kept harping upon that failure.

This, however, did not daunt Fazlul—or turn Syama Mookerjee away from the project.

The Cabinet in its entirety—Muslims and non-Muslims with the Premier at their head—were asking, not merely for re-trying the experiment on a modest scale. No. Quite the contrary. They insisted upon "at least one lakh" officers and men being enlisted from amongst Bengalis.

Only in that way, they urged, could the emergency that might be upon them at any moment be met. So Bengal's manhood must be mobilised in defence of the Motherland. Whatever the difficulties, they must be overcome in view of the menace galloping towards them.

In this connection they pointed to the fate that had overtaken Burma. Britons had done nothing to rouse enthusiasm in the Burmese breast to withstand and to repel aggression. Burmese had not been enlisted, equipped, armed and trained effectively to deal with the invader. Britons, by themselves, had proved inadequate. They had to pack up their kit-bags and withdraw. The Japanese had overrun the country. There had been an exodus of Indian civilians too.

Per contra the Chinese had relied upon themselves. Answering the appeals made by Mai Ling (Madame Chang Kai Chek) they had turned out by the million. Under the general direction of the generalissimo, they had contested every inch of ground with the aggressor, who had been halted and was even being thrust back whence he had come.

Australia, too, was cited as an example...

And here in India, they pointed out, instead of following such splendid examples, only the policy of "scorched earth" was being advocated in anticipation of dread events. That policy, to be sure, was applied—ruthlessly applied—in Russia. The Russians did it, however. They were their own masters. They could do with their land, buildings and their contents, as they pleased.

With India the case was different. Indians were not their own masters. He—Sir John Arthur Herbert—sat at the loom of Fate set up in Government House, Calcutta. What moral right

could he have to scorch Bengal's earth—earth that to Bengalis was mother—if the enemy's advance westward could not be checked?

The Governor, however, contended that

(1) Bengal could not have an army of her own. To do otherwise would be to fly in the face of the established military policy.

(2) Even, for the sake of argument, were enlistment to be permitted, how could the Home Guard be armed and equipped? The country was already short of arms and ammunition.

(3) Who would train the Guard? Personnel for this purpose did not exist.

(4) Most important of all, the former experiment had foundered.

Syama, for one, rebutted:

(1) There may at present be regulations that stand in the way. The scheme might, in fact, be entirely against the Indian Army policy, as the Governor contended. Regulations were not, however, like the laws of the Medes and Persians. They must be amended as need arose. The need had now become clamant. All bars must be lifted. "To-day," he bluntly asserted, "the Army Policy must be determined first and foremost in the interests of India."

(2) If there be no arms and ammunition, the fault, he delicately suggested, was not Indian. He would not, however, waste the Governor's time by apportioning the blame to the party responsible for the situation—that there was "no longer production of" munitions "for India's use to-day." He insisted upon saying, however, "that we shall arrange for increased production to the best of our ability." He cited two instances. To quote him:

"...Here again, pray recall to your mind the stirring appeal made by Madame Chiang Kai Shek and also the Australian Prime Minister. China's supply of arms and ammunition was extremely limited and the lady declared with commendable pride that when the Chinese people started fighting Japan, they had nothing but their hands, their flesh and their blood. The Australian Prime Minister said that they had also suffered from lack of arms and when they started reorganising their Home Army, they had to use broomsticks at one stage of the training. Such objections as you have raised are indeed of no value at this critical hour."

This was blunt talking from a "cowardly Bengali" to the superman who represented, at Calcutta, the might of the British Empire. Without taking count of how hard he had hit, he went on insisting that if arms and munitions were not readily available, they must be "manufac-

tured by us or imported into India from other countries."

(3) Men to train the Guard must "be brought from other parts of India," or, if that be not possible from wherever they may be available elsewhere in the Empire.⁵

As his aim was not to have a wordy joust but to carry the ex-guardsmen with him to help solve a problem of considerable magnitude and of the greatest urgency, he appealed:

"Difficulties there are undoubtedly. I shall not even ask who has been responsible for India's helplessness, provided we really go ahead with a new policy. Difficulties must be faced and surmounted boldly, if we are to survive this crisis. The real obstacle will be want of trust. Are you prepared to trust us even to-day? The verdict of history will be against you if you deny us the elementary right of raising our Army according to our needs. Either, you say that you will protect us and military defence of an adequate measure will be available at the right time—this answer may be humiliating to the national sentiment of India who asks for the exercise of the right of self-defence; but even then an assurance of this character will have considerable practical importance. Or if you cannot give us the assurance that India will be saved, why should there be a hesitance on your part in allowing the people of the land to defend themselves in such a manner as they consider best even at this last hour? Let India's interests be the supreme factor to-day and let Indians themselves decide how best to tackle the grave peril into which you have thrown us."⁶

What good would the Home Guard be to "save Bengal from air attacks," the Governor, in his *non possumus* attitude asked. To this Syama's rejoinder was:

"... If we can strengthen our own Air Force, a fight may be given. But is it not possible that Japan may some day in the near future land in Bengal and if that happens we may have to face the brutal realities of a guerilla warfare? How are we prepared to resist this menace? The Japs may spread themselves in different parts of the province. What forces are there to combat such an aggression? Then again there is the question of maintenance of internal security. It is only with the help of disciplined forces, mainly consisting of the people of the land, which may not even be fully armed at the beginning, that we can hope to rouse the true spirit of courage and fearlessness in the minds of the people at large. My idea is that every district, sub-division and thana would have its own Home Army under the unified control of a Government department. This will act as a watertight section but in full co-operation with the civil authorities. It will be the people's army for saving their hearth and home from the impending attack of the enemy and from internal chaos."⁷

All this served to alarm the Governor rather than to allay his suspicions. He and Syama were virtually dead-locked—and dead-locked not only over this issue.

[Article No. 5 of this series will appear in the January, 1954 issue of *The Modern Review*.—Editor]

3. From letter written by Syama on March 7, 1942, to "Dear Sir John Herbert" and printed in a pamphlet titled "A Phase of the Indian Struggle," and published by Monojendra Nath Bhowmik from Kustia, Nadia.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. SANTI KUMAR GHOSH, M.A.

Among underdeveloped countries the problem of unemployment arises from the shortage of capital. Cyclical business fluctuations are generated in industrially advanced countries. But their major effects in cases of backward economies are on incomes rather than on employment. As a matter of fact, none of these countries have experienced industrial mass unemployment. Although the great depression of the thirties meant lower prices and shrunken markets for the exports of underdeveloped countries, the labour force as a whole was still dependent on the land. These countries have, in fact, little fear of any widespread unemployment resulting from a deficiency in demand.

In India, the problem of unemployment has an individual character of its own. Most of the people thrown out of employment in the industrial sector are speedily reabsorbed in the rural centres. For, most of the workers maintain village ties. Unemployment is thus hidden in our villages. The low level of earning,¹ irregular unemployment in the villages and the excessive pressure on land are the symptoms of such a situation. In other words, the problem appears as "disguised unemployment" in agriculture, in which there is under-utilisation of man-power on account of a shortage of land and capital.

For the most part the marked under-utilisation of labour time is due to the seasonal nature of agricultural activity. In West Bengal, for instance, there are nine months' idleness for jute-growers and 7.5 months' for jute and rice growers.² In addition to seasonal under-employment, the community also suffers from chronic agricultural under-employment, in the sense that even at the peak of agricultural activity the potential amount of labour time still exceeds the amount of labour time actually utilised.

Since agriculture is notoriously unstable structural unemployment is a characteristic phenomenon of our country. Of the total cultivated area of about 341 million acres only about 60 million acres are under irrigation and the remaining part is dependent on the vagaries of rainfall. Moreover, some industries (e.g., cotton and sugar industries) are themselves of seasonal character. Further, in agriculture employment may be provided but income may collapse due to some natural

calamity (e.g., destruction of the crop) and the farmer may suffer. There are years of subnormal agricultural activity as a result of natural disasters. When there is severe drought or flood the situation changes into one of acute mass unemployment and emergency measures are required.

The increase in population pressure on land has forced a large number of able-bodied persons to leave the countryside to seek employment in towns and urban centres. Not possessing the skill and resource needed for most trades, the new-comers are driven into a small number of occupations,³ which are therefore characterised by an over-supply of labour. The levels of wages earned in these occupations are kept extremely low and the management has little incentive to raise its standard of efficiency. Thus without any substitution of capital for labour and for the same volume of output, the labour requirement in those occupations could be considerably reduced through measures of rationalisation.

The solution of the problem of under-employment in a backward country like India can come only through patient, untiring constructive work. A planned economic development of the country can eliminate large-scale under-employment. Development plans must be launched and accelerated to bring about the maximum utilisation of resources. In addition to the action that should be taken by private enterprise governments should organise development works to absorb unemployment and should expand industries so as to provide employment for the excess agricultural population. Irrigation works designed to bring more land under cultivation and more of the existing cultivated land under irrigation may cause a shift of agricultural population from land now in use to newly developed lands. In many cases cottage industries will prove very effective in providing supplementary employment for the rural population. In fact, for the same amount of capital investment small-scale industries can provide more employment than large-scale industries. A planned development of electric power will prepare the way for future industrial development and relieve present power shortage. Provision of new transport facilities and additional transport equipment may speed up the movement of men and goods

1. The average annual income of the Indian peasant is approximately Rs. 48.

2. The Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee (New Delhi, 1949).

3. The urban occupations which absorb most of the rural labour are, however, tertiary occupations (i.e., domestic service and petty trading).

between cities and countryside and between ports and hinterland.

Where unemployment is entirely of a seasonal character, the sum-total of labour required at different periods of the year for a particular combination of crops under cultivation will have to be considered. If the different crops happen to be so combined that their respective seasonal peaks follow smoothly one after the other, then seasonal variations in the aggregate labour requirements may be fairly moderate, even though each individual crop is highly seasonal. The possibility of crop diversification varies from one region to another according to market conditions and the quality of the soil. Elimination of structural unemployment,⁴ however, will require a proper scheme of irrigation coupled with some form of crop insurance. Irrigation works and river valley schemes may go a long way to meet the crying need for water supply.

In an over-populated country like India, the way to improvement of agriculture lies partly through the development of industry, since substantial progress in agriculture is often not possible without reducing the number of workers engaged. Industrial progress in countries at the lowest level of development is not possible if the lack of skill and equipment is not overcome by government training schemes and construction programmes. In an economy where there is an acute shortage of both domestic capital and goods available for consumption, however, there is not only a physical limit to the productive resources that can be devoted to capital formation, but there is also a monetary limit to the amount of investment that can be undertaken without generating powerful inflationary pressures. In particular, one important problem during the initial period of construction will be to ensure that there is a sufficient marketable surplus of food available to meet the needs of workers who are newly employed on various projects of capital construction.

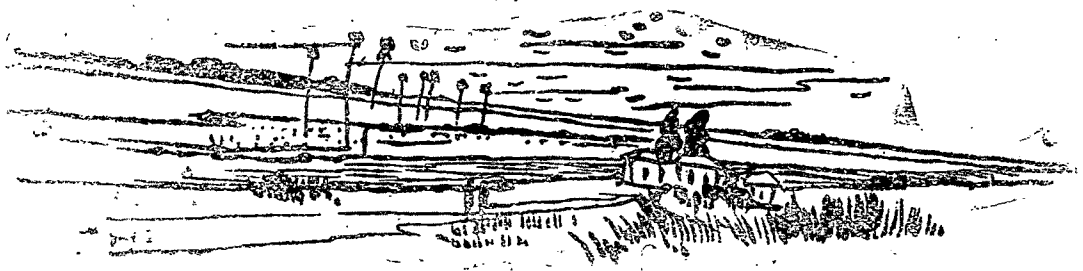
It is often argued that India must discover some means for holding her galloping population in leash, if she is not to allow all her programmes for economic and national reconstruction to founder on this bio-

logical rock. Whatever success in increasing production, it has been said, can be achieved, unless there is a decrease in the rate of population growth we shall be severely handicapped in our efforts and may fail to make any headway at all. There is no reason, however, why if vigorous efforts were devoted to development, national incomes should not rise faster than population. Raising of the legal age of marriage, provision of opportunities for women to earn an independent living and of recreational facilities in rural areas would also slow down population growth. At the present time, however, a deliberate state policy with the object of encouraging the practice of birth-control among the masses is impracticable both because of the low economic condition of the people and their lack of education. As a matter of fact, experience in other countries indicates that urbanization is, for various reasons, associated with a slackening of population growth, and increasing urbanization and industrialization in India may have a similar effect. It cannot, therefore, be concluded that economic development must inevitably be dissipated in population growth.

Among other conditions, a properly organized employment service has a notable part to play in the economic development of the country. Employment Exchanges can guide the worker and train man-power for job openings. The success of the Exchanges will, however, depend on the rate of expansion of the quantum of employment as well as on the degree of co-operation by the employers. Finally, a good deal depends on the character, attitude and responsiveness of the workers. The psychological resistance of workers to newer modes of life must be overcome if the employment policy is to achieve any measure of success.

In no country should there remain a large body of persons unemployed or under-employed, constituting as it does, an enormous waste of potential wealth, apart from the physical, moral and psychological losses which it entails upon the working-class community. The problem of under-employment in an under-developed region cannot, however, be solved in a night. Its solution can come only through the rebuilding of the entire economy from the bottom upwards.

4. See paragraph four above.



MID-CENTURY 1953

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

Statesmen ten years ago could have foreseen the horizon of our own decade, much of the configuration of world politics would have come about, and the dismay with which we look at today would have none of its elements of regret and mutual incrimination. Generally we have greatly undervalued the undercurrents of feeling, not only in countries largely populated by Asians, but especially so in Asiatic countries. It happened during these last ten or twelve years that dozens of the leading men, that were in power in world affairs, have disburdened their memories in and we have had the privilege of deciding for ourselves whether such publications were factual or mere alibis. Most of the actors on the stage have spoken, but some of the most important because not a few of those no longer are able to communicate with their earthly co-dwellers. Some of the most interesting sidelights on the disturbed world from 1904 to 1948, have been added to the world-view by outsiders, like Lin Yutang of whom other observers of non-political stripe.

It is rather astonishing how much attention the world of Asiatic writers and speakers get today, with the situation, let us say, at the close of our Number One. Among the signers of the treaty was Baron Sinha, K.C., representing 300 millions of people in India. The gentleman (known to the present writer), had about as much to say, or far less, than Mr. Burgos of the Republic of Panama. Compare with this the uninterest with which the world today watches the statement of Mr. Nehru at Delhi, the remarks, once of the Indian delegate at U.N. discussions, in the daily press, what the latest ideas of Mr. Nasser of Egypt are. Hurried trips have been made by men of the West to gauge the opinion of the world, low alike in places ranging from Beirut in Syria to Yokohama in Japan. Sensitive ears could have heard the subterranean rumblings in Asia even years ago, sensitive eyes might have more accurately measured the strength of lava eruptions of world powers, when Marshall, as late as 1946, spent a year in China to "bring the two warring factions to-

forces clearly have played havoc with diplomatic desires, intentions and measures. The forces mentioned cannot passively differ so much when we find them in operation in oriental countries, from what such sources would, or could, effect nearer home. Perhaps we should get rid of our distrust in our own ability to judge and understand Asiatic mentality, Asiatic thinking and acting, judging and feeling.

The British empire is down, and the West has the eerie feeling of facing grim giant, that has been hiding so far behind the giant screen of British might and sea power. We may have taken for reality what merely was a painted screen, and, perhaps we are filling in the empty space in our vision with creations of our own imagination.

As Toynbee reminded us recently, the onslaughts of Asia on the Western Christian world have happened periodically every few centuries. Beginning with the Hunnish eruption in the fifth century of our era, followed by the flood of Islam in the seventh and eighth, there came the Mongolian invasion of Europe in the thirteenth century, and the Osmanli Turks roughly again 400 years after that. It was perhaps the great centuries beginning with the great Genoese, who led Europe out into the new world, and the great Portuguese, who opened the seaway to ancient India, which made the West forget her great mother continent, Asia, at her back. The Victorian age with the realistic grimness of its arms, its idealistic greatness, and its maudlin smallness, the fitting anticlimax of the great age of discovery, colonisation and invention, also came to an end we are living in now, the totally different world of today. In this unsteady whirl we find the great powers that have been released striving for mastery in every field of human endeavor. Race is no longer a hall-mark ensuring a privileged position in the world, and all the other standards of "civilisation" are undergoing serious severe and trying tests. Many things and ideas that were taken for granted appear today like relics of a past age, and new concepts, new valuation and standards are forcing themselves into daylight clamoring for our attention. Will there be a new feeling of security, of certainty, and of reliability on human ideals, thoughts and institutions after the holocaust of destroying and discarding has come to an end? The best of all nations hope so, and must prepare for the dawn of that happier age.

case could not have stood, even in 1919, where it was standing when Western statesmen met in the world. Economic, social, racial and political



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

BENGAL UNDER AKBAR AND JAHANGIR: A STUDY IN SOCIAL HISTORY: By Tapan K. Raychaudhuri, D.Phil. A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta, Pp. x + 248. Price Rs. 12.

This book marks a distinct and long-awaited advance in the study of Bengal history. Hitherto works of more or less merit have been published on the political and biographical side, but the previous studies on our social history have been jejune, mainly because of their authors' poor linguistic equipment and failure to collect all the necessary materials,—their sole stock in trade having been Vaishnav poetry and English Factory Records. But Dr. T. Raychaudhuri has brought to bear on his task a knowledge of French, Dutch and Persian, besides the English and Bengali languages, and has laid under contribution, for the first time, all the detailed information scattered through Persian books and European traders' reports co-ordinating them with the Bengali literary evidence (mostly Vaishnav sources). His collection of materials embraces the limits of our present knowledge, and this mass has been digested and made to yield its latent conclusions with great sobriety and maturity of thought. This book will be indispensable to all serious students of Bengal history and Bengali culture.

The author begins with a minute and critical study of the actual operation and effects of Mughal rule in Bengal, in which he boldly differs from certain of his older predecessors, notably Moreland and Jadunath Sarkar. Next the coming of the European traders and the expansion of the Chaitanya sect, and the influence of these two on our social life and character are examined with depth and freshness of thought, and some unpleasant and unpopular truths are driven home (see pp. 113 *et seq.*). The economic background of these forty years, our people's mode of life, European society and business, and the trends in general culture during this period (with some unavoidable anticipations of the succeeding 80 years) are very lucidly and freshly described in the final section.

Particular praise is due to the author's style and manner of presentation. There is no verbosity; no commonplace observation, no slipshod English. It is an eminently readable book, and may well serve as a model to our writers of doctorate theses in contents and form alike.

We wait with great interest for the second volume which will cover the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib (1628-1707), because for these eighty years we have a plethora of manuscript materials in Persian despatches, *akhbarat*, official manuals and regular histories, while the English and French factories, which are absent from Bengal in the present volume,

went full steam ahead in the later 17th century and have left copious records, in contrast with the paucity of materials under this head in Jahangir's reign.

JADUNATH SARKAR

WOMEN IN "THE SACRED LAWS": By Shakuntala Rao Sastri. Bhavan's Book University No. 13. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953. Pp. 193. Price Rs. 1-12.

Written appropriately enough by a lady of high academic distinctions in the field of Sanskrit learning, this important monograph attempts with remarkable success to survey the branch of Hindu law relating to the status of women from the earliest times down to the present. A Preface by the General Editor, the Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, in explanation of his scheme of the Book University of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (of which institution he is the life and soul) and a short Foreword by Dr. F. W. Thomas, introduce this meritorious work to the general reader.

The book consists, apart from a short Prologue, of six chapters. The first chapter deals with the material scattered through the four great *Dharmasutras*, viz., Gautama, Baudhayana, Apastamba and Vasistha. The second chapter (somewhat loosely entitled "Contemporary evidence") examines the supplementary data from Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the works of classical Sanskrit literature as well as inscriptions and coins, down to comparatively late times. The third, fourth and fifth chapters analyse the extensive material of the Manu-samhita, the later Smritis and the Smriti commentaries as well as Digests. The sixth and last chapter gives us a critical estimate of the general tendencies and characteristics of Hindu law relating to women, and it ends with the statement that the clauses of the Hindu Code Bill, now on the legislative anvil of the Central Government, when passed, "will only re-establish the time-honoured customs and laws of ancient India and show the glory of Indian culture to the world."

The authoress's work is marked by exhaustive study of the available material, thorough grasp of its essential principles, and proper appraisal of its formative influences and its leading characteristics. These qualities make her work a valuable addition to the recent and growing literature on the subject. We may be permitted to mention here a few points for consideration by the authoress when a new edition of her work is called for. In the Prologue the authoress mentions (p. vii) certain Smriti Digests (instead of their authors) as flourishing or living in the 17th and 18th centuries, while her startling statement (p. x) that "the Satapatha Brahmana emphatically declares that kings are not entitled to make new laws or to modify the old ones" is without any foundation. On the next page (p. xi) she says without justification

that while Gautama, Baudhayana and Apastamba declared the Veda to be the source of Dharma, Manu as well as Yajñavalkya "made a departure" by taking the Veda to be the first, tradition to be the second, and usages of virtuous men to be the third source. In the first chapter the authoress repeatedly (pp. 5, 7, 39, 40, 44) finds in the *Dharmasutra* texts in favour of *Niyoga* sanction for the remarriage of women and this leads her, quite unjustifiably, to charge Gautama (p. 6) with incongruity. The *Dharmasutra* texts in favour of child-marriages of girls, according to the authoress (pp. 5, 39, 45), are later interpolations as they conflict with the implications of the contemporary *Grihyasutra* ritual. This ignores the alternative explanation suggested by Gautama (18.23), *viz.*, that the text in question reflects the views of individual authorities no doubt after the practices of distinct localities and strata of the people. In the third chapter, the authoress while discussing Manu's attitude towards *Niyoga*, says (p. 90) that "the three differing views occurring in the same context cannot be the work of one author or of one period," but on the contrary, represent firstly, "the Vedic period," secondly, "the transitory Pauranic period," and thirdly, "a later period, perhaps later than that of Vishnu and Narada." Now apart from the authoress's inversion of the chronological order of the Puranas and the later Smritis, it appears more reasonable to hold that the different views represent Manu's picture of the different ideas on the subject in contemporary authoritative circles. In the fourth chapter, the authoress finds (p. 141) in the stories of the Jatakas about the general wickedness of women the clue to the changed attitude of the later law-givers beginning with Manu who are unsympathetic to women. This dictum on the one hand ignores the references to the noble types of womanhood idealised in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other works and realised in the picture of the good wife in Vatsyayana's *Kama-sutra*. On the other hand, it takes no notice of the increased rights of property accorded to women in the later Smritis. In the concluding chapter, the authoress cautiously suggests (p. 173) that "the pathetic condition of women in India at the dawn of British rule" was due not to the laws but to the customs of the times. And yet in the same breath (p. 174) she quotes from Kaegi's work *The Rig-veda* "the glaring instance" of palpable falsification of an old Rigvedic hymn in support of the custom of *sati*, and she concludes that "this is just an example of the gross injustice done to our traditional and authoritative texts" by the later writers.

We have noticed a few slips, *e.g.*, 'belonging to the same gotra' for *sapinda* (p. 52) and *nagarika* for *nagaraka* (p. 85). A few misprints, such as, *Satatura* (p. 63), *derivations* and *bharyani* (p. 150) and *annas* (p. 172) as well as the date of Bukka I, King of Vijayanagar (p. 177) require correction.

We cannot conclude this review without quoting some extracts from the authoress's estimate of the Hindu law about the position of women in her concluding chapter. Illustrating "the catholic and humanitarian character" of the old texts, she says (p. 176) that the laws of marriage lost sight of no type of love subject only to the condition of its solemnisation by sacrament, while the laws of sonship wiped out the word 'illegitimacy' from the fold of society. "In regard to property and inheritance, the status of women in India was far superior to that of her confreres in any other country of that age." These views are neatly summed up in the concluding lines (p. 193): "The laws of ancient India were so catholic in spirit and all-embrac-

ing, if they are taken in their true spirit, that they can cover the entire needs of humanity. At the time when these laws were framed, no country in the world produced better laws for womanhood, nor gave a higher status to woman in society."

U. N. GHOSHAL

TO ASHRAM SISTERS (Bapu's Letters-1): Edited by Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1952. Pp. xx + 116. Price Rs. 1-8.

Mahatma Gandhi's letters are being printed in a series. The first of these is comprised by a batch which was addressed by him to the female members of the Ashram between 6-12-1926 and 30-12-1929. In his introduction, Kaka Kalelkar has brought out the salient lessons which Gandhiji wanted to impart to women in general, and female workers in particular who had dedicated themselves to the cause of social uplift.

SATYAGRAHA IN CHAMPARAN: By Rajendra Prasad. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xii + 224. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is the second revised edition of Rajendra Babu's account of Gandhiji's first Satyagraha in Champaran which led to the final overthrow of the indigo planters' oppression in the province of Bihar. As a shining example of the vindication of peasants' rights through the application of non-violence, Champaran will always occupy a deservedly high place in our country's political history. We hope, therefore, that this carefully written history by Rajendra Babu will be welcomed by the public.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MIND AND LIFE: By A. G. Tansley. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1952.

The author is a well-known writer and his book *The New Psychology*, has made the science of psycho-analysis known to many students all over the world. The philosophical bent of his mind, however, which dimly revealed itself in that book published many years ago (1920) has found definite expression in the book under review. Throughout the volume he has made persistent efforts to reconcile the intuitions of the common man with the conclusions of the scientists regarding Life, Mind, and Spirit. His own view is that the contradictions that we notice between man's eternal beliefs and the modern scientific truths are apparent only and therefore, neither need be given up in the interest of the other.

His presentations of the scientific truths and of the Freudian discoveries are eminently fair. In fact, he has ably pointed out many of the fallacies involved in the reasonings of the critics of psycho-analysis, but, being definitely influenced by the writings of McDougall he has in his own critical evaluation of the doctrines of psycho-analysis unfortunately repeated some of the errors committed by that eminent critic and psychologist.

The author has his quarrels with Freud regarding psycho-analytical terminology and holds that much of the opposition to psycho-analysis "would have been largely avoided if the more general conception of love as the urge to union, instead of a word (sex) conveying a sharply defined and much narrower concept, had been made the basis of exposition." (p. 104). Perhaps, the hostility could have been avoided but then the danger was that psycho-analysis would very probably not have remained psycho-analysis any longer. Freud himself was conscious of the 'hostility' aroused by his use of the term sex, but he deliberately

refused to alter his terminology. The following relevant passage may be quoted here from his book *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*: "I might have done so (used the more genteel expression, Eros and erotic) myself from the first and thus spared myself much opposition. But I did not want to, for I like to avoid concessions to faint-heartedness. One can never tell where that road may lead one, one gives way first in words, and then little by little in substance too" (p. 39).

The reviewer has nowhere found in Freud's writings any categorical statement regarding the inheritance of characters acquired by individuals as the result of their experiences during their lifetime and therefore is unable to agree with the author that Freud 'firmly believed' in that doctrine of inheritance.

The chapters on the Family and the Community, the Individual and the Community, are very well written though the author has not gone very deep into the problems raised by the topics. The weakest chapters from the systematic point of view, however, seem to be those dealing with 'Causation, Determinism and Free Will' (Ch. 6) and 'Psychological reality and the spiritual values' (Ch. 12). It is difficult to agree to the statement that "When a particular idea is very widespread in human race they do by that fact establish a claim to validity" (p. 162). In discussing about spiritual values the author seems to have lost his bearings and to be drifting hither and thither in the gulfs of logical sophistication, metaphysical speculations, and religious mysticism.

The reviewer is in full agreement with the author's view that all developmental processes may be brought under the concept of increasing approach to equilibrium. He himself formulated the same theory which was published in the *Indian Journal of Psychology*, Vol. VIII, 1933. In that article he elaborately described how the various developmental processes and the activities of the mind could be shown to be but the individual's attempts to regain the balance or equilibrium that had been disturbed by the act of birth. The book is written in an easy and pleasant style and a perusal of it though raises some doubts, definitely creates a feeling of satisfaction.

S. C. MITRA

BHOODAN YAJNA (Land-gifts Mission): By Vinoba Bhave. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. viii + 134. Price Rs. 1-8.

Today peace has become synonymous with the maintenance of *status quo* and violence with revolution. Gandhi evolved a new approach which while maintaining peace would also usher in a revolution and bring in a rapid and radical change in society. That new approach is in ferment in the Bhoodan Yajna of Vinoba. A silent revolution is taking shape under his unique leadership. The book under review is an authoritative collection of some of Vinoba's speeches selected so as to cover in small compass the whole range of Bhoodan Yajna. The book seeks to present to the readers the case for the Bhoodan movement in the words of its author; a difficult task for Vinoba is ever growing and ever presenting new thoughts.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE STORY OF THE NORTH BURMA EVACUATION: By A. R. Tainsh. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras. Pp. 175. Price not mentioned.

The main title of the book "... And Some Fell by the Way" gives a human touch to the story which

the author, a Major in the R.I.A.S.C., relates. The memory of the refugee route, its partition into "White" and "Black" is faded today. And what is of more permanent value is the way in which problems of "refugees" have to be dealt with—by kindness, by trying to so act that their "morale" is kept up. The maps found at the end of the book have attained a new importance for India now that her Eastern frontiers are being stirred by forces that come directly or indirectly from China, gone Communist.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

INDIA AND THE WORLD: By Nursingdas Agarwalla. Published by Atulananda Chakrabarti, 19A, Desapriya Park, West, Calcutta 28. Pages 119. Price Rs. 4.

The author, an industrialist, in this publication has included nine essays on topics, such as the story of State, Kingship in India, Secular State of India, Democracy, Nature of Capitalism, Evolution of Socialism, Socialism vs. Capitalism, Democracy and Communism. He has expressed noble sentiments and advocated world unity and universal brotherhood. He is an advocate of Capitalism but admits the responsibility of capitalists for social welfare. Many will not agree with some of the views of the author in defence of Capitalism but his advocacy for 'One World' has universal support. The problem still remains whether the basis of world unity shall be Capitalism, Socialism or Communism or an amalgam not yet discovered.

A. B. DUTTA

ANECDOTES FROM GANDHIJI'S LIFE, Parts I, II and III: *National Heritage Series*. Illustrated. Price As. 7, As. 9 and As. 11 respectively.

SHORT PLAYS FOR CHILDREN: *National Heritage Series*. Illustrated. Price As. 10.

MY EARLY LIFE: By Rabindranath Tagore. Abridged from his "Reminiscences" and edited by Rajendra Verma. Pp. 146. Price Re. 1-6.

MAKERS OF TO-DAY: By Diwan Chand Sharma. Card board-bound. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF EMINENT INDIANS: Edited by M. M. Bhattacharjee. Cloth-bound. Pp. 285. Price Rs. 2-12.

Published by Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, London, 1952.

The first two books are intended for boys of lower classes, the last three for those of higher classes of Indian schools. There can be no better subjects chosen for the study of young children than *Anecdotes* from the life of the Father of our Nation. *Short Plays* are amusing folk tales dramatized for little children. *My Early Life* is well worth the study by students as the *Reminiscences* show the growth and development of the mind of a poet, one of the greatest world poets of today. In the fourth book, *Makers of Today*, short biographies of famous men of the world and of India, e.g., G. B. Shaw, Tagore, J. C. Bose, Edison, Henry Ford, Marconi, Madame Curie, Wright Brothers, Ronald Ross, M. K. Gandhi, Sun Yat-sen, Lenin, and Roosevelt, are narrated by D. C. Sharma in a lucid and elegant style. They are full of instructive and informative matter to make the students fully acquainted with the modern inventions and the progress of science and civilization of the world to-day. The last book is ably edited by M. M. Bhattacharjee by selecting masterpieces from the *Speeches and Writings of Eminent Indians*, e.g., Tagore, Vivekananda, J. C. Bose, Sri Aurobindo, Mahatma Gandhi, G. K. Gokhale,

Jawaharlal Nehru, Sachchidananda Sinha, Lala Lajpat Rai, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Radhakrishnan, C. V. Raman, Jayakar and Srinivasa Sastri. We hope that the school authorities will do well by selecting the books for the study and benefit of students for whom they are written.

B. K. SEAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE DEVI-MAHATMYA OR SRI DURGA-SAPTASATI : By *Swami Jagadiswarananda*. *Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras-4*. Pp. xx+170. Price Rs. 2.

We welcome this addition to the 'Sanskrit Scriptures Series' of the reputed publishers of Madras. It contains the sacred text of what is popularly called the Chandi in Devanagari type followed by a faithful and lucid English translation with occasional footnotes by Swami Jagadiswarananda. Swamiji's Bengali editions of the Gita and Chandi are extremely popular and his English translation of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad has earned for him a place of great authority and honour. The present edition of the Chandi will, we doubt not, be warmly received by the English-knowing public—it removes a long-felt want of theirs. The translation is based on Pargiter and other authorities and has been revised by the eminent Dr. Raghavan of Madras. As the text is chanted on sacred occasions all the necessary accessories are printed in original, making the edition equally attractive for the public at large.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

BENGALI

PUERNACHHED (The Full-stop) : By *Srimati Lili Devi*. *Barendra Library, 254, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta-6*. Price Rs. 2.

A romantic novel, depicting the eternal triangle of love in a rather extraordinary setting. Saroj and Salil, two brothers, happen to fall in love with the same girl Sandhya, under circumstances, for which neither of them was prepared. The younger, when aware of the situation, joins war-service and sacrifices the prospect of his own marriage with the girl in order to make his elder brother happy. The presentation of the story is agreeable.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

BHARATIYA TARKASHASTRA KI RUP-REKHA : By *Dr. Umesh Mishra*. Published by *Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad*. Pp. 118. Price Re. 1.

A highly praiseworthy outline of Indian Logic, which all students of Logic and Philosophy in our colleges, where the present medium of instruction is being gradually replaced by the national language, Hindi, will find very helpful. Lucidity is its outstanding merit.

SWATANTRA BHARAT KI BAHIKHATA PADDHATI PAR VICHAR : By *Kasturmal Banthia*. Published by *Banthia and Co. Ltd., Ajmer*. Pp. 40. Price eight annas.

An informative brochure on the Indian system of book-keeping, which has stood the test of time as well as of usefulness for centuries.

YEH SWARAJ KAISA : By *Dhirendra Majumdar*. Pp. 39. Price six annas.

NAI TALIM : By *Dhirendra Majumdar*. Pp. 63. Price fourteen annas.

HAMARI KHADYA SAMASYAEN : By *Ramakrishna Sharma*. Pp. 40. Price eight annas.

All available from *Sarvodaya Sahitya Sangha, Kashi (Banaras)*.

Three thought-provoking pamphlets by two of Gandhi's well-known constructive workers. The first checks up the present phase of our Freedom against Gandhiji's conception of Swaraj; the second deals with Gandhiji's Basic Education project and shows its overall effectiveness; the third threats of the burning food problem in its production, consumption and consumer's health aspects.

G. M.

BAPU—MERI MA : By *Miss Manu Gandhi*. Published by *the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad*. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 55. Price As. 10.

Miss Manu Gandhi a close relative of Gandhiji, attended on Kasturba till her death and on Gandhiji after that at the time of the Noakhali tour and thereafter till his tragic end. She calls Gandhiji her mother as he brought her up in the way she should go. She kept a diary and her reminiscences as formed there are interesting. Her companion at Karachi in pre-Gandhi days, Mrs. Kurangi Desai of Khar, the grand-daughter of the late Mr. Devatia, has translated this little book from Gujarati into Hindi and a very creditable translation it is.

K. M. J.

GUJARATI

PREMO PANTH, YOJAN 2 : By *Desai Valji Govindji*. Published by *the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad*. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 80. Price As. 4.

From Gandhiji's own writings, selections have been made to illustrate his life and incidents therein. Mr. Valji, a devout and scholarly follower of Gandhiji, and saturated with his principles, was the proper person to do so, and he has done it. Part I or Yojan I of this *Panth (Road)* has been published by The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. The Navjivan Prakashan Mandir proposes to publish it also. This *Panth* is a charming performance.

EKNATHI BHAGVAT : By *Dr. Varjivandas Damodardas Merchant*. Published by *The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay*. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 576. Price Rs. 5.

Eknath Maharaj was one of the most popular saints of Maharashtra and deeply versed in our religious lore. The Eleventh Skandh of Shrimat Bhagvat carries in it the Secret (Rahasya) of Slavation. Many are the comments written on it. The commentary of Eknath is one of the best. Dr. Merchant put it in its Gujarati shape in 1931 and this second edition is brought out after thoroughly overhauling the first one.

PARAM PUJYA BAPU : By *Sopanand G. Ramchandran*. Published by *The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay*. 1949. Paper cover. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1.

Incidents in Gandhiji's life, interviews with him and other happenings in his life are so arranged in this small book as to read like a connected narrative.

SANTNI VATO : By *Gopalji Odhavji Thakkar*. Published by *The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay*. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 264. Price Re. 1-8.

This book is designed to take the place of Satsang (contact with holy men) where holy men discourse

New Edition!

Just Out !!

ASHTĀVAKRA SAMHITĀ

(Sanskrit Text in Devanagari Script with Word-for-Word Translation, English Rendering and Comments)

Aṣṭāvakra Samhitā is a short but profound treatise on the Advaita Vedānta and its sublime realizations. It is in the form of a dialogue between the great sage Ashtavakra and the philosopher-king Janaka.

Pp. 256

Price : Ordinary Rs. 3-8 ; Cloth Rs. 4-8

VEDĀNTA-PARIBHĀṢHA

(Of Dharmarāja Adhvarindra)

Tr. and Annotated by Swāmi Mādhavānanda

A very important Manual of the Vedānta Philosophy, and is a most widely read book next to Sadananda's *Vedānta-Sāra*. It is an epistemological work on Shankara Vedānta as interpreted in the Vivarana School.

Pp. 248

Price : Rs. 3

THE HOLY MOTHER CENTENARY NUMBER

The Holy Mother Centenary Number of the PRABUDDHA BHARATA, which was intended to be published in January 1954, has to be postponed owing to unforeseen circumstances. It is now decided that the March 1954 issue will come out instead as the Centenary Number.

ADVAITA ASHRAMA, 4, Wellington Lane, CALCUTTA 13

"CONTINUED FROM COVER PAGE 4"

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND POLITICS

	Rs. as.		Rs. as.
The Message of Fatima by C. C. Martindale	9 3	The Tree of Human History by A. H. Brodrick	13 2
Palestine Under the Mandate by A. M. Hyamson	10 15	Independent Iraq by Majid Khadduri	18 6
A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement by Cole	21 14	Ancient Sparta by K. M. T. Chrimes	39 6
A Study of History by Arnold J. Toynbee	21 14	Africa—Britain's Third Empire by George Padmore	10 15
Bismarck by C. G. Robertson	9 3	A Short History of International Affairs by G. M. Gathorne-Hardy	18 6
Documents on International Affairs, 1947 by Margaret Carlyle	61 4	The Age of Reform by E. L. Woodward	18 6
History in Hansard, 1803-1900 by Stephen King-Hall & Others	18 6	Out of this World—Across the Himalayas to Tibet by L. Thomas	15 12
The People of South Africa by S. G. Millin	17 8	China's Struggle with the Dictators by O. M. Green	14 0
The Black Watch & The King's Enemies by Bernard Fergusson	13 2	In An Age of Revolution by Cyril Garbett	17 8
Seven Major Decisions by Sumner Welles	13 2	Arctic Unfolding by Nicholas Polunin	18 6
Idealism by A. C. Ewing	19 11	Christianity & Communism by John C. Bennett	6 9
Early Man in The New World by Kenneth Macgowan	28 12	The History of Western Education by William Boyd	17 8
In the Path of Mahatma Gandhi by George Catlin	13 2	A History of Modern Times by D. M. Ketelbey	13 2
A History of Political Philosophers by do	26 4	History of the Rubber Industry Edt. Schidrowitz & Dawson	26 4
Syrian Pageant—A History of Syria & Palestine from 1000 B. C. to 1945 A. D. by Wilfrid T. F. Castle	18 6	I was on Kashmir Front by Mohinder Behl	4 8
Pacific Outpost by Earl S. Pomeroy	28 12	A History of the Chemical Industry in Widnes by D. W. F. Hardie	39 6
Morals Since 1900 by Gerald Heard	10 15	The British Year Book of International Law	55 2
Consultation & Co-Operation in the Commonwealth by H. J. Harvey	26 4	National Health Service in Great Britain by J. S. Ross	26 4
Crescent in Shadow by Henry Gibbs	15 12	International Law by L. Oppenheim (in 2 vols)	140 0
The Awakening of Modern Egypt by M. Rifaar Bey	13 2	International Politics by Schuman	45 8
		A History of Political Theories (3 vols) by W. A. Dunning	112 14
		Constitutional Law by Wade & Phillips	30 10

THE UNIVERSAL BOOK & STATIONERY CO. (18)

16, Faiz Bazar, (Opp. Daryaganj P.O.) DELHI 7

THE PICCADILLY BOOK STALL (18)

137, Irwin Road Market, P. B. 573, NEW DELHI 1

on various virtues, like forgiveness, absence of egoism, etc. It is a reprint of a book of the identical name, *Sant Samagam* by Mr. Thakkar, a devoutly religious person.

K. M. J.

DAYARAM GIDUMAL: By T. L. Mandhir Malani. Translated into Gujarati by C. R. Patel. Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, 1953. Price twelve annas.

The name is that of the hero whose biography had been written in English by his son-in-law, who after the Partition settled in Nadiad, headquarters of Kheda in Gujarat. He was popularly known as Dada for his social activities.

Dayaram Gidumal was born in 1857 in Hyderabad, Sind. He was a student of Bombay Elphinstone College and studied under Prof. Wordsworth, a grandson of the great English poet who along with the Professor of Persian extended a good influence on Dayaram. Dayaram was later on taken on to Statutory Civil Service, and numbered among his friends, Malabari and H. S. Advani, both social reformers of repute, and Dayaram wrote and published life-sketches of both Government and the people.

When Dayaram was the Judicial Commissioner of Sind, he was invited to tea by the Viceroy at Karachi. But he would not take tea as it would be against his religious principles. He was tolerant of other religions and believed that peace could come to the world only through love of men. He had written a booklet in English, *The Alphabet of Discipline* in which there are three good prayers through

which the earth might be turned into paradise—prayers for morning and for evening.

From a District Judge he rose to the position of the Legal Remembrancer. In 1902, he served on the Police Commission and then as a Judicial Commissioner of Sind and in his capacity of a judge he showed alertness and independence of judgement. Many are the stories current about his honesty in the face of temptation. In days when politics was not altogether a taboo as in later times, he was a prominent member of Sind Sabha and contributed articles to *Sind Sudhar*. He had written more than a dozen in English and five in Sindhi. These were entirely on religious topics. He was quite modern in his outlook on education and realised that modern aids must be utilised by the teachers' association and that the mother tongue must be the medium of instruction. His attitude towards social service bore fruit in D.M.D. Trust. He had started other organisations for the purpose and his thoughts on the subject did him credit. Once he remonstrated with Gandhiji regarding his fasts as in his opinion they were not strictly non-violent and also because they ran counter to the injunction of the Gita on Yukta Ahar and Yukta Bihar—restrained meals and restrained living.

His marriage a second time in 1913 made him extremely unpopular, and his son-in-law has quoted the letter written by Gidumal to his daughter and her husband, recounting the steps that led to it. Platonic friendship outstripped its bounds and so, marriage, which embittered the cup of his life. He died in 1927.

P. R. SEN

INDIA — at a glance

A comprehensive Reference Book on India of 1,900 pages

(Foreword by K. C. REDDY, Union Minister for publication,

Managing Editor :
G. D. BINANI

Rs. 40

Editor :
T. V. RAMA RAO

This is what others say :

"...An admirable publication"

"...A book of outstanding merit"

"...monument to diligence..."

"...directory to end directories..."

"...likely to prove to be very useful to businessmen, Company executives, and administrators. It satisfies a distinct need."

"...For sheer variety of information and wealth of details under each division, there is, perhaps, no other book that compares with this publication."

—*Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta & Allahabad*

—*Hindusthan Standard, Calcutta & Delhi*

—*Capital, Calcutta*

—*Sunday Standard, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta*

—*Eastern Economist, Delhi*

—*Commerce, Bombay*

Compiled by :

Published by :

BINANI PRINTERS LTD.
38, STRAND ROAD, CALCUTTA-1

ORIENT LONGMANS LTD.
CALCUTTA : BOMBAY : MADRAS



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Eva Gore-Booth

In the following article in *The Aryan Path* R. M. Fox presents his countrywoman, the Irish poet and pacifist, Eva Gore-Booth, a fine and sensitive soul, who deserves to be remembered also for the humanitarian spirit that kept her active in public causes uncongenial to poets of the Ivory Tower :

One of the poets of the Celtic Twilight period whose work has been neglected in recent years is Eva Gore-Booth, daughter of Sir Henry Gore-Booth and sister of Constance, better known in Irish history as the Countess Markievicz. In quantity as well as quality Eva Gore-Booth's work entitles her to a distinguished place, for she has written 10 books of poetry, a prose play, *The Sword of Justice*, and three books of essays. Her life spanned the period between May 22nd, 1870, and June 30th, 1926. She died in London.

She left Ireland in her early twenties, travelling first in the West Indies and America with her father and then—in 1897—settling in Manchester, where she was active in many progressive causes, particularly those concerned with the economic, cultural and political advancement of women. Perhaps her life and interests in Britain helped to detach her from that group whose names are usually associated with the Celtic Literary Revival. But the leaders of that movement fully accepted her as one of themselves, as indeed her work demonstrated.

In the years when the landowners and aristocrats in Ireland were not noted for their sympathy with the people, the Gore-Booths always had a reputation for it. The Secretary of a Relief Committee in Sligo wrote :

"In 1879-1880 we had a famine in Ireland, and Relief Committees in every parish. Her father, Henry Gore-Booth, kept an open store of food at Lissadell, giving out meal, etc. to the starving poor, free to all, at his own cost, and I believe all the members of his family assisted in doing so."

At this time Eva would have been 9 or 10 and always the formative influences of those early years stayed with her, evident in her poetry no less than in her social activities. Another lasting influence was the beauty of the Sligo mountains and the haunting memory of the sea at Lissadell.

As long ago as 1897 Eva Gore-Booth published her first book of poems and W. B. Yeats greeted it enthusiastically, saying: "I think it is full of poetic feeling and has great promise. 'Weariness' is really most imaginative and is, I think, in the mood in which you are most yourself. The last four lines are really magical."

THE closing verse of this poem reads:
For silence is the song sublime,

And every voice at last must cease,
And all the world at evening time
Floats downward through the gates of peace,
Beyond the gloom of shadowy caves
Where water washes on the stones,
And breaks with quiet, foamless waves.

The night's persistent monotonies :

The stars are what the flowers seem,
And where the sea of thought is deep,
The moonlight glitters like a dream,
On weary waters gone to sleep.

Here is the authentic note of the Celtic Twilight period, the mood of shadowy splendour which Irish poets of the period expressed to the delight of the reading world: Eva Gore-Booth received much praise for her delicate, sensitive verses, rated by a leading English critic as second only to the work of one writer of the Celtic Revival. In 1904 she published the volume *Unseen Kings*, including a play on the death of Cuchulain.

About this last A. E. wrote to her: "I congratulate you on your *Cuchulain*. I think it is very beautiful and full of mystery. I always thought your imagination would incarnate finally in its best form in Irish subjects.... I think your work would do admirably for the Red Branch Cycle performances we hope to have in the autumn here.... I feel you belong to the spiritual clan of new Irish people, some of whom write and more do not, but all know that *Tir na nog* is no dream and that inwardly we are inhabitants of it and breathe a common air."

Later this play was performed at the Abbey Theatre by a company which Count Markievicz and his wife had founded.

Among her early poems I have found one, "Clouds," which shows how she was drawn to the idea of militant struggle in the cause of Irish independence. She writes :

See, amid the shadows where dead Ireland lies,
Justice stands, the future flashes from her eyes:
After thy new birth of travail and of pain,
Rise, she says, dead nation, live and hope again.
Nay, not dead but sleeping; surely she shall wake,
In her mighty hands her life and honour take,
Drink the wine of courage, break the bread of life,
Bear the sword of Freedom foremost in the strife.

PILES
CAN BE TREATED WITH
PILEX PILLS
AND OINTMENT
SOLD BY LEADING CHEMISTS
FREE LITERATURE FROM
HIMCO LABORATORIES M.S.
211, MOHNEY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY.

A slim book of verse with a primrose-coloured cover was published in Dublin in 1918. She called it *Broken Glory*. Printed on the cover are the significant words "Passed by Censor." This refers to the military censorship of those troubled times. Here are the lines on "Easter Week":

Grief for the noble dead,
Of one who did not share their strife,
And mourned that any blood was shed,
Yet felt the broken glory of their state
Their strange heroic questioning of Fate
Ribbon with gold the rags of this our life.

A number of poems are written to her sister. One "To Constance—In Prison" succeeds in recapturing the glory of Lissadell where they had spent their childhood. The closing verse reads:

Yours is that inner Ireland beyond green fields
and brown
Where waves break dawn-enchanted on the
haunted Rosses shore.
And clouds above Ben Bulbin fling their
coloured shadows down
Whilst little rivers shine and sink in wet sands
at Crushmor.

In "The Triumph of Maeve" those early memories of Sligo rise again. She wrote these lines on her return after a visit to Sligo.

The foamless waves are falling soft on the sands
of Lissadell
And the world is wrapped in quiet and a floating
dream of gray;
But the wild winds of the twilight blow straight
from the haunted hill
And the stars come out of the darkness and shine
over Knocknarea—
I have seen Maeve of the Battles wandering
over the hill.

Her "Little Waves of Breffny" has long ago achieved recognition as one of the finest Irish lyrics:

The great waves of the Atlantic sweep storming
on their way,
Shining green and silver with the hidden herring
shoal;
But the little waves of Breffny have drenched
my heart in spray,
And the little waves of Breffny go stumbling
through my soul.

Although Eva Gore-Booth was delicate from childhood she was not content to devote her life to poetry alone. She had an eager sympathy for the poor and the suffering. At 22, when she went to Manchester, she interested herself at once in the organization of trade unions for women and also in movement for woman's suffrage. She acted as Secretary to the Manchester and Salford Women's

Trade Union Council. She edited a paper, *The Women's Labour News*, and did much public work, largely foreign to her temperament, because she felt it was necessary. In one verse she left a record of a public meeting at which she spoke. She called this "The Street Orator":

At Clitheroe from the Market Square
I saw rose-lit the mountains gleam
I stood before the people there
And spake as in a dream.

This reads like one of those gatherings at which the poet William Morris used to speak. But her work was practical for all her dreaming. Besides the activities already mentioned, she helped to run a reading circle and founded a dramatic group. Later, in London, she was active in social causes but still she poured out poems, verse plays and essays distinguished for beauty, grace and that eager giving of her personality which was a leading characteristic of her work.

Eva Gore-Booth was a true mystic always seeking to find and express the Inner Light behind the appearance of things. She was a confirmed pacifist and believed in the sword of the spirit. As she put it in her play, *The Sword of Justice*, "A sword alone is an uncertain weapon." I met her first early in the First World War, when she was speaking at a peace meeting in London. It was held in a small hall and I acted as her chairman. It was a stormy time but she had a peaceful tranquillity of spirit. I remember that she read her speech, but it was framed in such sensitive clear-cut words that there was none of the dubious usually associated with a written speech.

"I am," she began cheerfully, "one of those quite hopeless people who do not believe in fighting under any circumstances."

Although she was a fighting pacifist it was her fate to be introduced always as the sister of the Countess Markievicz who had fought so valiantly in the Easter Rising. She told me so, ruefully but with a smile, after

Drink

SOMARASA

The best Indian restorative and the most ideal Liver Tonic to put your damaged liver kidney and heart in order. Price Rs. 4/- per bottle and Rs. 2/- per phial. Postage extra.

Apply to :

RAJVAIDYA AYURVEDIC WORKS

172, Bowbazar street, Calcutta-12



AMRUTANJAN

THE 'ATOM BOMB' PAIN BALM/

RINGWORM OINTMENT

THE 'COSMIC RAY' FOR ALL SKIN DISEASES/ AMRUTANJAN LTD., P.O. BOX NO. 6825, CAL. 7

Estd-1893



d this interesting fact to the audibly the coupling of Eva Gore-Booth with was not so incongruous as might be both united in their sympathy with their love of freedom. Though their they were working for the same end. was the greatest understanding between a warrior, other a pacifist. *The Death* poetic play, was decorated by Constance drawings of wild, proud horses. Those and tossing heads expressed as much a poet as of the artist. This play is e Many who died for Freedom and the eehy Skeffington) who died for Peace." oth was careless of fame and money. given to obscure little journals standing ich she believed. And yet some of the g her contemporaries in Ireland and in rous recognition to her work. It was a and blossoming in the arts and this does petty, grudging spirit. After her death n of her poems was published by Long-Company in 1929.

r the last time a few months before her e in Hampstead. She had been very ill n usual. Her pale gold hair was loosely ue eyes were filled as ever with eager s seated by a table piled with books and was at her elbow. She was wearing a and the brown rug over her knees kept she talked with animation. She was as m lily. She spoke of plays and books, rope, of the industrial depression which ing and of her hopes for Ireland. The efused to discuss was her illness. f poetry has changed greatly from that splendour and the tranquil mysticat expressed in her work. But that work main to us a possession as real as the Ben Bulbin standing out of the Irish nless waves which still fall on the sands

Against Race Oppression

nal Christian Council Review has following open letter written by r Huddleston and published in the *land Newspaper* on July 3, 1953 :

l has been written, and a great many have been expressed about the rights and ian intervention from England in South Put very bluntly, there are those who as a right to speak about the racial Union of South Africa unless all the rstood. In England they are not un- a any case the Church of the Province can look after itself. Statements, resolu- s in England are more of an embarrass- elp.

I have never personally believed in the force of that argument which—in effect—rules out the criticism of onlookers on the ground that they either can see nothing of the game or that they have blinkers on. More often than not those of us who live inside South Africa and are caught up into the currents and cross-currents of racialism are biased or blinded by experience. And in any case, it is good for the solution of any problem that it should be subject to scrutiny and comparison with objective standards. If, for example, South Africa claims to be a democracy, it is not a bad thing that her standards should be compared with those of democracies centuries older and more experienced than herself.

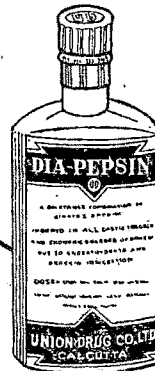
TIME FOR SILENCE IS PAST

I believe with all my heart that the Church in England should use every weapon in her armoury to arouse the conscience of Christians all over the world. And I believe this not because I hate South Africa but because I love it.

And—let it be said with shame—the vast majority of European church people in South Africa are *not* giving the kind of lead which would inspire confidence in any one. If, in fact, we have begun to learn the lesson of Kenya, we should see to it that we implement our knowledge at once.

DIAPEPSIN

REJUVENATES
DIGESTIVE
PROCESS OF THE
SYSTEM



UNION DRUG
CALCUTTA



DHOLE & CO.

BARNAGORE CALCUTTA

RINGWORM & ECZEMA

DINTMENT



INVASION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

I am convinced that, first of all, people in England should be told again and again that what is happening in South Africa is an invasion of human rights. That in consequence, and because man is made in the image of God, it is an insult and an affront to God Himself. In face of this, all talk of 'interference' is simply absurd—unless, of course, one takes a purely humanist or materialist political viewpoint.

The Group Areas Act (which, when applied, effectively prevents any one racial group existing where it desires to exist, and may well bring ruin on certain groups such as the Transvaal Indians), The Suppression of Communism Act, The Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act (all of which in different ways destroy or gravely imperil freedom of speech and of opinion), The Pass Laws and the Native Urban Areas Act (which together destroy freedom of movement and create an atmosphere of progressive distrust, fear and resentment).

All these—and the multifarious regulations and proclamations which have been issued in recent years—are offensive *not* because they are merely discriminatory or undemocratic, but because they undermine the dignity of man himself.

I could list very many more such measures: I could give incidents descriptive of how they work: I could indeed paint a picture coloured with many an emotional streak.

But I want to end by reminding the readers of your paper of an event which is now being begun and which

may have repercussions all over Africa. An to ask your readers to protest, through their local representatives of the South African (C in England. For this is a simple issue, yet which will affect 14,000 African families.

OUTRAGE IN JOHANNESBURG

The Minister of Native Affairs has ordered the expropriation, the eviction of all African natives from the 'Western Areas' of Johannesburg—i.e. town, Martindale and Newclare.

For no other reason than a purely racial people who have—many of them—had their home area for a generation are to be deprived of it. At the same time, freehold-tenure—a privilege unique in the urban areas of South Africa—is taken from them and (wherever they may go) they recover it.

This is not a slum-clearance scheme: it is simple expropriation. The people have never suited in the matter, nor have they any representation on the City Council. Their protests have been ignored. Yet they are permanent labour-force of Johannesburg. Only because European suburbs have encroached predominantly African area has this plan been possible. It is racialism *in excelsis*. Its consequences are the uprooting of thousands of people and their settlement at least ten miles farther from their work. The Sophiatown is the Naboth's Vineyard of which Johannesburg. It should receive the same compensation.

widely appreciated at home & abroad

April 13, 1953

Gentlemen,
Enclosed please find Bank Draft for dollars (\$5.00) for which please send me another supply of Neem Tooth Paste.

I believe I have a small credit from my last order on May 6th 1951.

My dentist shakes his head and can not understand why I no longer need to come in every six months to have my teeth cleaned.

He has been my dentist for the past fifteen years and my last trip in was the first time my teeth had needed cleaning since just before I started on my round the world trip five years ago.

It seems ridiculous to send all the way to India for tooth paste when there are so many brands on the market here, but he admits now that it is worth the trouble.

That with diet and other factors the same I have found something that is preserving my teeth that I otherwise would have lost in a few more years.

Again I thank you.

Yours very truly,

Mrs. A. W. Hunter

3801 Wallingford Ave.
Seattle 3, Washington.
U. S. A.

The letter from an American is convincing about the superior quality of NEEM TOOTH PASTE.

It contains intrinsic principles of NEEM and natural CHLOROPHYLL well-known for antiseptic, germicidal and deodorant properties.



THE CALCUTTA CHEMICAL CO.
CALCUTTA-29

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are pleased to announce that arrangements are ready by opening Depots and appointing Wholesalers and Retailers, whereby sugar is made available to general public @ Rs. -/12/6 per seer throughout West Bengal.

We solicit any suggestions if there is any difficulty in obtaining supplies.

SUGAR DISTRIBUTORS LTD.

2, Doyehatta Street, Calcutta-7

Tele: Add. CHINIBIKRI.

Phone 33-1019

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

New York Marks 300 Years as International City

January 15, 1953. In 1653, 27 years after Dutch settlers in America bought Manhattan Island from the American Indians for \$24, they founded a city there. It was called New Amsterdam. Population: 600.

Today, on that spot stands New York City, the second largest metropolis in the world. Population: 7,846,009.

In 300 years New York has grown quickly as cities grow. Its history, if not long, like Rome, Paris or London has been colourful. A visitor to New York in February will see much of that city's past brought back to life when New Yorkers celebrate their city's 300th anniversary.

That some visitor might think that people have come from all over the world for the festivities. In a sense he will be right. The thousands of Italians, Greeks, Chinese, Spaniards, Germans, Russians and representatives of dozens of other countries he will see are from all points of the globe. But they are not visitors. They live in New York side by side with some 60 other nationalities.

New York's conglomerate citizenry dates from its very beginning. John Gunther, the American author and journalist, has observed in his book *Inside USA* that "from the early Du Ponts to Otto Hapsburg, from Leon Trotsky to Haya de la Torre, Manhattan has been traditionally generous to refugees. It has been a cosmopolitanism of the mind as well as the pocket. It may be built on an island, but it is not insular."

Today, more than 2,000,000 foreign-born persons live in New York City. Of this number the largest group is Italians (more than 400,000), followed by Russians (395,000), Germans (225,000), Poles (195,000), and Irish (160,000). In addition there are 28,500 Greeks, 25,000 Czechs and about 12,000 Chinese.

Many of the Chinese have settled in their own communities where they cling to homeland traditions. On the surface the Chinese settlement—"Chinatown"—seems mysterious to the tourist. But underneath it is a quiet, orderly society of former servicemen, college students, wage-earners and businessmen.

About 100 years ago when "Chinatown" first started to grow it was a noisy, dirty place. Around 1900 it became the battleground for the wars between the notorious tong associations. But today "Chinatown" is a quiet and law-abiding community, occupying a section several blocks from the Wall Street financial centre.

Spanish Harlem, the Puerto Rican section, is another of New York's famous foreign "cities within a city." An estimated 300,000 Puerto Ricans now live in New York, most of them in upper Manhattan and the Bronx. The first Puerto Ricans entered New York at the turn of the century, when Spain lost control of the West Indies. But Puerto Rican immigrants did not come to New York in large numbers till 1917 when U.S. citizenship was granted to them. The greatest influx, however, has occurred since the end of World War II.

New York's Negro community is one of the city's

oldest, dating back to the early Dutch settlement. Like other peoples now living in this diversified city the more than 600,000 Negroes comprise elements representing all faiths, creeds, political beliefs and occupations. Moreover, Negro cultural and political leaders work closely with their white colleagues to erase the vestiges of inequality among all groups.

The foreign-language press helps knit together the national groups. More than 220 non-English newspapers published in 15 languages offer foreign-born New Yorkers' news in their native tongue.

Through three centuries New York has indeed become an international city that has welcomed people from all over the world. The city's present mayor, Italian-born Vincent Impellitteri as well as his predecessors were born outside the United States.

Commenting on New York's polyglot population the American author E.B. White, wrote: "The collision and the intermingling of these millions of foreign-born people representing so many races and creeds make New York a permanent exhibit of the phenomenon of one world. The citizens of New York are tolerant not only from disposition but from necessity. If the people were to depart from the cosmopolitan intercourse, the town would blow up like a kite."—*USIS*.

College de France

In speaking of the cultural life of France it is hard to know where to turn from current matters to the great institutions which sustain it. The College de France is such an institution, and one of the most useful. It is the highest educational institution in France and yet gives no degrees or certificates.

For the purpose and mission of the College de France is that it shall be an establishment completely independent as regards the choice of both programme and professors and style of teaching. Its motto "Doceat" shows that nothing which is human knowledge

DIABETOX
TABLETS

for

DIABETES

At All leading Chemists.

DESCRIPTIVE LITERATURE FREE FROM

HIMALAYA DRUG Co.

251, HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY. M.B.

unfamiliar there. The branches of learning studied range from philosophy, taught in turn by Henri Bergson, douard Le Roy, Louis Lavallo and the present holder of the chair, professor Merleau-Ponty; a rival of Jean-Paul Sartre, Political Economy with Md. Andre Siegfried lecturing from 1933 to 1945, to the history of religions with Alfred Loisy and then Jean Baruzi; orientalism so brilliantly served there by Ernest Renan and classical antiquity by Theodore. In science, Hadamard, Maurice de Broglie and Rone Lerche have held chairs made famous in the past by men like Ampere and Laennec.

The most striking thing about these names and those of holders of the forty-eight chairs to-day corresponding to the subjects taught, is their amazing variety. Variety of origin in the first place: the College de France is unique in being the only establishment of higher education where non-university men are given professorships: Paul Valery's only qualifications were his poems and his lectures on Poetry before the war brought large and unusual audiences to the College de France. Bergson was not exactly what one would call a "university man." For the professors of the College de France, an institution that is directly dependent on the Ministry of National Education without belonging to the University of Paris, are appointed by the Minister from a list of four candidates, two proposed by the Professors' assembly and two by one of the five Academies forming the Institute de France. The appointment is not therefore the result of any choice by the Civil Service or the Government, but by leading French thinkers who have elected one of their peers. There is variety also in the subjects taught, some being of educational or practical interest, like medicine, chemistry and political economy, others being absolutely disinterested, as for instance ancient Sanskrit and paleo-Christian archaeology. Variety too in the popularity of the different courses: some only attract one or two listeners so that the professor of the College de France who apparently only had the hauffeur waiting to drive him home listening to him, has become a by-word among students. But others draw large and sometimes enthusiastic crowds.

For the sole purpose of the College de France, as its present Administrator, Mr. Edmond Farel has said, is to "contribute to the advancement of science" and not to award degrees, serve politics or provide a utilitarian and therefore limited formation. In a country steeped in humanism like France, the College de France is perhaps the most human of educational establishments. When he founded it, Francis I was not concerned with erecting premises for it but with finding suitable persons to teach there, "I do not wish to build a college of bones but of men," he said.

BANK OF BANKURA LTD.

36, Strand Road, CALCUTTA

Board of Directors

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Sri Jagannath Koley, | 4. Sri Sunderlall Dutt |
| M. P., Chairman | 5. Sri Kristo Ch. Ray, |
| | Advocate |
| 2. Sri Kalidas Ray, B.E.C.E. | 6. Sri Chandra Kumar |
| 3. Sri Kalipada Ghose | Majumdar |
| Sri R. N. Koley, General Manager | |

All Sorts of Banking Business Transacted
Interest on Fixed Deposit 4% Per Annum
Interest on Savings Deposit 2% Per Annum

OUTSTANDING PRODUCTS OF HERING & KENT

ROYAL OONIM: Super vitalising Tonic for MEN and WOMEN. Restores youthful vigour and vitality at any age. Rs. 50 for 3 weeks course; Rs. 200 for complete course of 12 weeks.

OONIM: General all-round tonic for men & women. Rs. 7-8 for one week; Rs. 22-8 for 3 weeks; Rs. 90 for 12 weeks complete course.

BIOSTIL HORMONE CREAM: Genuine hormone treatment for restoring the freshness and firmness of youth to the aged, wrinkled skin. Women of 60 regain complexion like women of 20. Indicated for wrinkles, lines, bagginess, bad colour, disfigurement, blemishes and skin disorders (acne, pimples, etc.). Rs. 5-8 per tube.

SIMBOOGI HAIR LOTION: An unfailing hair-grower. Positively grows new hair and stops falling hair, dandruff, itching scalp, etc. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

SIMBOOGI HAIR OIL: A delightful ideal hair-dressing and tonic for correction of various hair, scalp and brain troubles. Rs. 3-8 per bottle.

LUNEGON: The most effective nerve and brain sedative tonic, indicated for mental and nervous disorders. Immediately calms and soothes high mental and nervous tension. Contains no injurious, depressing or habit-forming drugs. Rs. 4 per packet of 50; Rs. 70 per packet of 1000 tablets. (Hospital packing).

DISNIL: The most effective oral remedy indicated in the treatment of Diabetes Mellitus. Rs. 15 per packet.

SILVITA: For acidity, heart-burn, sour stomach, dyspepsia, wind and fullness after meals, etc. Rs. 4

NOVUM: The most potent and effective "period regulator" for females, indicated in the treatment of Amenorrhoea. (Periodic Disorders). Restores the female periodic cycle surely, quickly, safely. **NOVUM SIMPLEX,** Rs. 12-8. **NOVUM FORTE,** Rs. 50; **NOVUM SUPER CONCENTRATED,** indicated only for menopausal trouble and oestrogenic hormone deficiency. Rs. 21. **OLIVITA:** MUST BE TAKEN tonic with NOVUM to prevent side reactions and hasten results. Rs. 19 per packet of 100; Rs. 4-12 per packet of 25; Also available:

INDULABO PASTE INJECTION TREATMENT for registered and Qualified Physicians only. Full particulars sent on request to physicians only.

PREGNO: An ideal, non-greasy and delicately perfumed preparation for **FAMILY LIMITATION.** Ideally suited for the most fastidious woman. Rs. 9-8 for complete outfit; Rs. 7-8 for "Refill".

EXPERT MEDICAL ADVICE: We have opened a "Clinical Dept." under the direct supervision of qualified and experienced physicians and surgeons. Expert, sincere and genuine advice and treatment given for all your **SEX and FAMILY LIMITATION** problems. Consult personally or write your case in detail enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope for reply.

ASK FOR FREE MEDICAL CIRCULAR of all our products

HERING & KENT

POST BOX 323 (M.R.C.). Opp. Lloyds Bank.
1/263, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay 1. Phone: 242972

In the course of its four hundred years and more of existence, the College de France has also been built in stones: it is housed in an edifice erected in the 18th century and designed by the architect Chalgrin, on a site formerly occupied by the Colleges of Treguier and Cambrai. Outside this building, it has spread over into a group of more recent edifices, some built and some in course of completion, which as regards dimensions and modern equipment meet the requirements of up-to-date scientific research: some thirty laboratories in Paris, the Paris suburbs and the provinces, thus depend on the College. But this proliferation in stones, now common to so many establishments devoted to intellectual research, from the Bibliotheque Nationale which is slowly colonising the Rue de Richelieu and spreading to Versailles, to the Faculty of Medicine which has recently built an annexe on the site of a whole block of houses in old Rue des Saint-Peres, does not alter the fact that the main part of the College stands still in the immaterial flame kindled by Francis I and which to our day has never gone out: the freedom of teachers and the freedom of education.

—News from France.

Dr. Julian Huxley Awarded Kalinga Prize

Dr. Julian Huxley, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been awarded the Kalinga Prize for distinguished popular writing in science in a ceremony at Unesco House in Paris last month. The prize of one thousand pounds sterling was established in 1951 as a gift to Unesco from Mr. B. Patnaik, Indian industrialist. The first award, in 1952, went to Professor Louis de Broglie of Paris.

The prize is international and is awarded annually for outstanding and continued achievement in the dissemination and interpretation of science to the general public in books, articles, radio programmes or films. Dr. Huxley is the author of some 15 popular books, including the recent *Evolution in Action*, *Essays of a Biologist*, *Man in the Modern World* and *Evolution*. He had been nominated for the prize by both the Royal Society of Great Britain and the Institute de France.

The jury for the 1953 award was composed of Dr. M. N. Saha, Professor of Physics at the University of Calcutta, Mr. Paul Gaultier, Member of the Institute de France, and Professor A. J. Kluyver, Technische Hogeschool, Delft. The jury considered ten nominees from eight countries: Argentina, France, India, New Zealand, United States of America, Uruguay and Venezuela.

The prize bears the name of Kalinga, an Empire which covered part of India and Indonesia more than 2,000 years ago. It is also the name of the Kalinga Foundation Trust which has made generous grants for develop-

ment and social work in the State of Orissa. President of the Trust is Dr. R. K. Mahatab, Minister of Industry and Commerce, and Mr. B. P. member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, is a director. —UNESCO, October-1953.

V. K. R. Menon Appointed Director O ILO India Branch

Mr. V. K. R. Menon, I.C.S., Labour Secretary to the Government of India, has been appointed Head of the International Labour Organisation's India Office New Delhi. Mr. Menon is expected to take up his duties early in October.

After receiving his education at Madras, Menon graduated from Cambridge where he obtained merit scholarship. He joined the Indian Civil Ser-

Distinctive Jewellery

M.B. SIRKAR & SONS
Jewellers and Diamond Merchants
 167/C, 167/C/1 BOWBAZAR STREET CALCUTTA, (AMHERST STREET
 & BOWBAZAR STREET, JUNCN) OPPOSITE OUR OLD SHOW ROOM

TELEPHONE: AVN. 1761
 TELEGRAM: BRILLIANTS

BRANCH- HINDUSTHAN MART, BALLYGUNGE 159/1/B, RASHBIHARI AVENUE
 CALCUTTA • PHONE: P.K. 4466

ous capacities—

Government in
ment and Finance
Menon joined the
ernment in Octo-
is Secretary. He
munications from
finistry of Labour

Branch Office as Labour Secretary, Mr. Menon was India's representative on the Governing Body of the ILO from 1950 to date and was a member of the Indian delegation to the annual conference of the ILO in 1950, 1951 and 1952. He was Chairman of the ILO's Committee on Plantations (Bandung—1950), the Coal Mines Committee (Geneva—1951) and of the Iron and Steel Committee (Geneva—1952).—ILO Press Release, 14 September, 1953.

ried connection
nt touch with the

LE

1

0

0

0

0

0

8

8

0

0

8

0

0

0

m

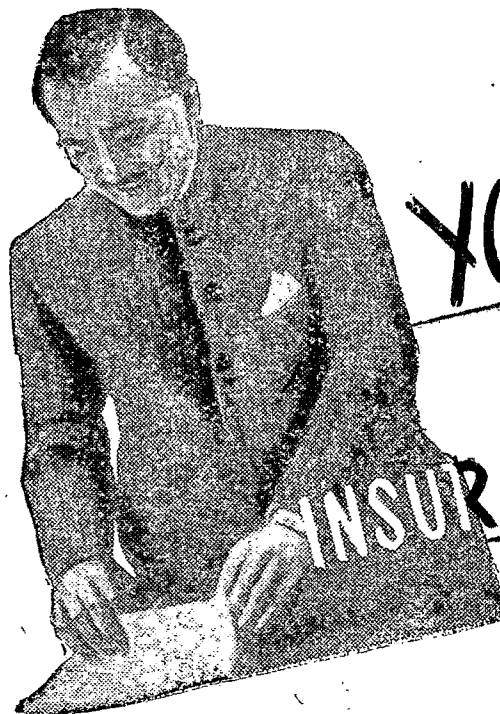
0

0

4

ice

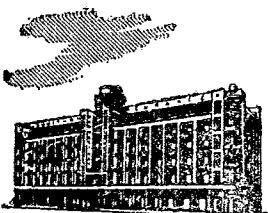
,,



YOUR

INSURANCE

Life Insurance is not a fair-weather friend, but a friend in need. It is a protection against the rainy day—a safe and sure coverage for future eventualities. It guarantees security to those who avail themselves of its benefits. And you can as well enjoy these benefits by placing YOUR INSURANCE with the HINDUSTHAN which is your own Company. It has a tradition of 46 years' dependable service to the nation.



THE SEAL OF
SECURITY



HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE
INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD.

HINDUSTHAN BUILDINGS

MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER

Highly Appreciated By George VI King of England.

JYOTISH-SAMRAT PANDIT SRI RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAB, M.R.
(London) of International fame, President of the world-renowned Baranashi Pandit M. Sabha of Banaras and All India Astrological and Astronomical Society of Calcutta won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, Australia, China, Japan, Malaya, Java, Singapore, etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers. This powerfully gifted greatest Astrologer & Palm Tancric can tell at a glance all about one's past, present and future and with the help of Yogic and Tantric powers can heal diseases which are the despair of Doctors and Kavis. redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars and planets can help to win difficult suits and ensure safety from impending dangers, poverty, prevent childlessness and



ple from debts and family unhappiness.

Despaired persons are strongly advised to test the powers of Panditji

WONDERFUL TALISMANS (GUARANTEED). In case of failure, money refunded.
anadr Kavacha Or The Rothschild Talisman:—for vast wealth, good luck and all prosperity, honour and fame in life. Price Rs. 7-10. Special Rs. 29-11. Super-Special Rs. 129.
Salamukhi Kavacha:—To overcome enemies it is unique. Gets promotion in services and in winning or criminal suits and for pleasing higher officials it is unparalleled. Rs. 9-2. Special Rs. 3.
er-special Rs. 18-4. Mohini Kavacha: Enables arch foes to become friends and friends friendly. Rs. 11-8. Special Rs. 34-2. Super-special Rs. 387-14.
Nrsingha Kavacha:—It cures Barrenness all sorts of female diseases and saves from devil and evil spirits, etc. Price Rs. 7-5. Special Rs. 1.
er-special with lasting speedy effects Rs. 63-9. Saraswati Kavacha:—Success in examination of memory. Rs. 9-9. Special Rs. 38-9. Detailed Catalogue With Testimonials Free on Request

A wonderful A-trological book in English "MYSTERY OF THE MONTH YOU ARE BORN"

by Jyotish Samrat :—Deals month by month exhaustively Rs. 3-8.

ALL-INDIA ASTROLOGICAL & ASTRONOMICAL SOCIETY (Regd)

Id Office & Residence: "Jyotish Samrat Bhawan", 50/2, Dharamtola Street, (Wellington Sq. Junction Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Consultation hours: 7-30 A.M. to 11 A.M. & 2 P.M. to 4 P.M.
Jagrala & Kali Temple & Branch 105, Grey St., "Basanta Nivas" Cal. 5. 9-30—10-30 A.M. Phone: B B. 3
tral Branch Office: 41, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta-13. Phone: Central 4065. Hours 5-30—7-0 P.
LONDON OFFICE:—Mr. M. A. CURTIS, 7-A. Westway, Raynes Park, London.

Jamini Roy's Art Hailed In New York

An exhibit of paintings by the eminent Indian artist Jamini Roy at a New York art gallery recently excited considerable interest among the city's art lovers critics.

At 45 years, Jamini Roy has rarely allowed his work to be exhibited outside his studio; Paris and London seen his pictures just once. With the exhibit in New York he gave the outside world another look at his work.

The recent exhibit resulted largely through the efforts of an American ex-serviceman, Harold Leventhal, a friend of Roy. During World War II, Roy's studio in Calcutta was a popular haunt for American servicemen and their families.

A tribute to Roy's genius is the fact that half of the paintings and drawings exhibited were sold by the end of the first week of the showing. And art-critics of all leading newspapers and magazines wrote about the exhibit and his work.

The New York Times critic Stuart Preston said: "The art quality of Indian art is its emphasis on three-dimensionality, and Roy, though limited by the two-dimensions of the canvas and further limiting himself by going absolutely with neither shadows nor modeling, strives to suggest maximum solidity and volume in figures by the supple strength of contour alone. His graphic power is most impressively evident in the drawings of figures . . . Roy's art is totally lined and thrives on its good humour and on its sense of form."

ART IN TEMPERA

Newsweek's critic wrote: "Roy's paintings of the peace he has made with himself and with the world. Flat, bright figures painted in the conventional forms of Bengalese artisans reveal his reverence for the dignity of India and Hindu lore. Roy usually grins with his own pigments and normally paints in tempera. His drawings are composed of simple and economical black lines. All express his belief that there is no in good-humoured men and women."

Roy is one of India's modern painters who developed a personal idiom based on the glorious folk art of Bengal. Unlike many of his contemporaries he did not fall back upon the barren choice of revolt or compromise with the Western art, but he found a wayward solution.

Born in April 1887 in a village in West Bengal, Jamini Roy was brought up in an atmosphere permeated with local culture. The simple village craftsmen and their work in him his first interest in form and design. Though his early paintings revealed distinct Western influence, soon began a lonely search for form. This began a great intellectual adventure which resulted in his paintings being hailed by critics as "pure and vital." His success has proved the truth of Cezanne's remark, "When you have its richness, form has its plentitude."

Roy has not confined himself solely to the realm of Indian subjects. Though a Hindu, he made a study of Christian subjects. Inspired by them, he painted a series of pictures on Christ, His Mother, and His disciples. These penetrating interpretations in colour and form won him international fame.—American Reporter